

MODERN HISTORY:

OR, THE

PRESENT STATE

OF

ALL NATIONS.

DESCRIBING

Their respective Situations, Persons, Habits, Buildings, Manners, Laws and Customs, Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences, Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants, Animals and Minerals.

BEING

The most complete and correct SYSTEM of GEOGRAPHY and MODERN HISTORY extant in any Language.

By Mr. *SALMON*.

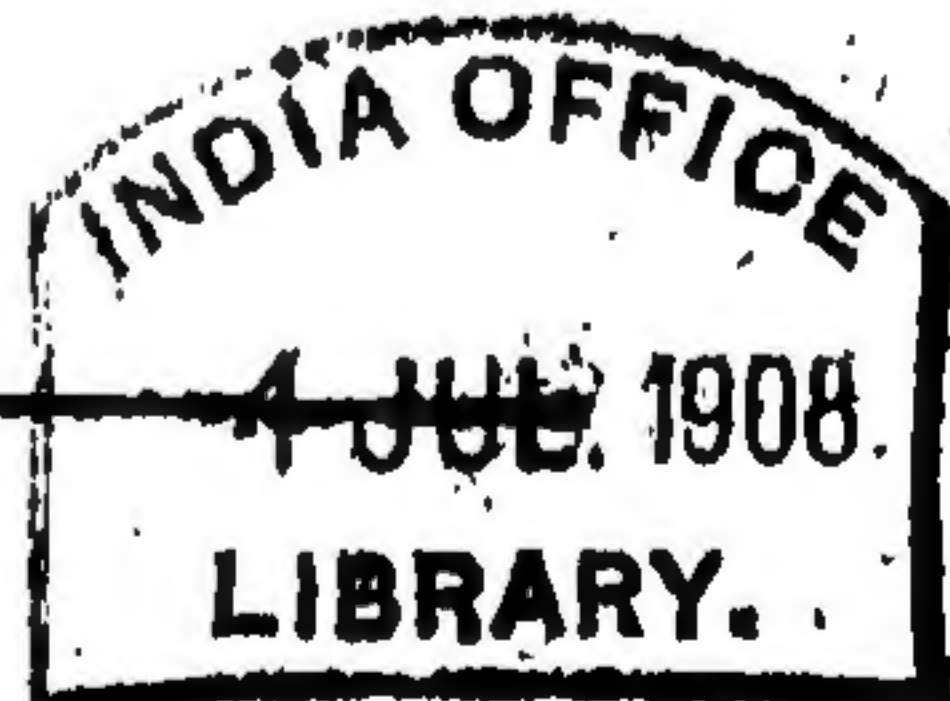
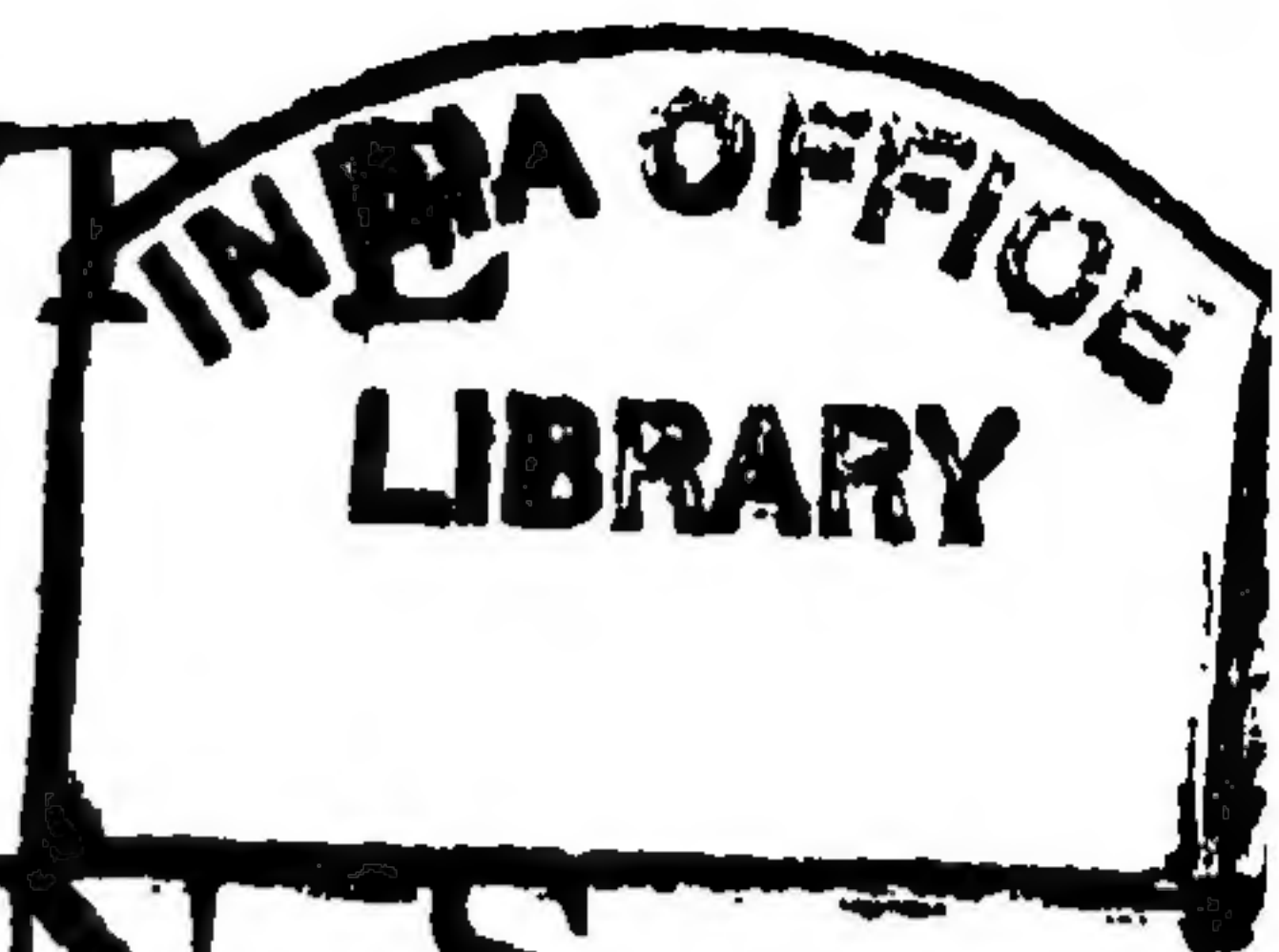
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By *HERMAN MOLL*.

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THE PRESENT STATE OF

Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the situation and extent, and of the air, mountains and rivers of Bohemia.

WITH Bohemia the provinces of Silesia and Moravia being incorporated, they will be described together; but as to Lusatia, which was also formerly reckon'd a part of Bohemia, this having been transfer'd by the Emperor FERDINAND II. to the Elector of Saxony, will be treated of hereafter, as part of that Elector's dominions.

Bohemia is said to have taken its name from the Bemi, or Boiemi, the antient inhabitants thereof; who, according to TACITUS, were descended from the Boii, a Gallick nation that retired into the Hyrcanian forest, which runs through this country, rather than submit to the Roman yoke.

The modern Bohemia, including Silesia and Moravia, is bounded by Saxony and Lusatia on the north: by Poland and Hungary towards the east: by Bavaria and Austria towards the south: and by the palatinate of Bavaria and electorate of Saxony towards the west. Extending from forty eight degrees odd minutes to fifty two degrees odd minutes north latitude, and is near three hundred English miles from north to south, and two hundred and fifty from east to west. This being an inland country, remote from any sea, the cold is more severe than in some other places of the same latitude; and yet the air is not healthful, which may proceed in part from the woods and mountains which abound here, and check the winds in their course; and partly from their waters, which are very bad, and occasion many distempers. The country is mountainous towards the south and east, but lies more open on the north and west: and there are also great mountains between Moravia and Bohemia. The rivers Elbe and Muldaw have their source in Bohemia Proper, and running northward, meet below Prague; after which, the united stream is called the Elbe, and continues its course

north-west thro' Saxony, and washing the walls of Hamburg, falls into the German ocean, little below Gluckstat. The Oder also has its rise in the mountains on the south of the province of Silesia, and running northward, washes the shores of Poland, Brandenburg and Pomerania, after which it falls into the Baltick. The Weisel, or Vistula, has its source in the same mountains, and running first to the eastward, passes by Cracow in Poland; then turning northward, washes the walls of Warsaw, and continuing its course still north, falls into the Baltick near Dantzick. The river Moraw rises in the mountains which divide Silesia from Moravia, and taking its course to the southward, runs quite through the province of Moravia, after which it falls into the Danube near Presburgh. The river Teya, or Theysa, runs from west to east through the south part of Moravia, and falls into the Moraw. The river Igla also runs from west to east, and falls into the Moraw. There are many other small rivers in this country, which are describ'd in the map of Bohemia, bound up with this volume.

CHAP. II.

Contains a description of the provinces and chief towns of Bohemia.

THE three grand divisions of the kingdom of Bohemia are, 1. Bohemia Proper. 2. The Dutchy of Silesia. And, 3. The Marquisate of Moravia.

Bohemia Proper is bounded by Lusatia on the north: by Silesia and Moravia towards the east: by Austria on the south: and by Misnia and Bavaria towards the west. A mountainous woody country, antiently reckoned part of the Hyrcanian forest,

CHAP. II. rest, but has not much of the appearance of a forest at present, the woods many of them having been converted into towns and villages; of which travellers relate, there are an incredible number here. The capital of this province, and of the whole kingdom, is the city of Prague; situate on the river Muldaw, in fifty degrees north latitude; and fourteen degrees odd minutes to the eastward of London; about an hundred and forty miles north-west of Vienna, and seventy south of Dresden. It is an archbishoprick; and was the largest university in Europe, if our writers have not mistaken a figure, when they relate that it contain'd forty thousand students in the time of their apostle JOHN HUSS, who attempted a reformation of the errors of the church of Rome, almost an hundred years before Luther. The city is one of the largest in this part of the world; and composed of three towns, viz. Old Prague, New Prague, and the Lesser Prague. The old town stands on the east side of the river Muldaw, in which is the university, being the most populous of the three. Here are also several monasteries, and a fine college of the Jesuits. The new town encompasses the former, and is divided from it only by a moat. This is fortified and has a citadel; but is of too large an extent to sustain a siege, unless it was garrison'd by an army. The lesser town is divided from the other by the river Muldaw, over which there lies a beautiful stone bridge; part of it is pleasantly situated on a rising ground, where stands a magnificent castle and palace of the Emperor's, formerly the residence of the Bohemian Kings: here also stands the cathedral church dedicated to St. Veit; and here are the houses of the nobility, among which that of Count WALLENSTEYN, afterwards Duke of Friedland, and general to the Emperor FERDINAND II. is most admir'd. It is a very stately structure, built upon the ruins of above an hundred houses, which were pull'd down to make room for it, and furnish materials. The gardens are exceeding beautiful; and the aviary, the model whereof was taken from that of Prince DORIA at Genoa. In the stables, which are very large, stands a marble pillar between each horse, and to every standing there is a rack of steel, and a marble manger, and over it the picture of the horse which us'd it, as big as the life, with his name. Besides these three quarters, there is a suburb call'd the Jews town, where great numbers of that people inhabit, who traffick chiefly in jewels and precious stones, particularly topazes, and such other stones as are dug in the Bohemian mines.

Prague, according to Dr. BROWN, is much larger, and more populous than Florence, the streets longer; and the windows being of fine glass, make a far better appearance than the ragged paper windows of Florence. The Muldaw also is a nobler river than the Arno at Florence, and the bridge over it exceeds all the four bridges on the Arno; but

then the cathedral of Florence, built of black and white marble, the chapel of St. Lawrence, and the great Duke's gallery and rarities exceed any thing that is to be found at Prague. Upon the white hill near Prague was fought that memorable battle on the 8th of November, 1620, between the Emperor's forces, commanded by the Duke of Bavaria; and the Elector Palatine's troops, the head of the Protestant league, wherein the Elector's army being defeated, the Protestant interest in Germany suffer'd pretty much, and the Elector lost both the kingdom of Bohemia and the Palatinate. 2. Egra, a great town about fourscore miles to the westward of Prague; situate on the river Eger, taken notice of for a brackish fountain near it which cures distempers of the eyes and ears by purging. 3. Konin-gratz, situate on the Elbe, fifty miles to the eastward of Prague: a bishop's see in the archbishoprick of Prague. 4. Glatz, situate at the foot of the hills which divide Bohemia from Silesia, the capital of a very rich district, and about a hundred miles to the eastward of Prague.

The province of Silesia is bounded by Brandenburg on the north: by Poland on the east: by the mountains call'd Rissenbergen, which separate it from Moravia towards the south: and by Bohemia on the west. The chief Towns whereof are, 1. Breslaw, the capital of Silesia, and of a dutchy, which it gives its name; being situate on the river Oder, about an hundred and twenty miles to the north-east of Prague, in fifty one degrees odd minutes north latitude. It is an handsome large and well fortified city, a bishop's see, and university; and govern'd by its own magistrates. 2. Crossen, the capital of a dutchy, situate upon the Oder, near the confines of Brandenburg; which was mortgaged several times, and at length absolutely transferr'd to the Elector of Brandenburg, who now remains sovereign of it. 3. Glogaw the capital of a dutchy of the same name; situate on the Oder, forty miles to the south-east of Crossen. 4. Lignitz, the capital also of a dutchy, to which it gives its name; situate about thirty six miles to the westward of Breslaw. 5. Jagendorf, situate on the river Oppa, near the confines of Moravia: the capital of a dutchy of the same name.

The marquissate of Moravia is bounded by Silesia on the north and east: by Austria on the south: and by Bohemia on the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Olmutz, the capital of the province, situate on the river Moravia, in the latitude of forty nine degrees forty minutes. A town of pretty good trade, and the only bishop's see in the province. 2. Brin, a well fortified town; situate at the confluence of two small rivers, about fifty miles to the northward of Vienna. 3. Iglaw, situate on a river of the same name, about forty miles to the westward of Brin, near the mountains which separate Moravia from Silesia. A large strong town,

CHAP. town, and lies on the road from Bohemia to Hungary.

CHAP. III.

Contains an account of the persons and habits of the Bohemians; their genius and temper, buildings, way of travelling, nature of the soil, plants, animals, minerals, trade and manufactures.

THE persons of the Bohemians, like their neighbours the Germans, are rather of the largest: they are tall and corpulent, strong, and of a hale complexion; and given to imitate every foreign fashion, especially those of the French. This is the first country we come to from the eastward where the people voluntarily quitted the Asiatick habit of vests and gowns, and cloath'd themselves in short coats, breeches and stockings, as with us: the women too have left off their drawers and breeches, which the eastern ladies never go without; and conform themselves generally to the French dress, except some few who live on the confines of Poland, and continue to cloath themselves like that people. When I observed that the Bohemians were the first people on this side Asia which conform'd themselves to our dress, I might indeed have excepted the Russians, but as the Bohemians were the first that did it in point of time, and the Muscovites only submitted to the alteration when they were compell'd to it by the late Czar, and possibly may return to the Asiatick dress again, it may very well be said that the Bohemians were the first who voluntarily chang'd the Asiatick habit for ours. But to proceed to the genius and temper of the Bohemians: their gentlemen and those of quality are said to be naturally brave, inclin'd to arms more than arts, and of an open easy conversation. Their boors on the contrary, who are all in a state of vassalage to the great men, are a brutish kind of people; and pretty much given to thieving and pilfering: and there are few writers but charge the whole nation with excess and intemperance in eating and drinking. Credulity also is another foible, which this people are remarkable for: you meet every where with stories of spectres and apparitions; there is not a mine in the country which is not haunted by one or more of these, if we may credit the inhabitants.

The palaces of the grandees are many of them built after the Italian model; and the materials of them, as well as of their churches, and other publick buildings, are usually of stone; but the rest of their houses, both in city and country, are built with wood, and make but a mean appearance. Their way of travelling is not different from ours; coaches are in use here, tho' their roads are none of the best. The lower grounds are deep in winter, and the mountainous part of the country is inconvenient for wheel-carriages, which make people choose the water where they have an opportunity of navi-

gable rivers in summer. In winter their rivers are frequently frozen, and they make use of the sledge or skates upon them, either for travelling or diversion.

The hills, which take up a great part of this country, are generally rocky and barren; but the valleys produce both corn and wine: not in so great quantities however, as to export either; on the contrary, they import wine and fruit from Hungary. The wines of Bohemia, tho' tolerably good, will not keep, but soon turn sour, as they do in all other countries which lie so far to the northward; to make amends for which, as the soil produces plenty of barley and hops, they make and export a great deal of strong beer. Their soil also is proper for flax; and they have a coarse sort of wooll, and make both linnen and woollen cloth; but transport part of their wooll and flax unwrought to other countries. A good sort of saffron grows in great plenty here: and their forests abound with serviceable timber, as their gardens do with fruit-trees, herbs and roots: but their greatest riches is in their mines of silver, copper, lead, tin and iron. In their mountains also are found precious stones, particularly topazes, carbuncles, amethysts, jasper, sapphires, &c. which are bought up by the Jews, and sent abroad. There are at Guttenburg, about twelve miles from Prague, thirty mines of silver, or copper, which have been wrought these seven or eight hundred years; but an hundred weight of silver ore does not produce above an ounce of silver; and an hundred weight of copper, eight or nine ounces. Their tin mines are of vast advantage to them, this mineral being met with in scarce any other country but England; and was first discover'd in Bohemia by one of our country-men. Sulphur and saltpetre also are found here, but they have so little common salt, that they are forc'd to import it.

As they have a great deal of good meadow and pasture ground, they abound in oxen, sheep, and other cattle, especially in horses of a large size: they have also most other animals wild and tame which are found in Europe: particularly great numbers of deer and game in their forests; and the many rivers there are in this country supply them with fish and wild fowl.

The manufactures of the country are linnen and woollen: in which they are arriv'd at no great perfection; but make very good glass: and their manufactures of copper, iron and tin are not contemptible; some of these they export, as they do their precious stones, wooll and strong beer; but their foreign trade does not seem to be very considerable.

CHAP. IV.

Contains an abstract of the antient and modern history of Bohemia; the succession of their princes, and constitution of the government.

BOHEMIA is frequently look'd upon as part of Germany; but as it is one of the Emperor's hereditary countries, and excluded from all those

CHAP. IV. privileges which the other circles and electorates enjoy, (except that the imperial family as Kings of Bohemia have a voice in the election of a King of the Romans) I chose to treat of it as a distinct principality: and in this chapter proceed to give an account of the sovereigns of this country from the earliest times down to the present reign. There are also these further reasons for treating of Bohemia as distinct from the empire, namely, that neither the acts of the German diet, or the laws of the empire are of any force here; nor are the Bohemians oblig'd to raise forces, or pay taxes for the defence and support of the empire, as the other circles are, but are subject only to their own princes of the house of Austria.

The ancient history of Bohemia.

Zechus the founder of the Bohemian monarchy.

Cracus.

Libussa.

Primislaus.

The Scythians, 'tis generally held, were the first inhabitants of Bohemia; but the Boiemi or Boii, a Gallick nation, according to TACITUS, retiring before the conquering Romans, afterwards fix'd themselves here; communicating their name to the country. It was first divided into several principalities, govern'd by their respective dukes, or leaders, till ZECHUS the brother of LECHUS, who founded the monarchy of Poland about the sixth century, obtain'd a kind of sovereignty of the whole, but was still stiled duke, or great duke, and the other dukes continued to govern their respective subjects, only acknowledging ZECHUS for their chief, or captain general; for which 'tis said they had one great inducement, namely, that he and his brother LECHUS first taught them husbandry and architecture, the natives being generally shepherds before that time, and living in tents, or other moveable tenements.

The next duke we meet with in the catalogue of the Bohemian sovereigns, is CRACUS, said to be the same also who govern'd Poland, and built the city of Cracow; but this Prince did not begin his reign till the year 700, which is upwards of an hundred years after the reign of ZECHUS; so that there must have been several princes of Bohemia during that space, of whom their historians have not been able to give us so much as their names. After the death of CRACUS, they relate, that his youngest daughter Libussa succeeded in the government; but that the people not being satisfied with a female ruler, were about to depose her; whereupon she pretended that heaven had directed her to let a horse loose, and the man at whose door he stopp'd, should be her husband and partner in the government; and a horse being turn'd out accordingly, stopp'd at the house of PRIMISLAUS, a peasant, who being married to LIBUSSA, and succeeding her after her death, is reckon'd the fourth of the Bohemian sovereigns: but there appearing to be so much of fable mixt with the history of their ancient princes, I shall content my self with giving their respective names, and the dates of their several reigns, till we arrive at times of greater certainty.

NIMISLAUS, the son of PRIMISLAUS, succeeded his father, anno 676.

MNATHA, the son of NIMISLAUS, began his CHA reign anno 715. IV.

VOGENIUS, or VORITIUS, succeeded him, anno 735.

WENCESLAUS succeeded VOGENIUS, anno 763.

CZERZONISLAUS succeeded his brother WENCESLAUS, anno 785.

BELAM his son succeeded him, anno 803.

BORZIVOIUS, the son of BELAM, succeeded his father, anno 856, being the first of the Bohemian Princes who embrac'd christianity; converted, as 'tis said, by CYRILLUS and METHODIUS in the year 894, which occasion'd an insurrection in his dominions that was near proving fatal to him; but he at length reduc'd his rebellious subjects, and before his death he saw the christian religion prevail in most of the Bohemian provinces.

SPITIGNEUS, the son of BORZIVOIUS, succeeded him, anno 904.

ULADISLAUS I. succeeded his father SPITIGNEUS, anno 906.

BOLESLAUS having murder'd his brother ULADISLAUS, anno 938, succeeded him; persecuted his christian subjects, and introduc'd paganism: whereupon the Emperor OTHO the great, invaded his dominions; and after a war of fourteen years, compell'd him to become a tributary to the Emperor, to do publick penances for his apostacy, and restore christianity in Bohemia.

BOLESLAUS II. succeeded his father BOLESLAUS, anno 967.

BOLESLAUS III. succeeded his father BOLESLAUS II. anno 999.

JAROMIR, the son of BOLESLAUS III. succeeded his father, 1012.

ULRIC, the brother of BOLESLAUS III. and uncle of JAROMIR, rais'd a rebellion against his nephew, put out his eyes, and usurp'd the throne, anno 1035.

BRETISLAUS, the son of ULRIC, succeeded his father, anno 1037.

SPITIGNEUS, the son of BRETISLAUS, succeeded him, 1055. he was the last of the Bohemian dukes; for his brother ULADISLAUS, his successor, was by the Emperor HENRY IV. created King of Bohemia at Mentz.

Kings of BOHEMIA.

ULADISLAUS II. succeeded his brother Duke SPITIGNEUS II. anno 1061, and was created King of Bohemia, anno 1086.

CONRADE, the brother of ULADISLAUS, being appointed his successor, came to the crown, anno 1092.

BREZETISLAUS, son of ULADISLAUS II. succeeded him, anno 1099.

BORZIVOIUS, the brother of BREZETISLAUS, succeeded him anno 1100, by the appointment of the Emperor HENRY IV. but against the consent of the Bohemian dukes, who twice dethron'd him, and compell'd him to retire into Germany.

SUA-

CHAP. IV. **SUATOLPLOOK**, or **SUTAPULCUS**, nephew to **BORZIVOIUS**, usurp'd the throne, anno 1107; being assisted by the Bohemian dukes, and with a sum of money purchased the confirmation, or investiture of the Emperor.

OTHO succeeded **SUATOLPLOOK**, anno 1109; but was depos'd for his incapacity to govern.

ULADISLAUS II. brother to **BORZIVOIUS**, was elected in the room of **OTHO**, anno 1111.

SOBIESLAUS, the brother of **ULADISLAUS**, succeeded him, anno 1125.

ULADISLAUS III. succeeded **SOBIESLAUS**, about the year 1153, by the appointment of the Emperor **FREDERICK Barbarossa**, who made him vicegerent of the empire during his absence in Italy: he commanded also the Emperor's armies; and as a reward of his merit, the Emperor gave him for his arms, azure, a lion argent, the present arms of Bohemia.

SOBIESLAUS II. son to **SOBIESLAUS I.** succeeded to the throne, anno 1174.

FREDERICK, the son of **ULADISLAUS**, succeeded **SOBIESLAUS II.** anno 1178, by the appointment of the Emperor.

CONRADE II. succeeded **FREDERICK** his cousin, anno 1190, by the appointment of the Emperor.

WENCESLAUS, brother to **CONRADE**, and son of **SOBIESLAUS**, came to the throne, anno 1192, by the Emperor's influence.

BRETISLAUS or **HENRY**, bishop of Prague, succeeded to the throne, anno 1193.

ULADISLAUS IV. son to **ULADISLAUS III.** succeeded to the crown, anno 1196; but resign'd to his brother **PRIMISLAUS**, who ascended the throne the same year, 1196.

OTTOCARUS, to the prejudice of his elder brother **WENCESLAUS**, usurp'd the throne, anno 1231; but was kill'd in a battle with the Emperor **RODOLPHUS**.

WENCESLAUS II. succeeded his brother **OTTOCARUS** the usurper the same year, 1231.

OTTOCARUS II. the son of **WENCESLAUS**, sometimes call'd **PRIMISLAUS III.** succeeded his father, anno 1253. He was continually engaged in wars with the Emperor **RODOLPH**; and sometimes with great success, insomuch, that 'tis said, he was master of all the countries from the Adriatick to the Baltick; but was at length kill'd in a battle with the Emperor near Murkfelt.

WENCESLAUS III. succeeded his father **OTTOCARUS** anno 1278, and was afterwards elected King of Poland.

HENRY duke of Carinthia, brother-in-law to **WENCESLAUS III.** was elected King by the Bohemian barons; but the Emperor depos'd him, and set up his son **RODOLPH**, who began his reign anno 1306. after whose death the Emperor advanc'd his son **JOHN** of Luxemburgh to the throne of Bohemia, anno 1307.

CHARLES Emperor of Germany, and son of **CHAP. IV.** **JOHN**, succeeded to the Bohemian crown, anno 1346.

WENCESLAUS V. his son succeeded him, anno 1378; and was afterwards elected Emperor.

SIGISMOND King of Hungary, afterwards Emperor of Germany, succeeded **WENCESLAUS** in the kingdom of Bohemia, anno 1418. It was in this reign that **JOHN HUSS** and **JEROM** of Prague, endeavour'd a reformation in the church, and were burnt at the stake for it, of which I shall give a further account under the head of religion.

ALBERT Duke of Austria, (afterwards elected Emperor and King of Hungary) was appointed King of Bohemia by the Emperor **SIGISMOND**, anno 1436; in which he was oppos'd by the Hussites and the nobility of Bohemia, whom he reduced, and deprived of the privilege of electing their Kings, which they had in a great measure lost before.

ULADISLAUS V. the son of **ALBERT**, succeeded his father in the kingdom of Bohemia, in 1439, being then an infant of five years of age; after whose death

GEORGE PODEBRACHE was elected King by the Bohemian barons, anno 1471; but being a favourer of the Hussites, a party was form'd against him, which occasion'd him a very tumultuous reign: after whose death,

ULADISLAUS VI. was advanc'd to the throne, anno 1471; being succeeded by his son

LEWIS, who came to the crown, anno 1516, by the influence of the Emperor **MAXIMILIAN**, and was afterwards elected King of Hungary. He was kill'd in a battle with the Turks, after whose death,

FERDINAND I. Archduke of Austria, brother to the Emperor **CHARLES V.** was elected King of Bohemia, anno 1526; and afterwards Emperor of Germany, in the year 1556, on the resignation of **CHARLES V.** after whose death,

MAXIMILIAN King of the Romans, was elected King of Bohemia and Hungary, anno 1562; and Emperor of Germany, anno 1564. His tolerating the Protestants made him sometimes stiled the Lutheran Emperor. He was succeeded by his son,

RODOLPH II. King of the Romans and of Hungary, elected King of Bohemia, anno 1575, and afterwards Emperor of Germany. In the year 1609, during the reign of **RODOLPH**, the Protestants of Germany form'd a confederacy, call'd the union, or evangelical league, of which they chose **FREDERICK IV.** Elector Palatine for their head: with these the Protestants of Bohemia join'd, under pretence of being oppress'd by the Emperor, and call'd in his brother **MATTHIAS** to their assistance, obliging the Emperor **RODOLPH** to resign the crown of Bohemia to **MATTHIAS**; who was proclaim'd and crown'd King of Bohemia, anno 1611, and elected Emperor upon the death of **RODOLPH**, anno 1612.

The Emperor **MATTHIAS**, in the year 1616, declared his cousin **FERDINAND** King of Bohemia, and caused him to be crowned and recognized by the states.

CHAP. states of that kingdom, with this restriction, that
IV. he should not execute any regal act in the Emperor's life-time without his consent.

The Emperor MATTHIAS at this time kept his court at Vienna, and King FERDINAND at Gratz in Stiria, the administration of the government of Bohemia being left to the privy-council of that kingdom, who were generally Roman Catholics; and at the instigation of the Archbishop of Prague, 'tis said, very much discountenanced and oppressed the Bohemian Protestants: whereupon the nobility of that persuasion assembled at Prague, in order to procure a redress of their grievances, at the same time levying forces to support their pretensions. The government being apprehensive of an insurrection, deputed some of the imperial ministers to the Protestant nobility to endeavour to pacify them; but hot words arising in the assembly, the Protestants threw the Emperor's chief justice out of the castle-window two story high, and after him one of the council of state, and a secretary of the Emperor's; but when they were cool, and began to reflect on the rashness of the action, they endeavoured to excuse the fact to the Emperor; continuing however to make levies of horse and foot, to defend themselves in case of the worst; they proceeded also to expel the Jesuits out of the city of Prague by their own authority; at which the Emperor being further exasperated, both sides soon after took the field, towns were taken, and several skirmishes happen'd between the Imperial and Protestant troops, when the old Emperor MATTHIAS died; and

FERDINAND succeeded to the crown of Bohemia; being afterwards elected Emperor of Germany.

The Bohemian barons, notwithstanding they had acknowledged FERDINAND for their King in the reign of the late Emperor, sent privately to offer the crown of that kingdom to FREDERICK V. Elector Palatine, the head of the Protestant league above-mentioned, who had married the Princess ELIZABETH, daughter of JAMES I. King of England. This Prince, after several others had refused it, accepted the offer of the Bohemian lords, and was crowned King on the fourth of November, 1619; whereupon he sent to his father-in-law, King JAMES, to excuse his accepting the crown of Bohemia without having consulted him, desiring his assistance, and acquainting him that the case would admit of no deliberation. King JAMES, it seems, was far from approving the action; and indeed very much disliked the precedent of a people's taking upon them to depose one king, and advance another to the throne by their own authority. The Emperor at the same time, to terrify the Palatine and his adherents, caused a proscription to be published against them; wherein he declares, That FREDERICK Count Palatine of the Rhine, having made himself the head of a perfidious and rebel-

CHAP. lious crew in the kingdom of Bohemia, was guilty IV. of high-treason, and therefore requires all people to forsake him, discharges his subjects and vassals in the Palatinate from their allegiance to him, and commanding them that they give him neither aid or assistance, under the severest penalties.

The Emperor's generals also fell into the Palatinate, ravaging the country in a dreadful manner; whom the princes of the union, or evangelical league, endeavoured to oppose; and King JAMES was prevailed upon to suffer a regiment of English volunteers, consisting all of gentlemen almost, to join them. But this was too slender a reinforcement to support the interest of his son-in-law, and the Emperor's generals coming to an engagement with the Bohemian Protestants on the eighth day of November, 1620, entirely defeated them, and compelled the Prince Palatine, the new-elected King, with his Queen the Princess ELIZABETH, to fly into Silesia, and from thence afterwards into Holland, whereby he lost not only the kingdom of Bohemia, but the whole Palatinate. The Emperor, to reward the services of MAXIMILIAN Duke of Bavaria, who was his general in this war, called a diet at Ratisbon, where he caused him to be advanced to the dignity of Elector Palatine of the Rhine, in the room of FREDERICK V. The upper Palatinate was also conferred upon him; and the Emperor having executed great numbers of the malecontents in Bohemia, resumed the government of that kingdom, of which he had been crowned King in the life-time of the late Emperor; and the imperial family have ever since claimed Bohemia as their hereditary dominion, without suffering the nobility to have any share in the choice of their princes.

The Emperor FERDINAND III. succeeded FERDINAND II. his father, in the kingdom of Bohemia, anno 1637.

The Emperor LEOPOLD, son of FERDINAND III. succeeded to the crown of Bohemia, anno 1656.

The Emperor JOSEPH, the eldest son of LEOPOLD, succeeded to the crown of Bohemia, anno 1705.

The present Emperor CHARLES succeeded his brother JOSEPH in the kingdom of Bohemia, anno 1711. The present Emperor Charles.

These last princes being Emperors of Germany as well as sovereigns of Bohemia, I shall give a further account of their history when I come to treat of the state of Germany, and proceed at present to enquire into the antient and present constitution of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The first inhabitants of Bohemia of whom Antient and present constitution of the government. history makes any mention, were shepherds, and either of Scythian extraction, or led a wandering life like them, moving from place to place under their respective leaders, as they could meet with water and pasture for their cattle. ZECHUS first instructed the Bohemians in building, agriculture, and

An insurrection of the Protestant Bohemian nobility.

They elect Frederick V. Elector Palatine for their King.

CHAP. IV. and planting, about the sixth century, and thereupon was chosen chief of their tribes, a judge of their differences in time of peace, and their captain-general in war; but every leader continued to govern his own people, after they had divided the country amongst themselves, and remained fixed in settled habitations. Some affirm that CRACUS, who lived above an hundred years after ZECHUS, was their first judge; that till then every head of a family governed his own tribe, having no general arbiter of their differences till they elected CRACUS for that end; and that with him they joined several aldermen, or seniors of families, without whose assistance CRACUS, or his successors, could determine nothing of consequence.

Thus were they governed by CRACUS and his son, and afterwards by his daughter LIBUSSA, till she married PRIMISLAUS, who assumed a more absolute command, and obtained the title of Duke, or Great Duke of Bohemia, keeping the other petty sovereigns pretty much under his subjection. And thus were the Bohemians governed by the posterity and successors of PRIMISLAUS and LIBUSSA for four or five hundred years, till the Emperor of Germany, in the eleventh century, created Duke WRATISLAUS, or ULADISLAUS, King of Bohemia. And from that time the Emperors of Germany have insisted upon a right of investing the Kings of Bohemia in the government of that kingdom, and of rejecting those who have wanted that solemnity. Some of their princes 'tis true have since been elected by the Bohemian barons, or states, as they are usually called, and have governed that people without the Emperor's investiture or confirmation: but then the Emperor has created such Princes a great deal of trouble, and frequently deposed them; and at other times has appointed that nation kings, without the concurrence of the nobility or states; and for upwards of an hundred years past, the Austrian family have claimed the kingdom of Bohemia, with the incorporated provinces of Silesia and Moravia as their hereditary dominion, governing them by no other laws, but pure will and pleasure.

As to Silesia, this has been subject alternately to the Empire and to Poland, as the one or the other were able to maintain their title to it by the sword; but has at length by treaty most of it been confirmed to the house of Austria, and now constitutes part of the kingdom of Bohemia.

Moravia, tho' now divided into a marquisate, was anciently one of the most potent kingdoms of Europe; Poland, Bohemia, and Silesia, being all subject to it: but their King ZUANTAPOC, about the year 700, refusing to pay tribute to the Roman Empire, after a war of some years continuance, was subdued, and Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia made provinces of the Empire; and Moravia is at this day immediately subject to the

crown of Bohemia, except some small principalities which belong to Poland. CHAP. V.

From this abstract of the history of Bohemia, and the succession of their princes, it appears that every tribe was at first governed by its respective leader or sovereign; but that in order to prevent eternal strife concerning their civil rights at home, and to unite their forces in order to defend themselves against invasions from abroad, they found it necessary to elect a chief to be supreme judge of their controversies, and commander of their armies. These chiefs in time made their dominion hereditary, and assumed an arbitrary command over the rest of the Bohemian nobility for some hundreds of years; after which the Bohemian barons found means of re-asserting their former right of electing their princes, and being governed by their own laws, till the Austrian family again enslaved them, and rendered their crown hereditary, as it is at this day. But from this account of the crown of Bohemia being for several hundreds of years elective, we are not to understand that the common people had ever any share in the election of their princes; no, this was a privilege that the nobility ever reserved to themselves, as they do still in Poland. Their husbandmen, tradesmen and mechanicks ever were, and still are in a state of vassalage to their respective lords, who have the entire disposal of them, and administer justice as they see fit in their several courts: nor does the government ever intermeddle in their decisions, but in some extraordinary cases, where the state may be affected, or the life of the subject wantonly taken away. So that every lord is in effect a monarch in his own territories. The crown of Bohemia's being therefore elective, will be no precedent for our republicans, who assert that there can be no legal government where the prince or supreme magistrate is not elected by a majority of the people; for it is certain that not one in ten of the people had any share in the election of a sovereign (any more here than in Poland) even while Bohemia was an elective kingdom.

CHAP. V.

Treats of the language and religion of the Bohemians.

THEIR language, like that of the Poles, is a dialect of the ancient Slavonian: a tongue so copious and sweet, that their antient laws required the true pronunciation and orthography of it to be strictly observed, which was exceeding difficult, having the use of no other letters but the Runick character, which had a very imperfect alphabet, and was not at all fit for the polishing a language: but afterwards when Germany came to

CHAP. V. to have a more intimate correspondence with Bohemia, the Roman letters were introduced, and their language refined with more success. The modern Bohemians however are very remiss in this particular; and their nobility look upon it as beneath them to speak their native tongue, choosing rather the High Dutch, or a kind of gibberish, being a mixture of both these, and other foreign words.

Religion of
the Bohemians.

The Pagans, who antiently inhabited this country, adored chiefly their god **PRON**, the same with **THOR** among the Saxons, and **JUPITER** the Thunderer among the Greeks; but their devotion was afterwards transferred to another idol, named **SWANTO WIT**, whose chief temple stood at Wollin in Pomerania, then one of the largest cities in Europe.

Christianity was first introduced here about the year 890, by **METHODIUS**, a Greek prelate, which was the reason that the Pope's supremacy was not acknowledged here till a considerable time after.

About the year 1403, some scholars that had attended King **RICHARD**'s Queen, who was a Bohemian, to England, and conversed with **DR. WICKLIFF**'s disciples, having made themselves masters of his doctrine, and returning to their own country, communicated **WICKLIFF**'s works to the famous **JOHN HUSS**, a doctor of the university of Prague, who from these hints, began to reflect on the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome; and with **JEROM**, a master of arts of that university, afterwards stiled **JEROM** of Prague, began to endeavour a reformation, preaching publicly against the supremacy, and other tenets of that church, whereby they brought over great part of the Bohemian nation to their opinions. **DR. HUSS** and **JEROM** were hereupon summoned by the Pope to the council of Constance, in the year 1414, whither they refused to go however, till they had obtained the Emperor's passport for their protection. Here they endeavoured to defend their new doctrines before the council, but not to their satisfaction it seems; for the two reformers were convicted of teaching thirty articles, either heretical, seditious, or scandalous. They were condemned also as hereticks, and defenders of **WICKLIFF**'s doctrines; and, after being degraded, were delivered over to the secular powers to be burnt, notwithstanding the Emperor's promised protection. **HUSS**, after pronouncing the sentence, appealed first to God, and afterwards addressing himself to the Emperor **SIGISMUND**, reproached him for his breach of faith; to which 'tis said the Emperor gave no answer, being himself dissatisfied with the sentence, tho' obliged to humour the clergy in this particular. **JEROM** it seems retracted his pretended heresies, in order to save his life; but relapsing into the same opinions again,

was also condemned, and afterwards burnt at the stake. **CHAP. V.**

The deaths of these two reformers, so treacherously deprived of their lives, soon occasioned an insurrection among their Bohemian disciples, and upon their King **WENCESLAUS**'s publishing a proclamation, prohibiting the Hussites to assemble for divine service, the people rose, and having forced the town-house at Prague, threw the burgomasters out of the windows, with all those who assisted at the proclamation, while the mob without received them on their pikes and halberts in the streets, whereby many of the citizens were killed or wounded. They proceeded afterwards to demolish many churches and monasteries, with which Bohemia abounded beyond any other nation, the King **WENCESLAUS** not being able to prevent it, whereupon he sent to his brother, the Emperor **SIGISMUND**, for a reinforcement of troops, and retired from Prague to a castle in the neighbourhood for his security: but the Emperor being at this time engaged in a war with the Turks, neglected to send any succours into Bohemia.

The following year, anno 1419, King **WENCESLAUS** died, and his brother, the Emperor **SIGISMUND**, succeeded to the crown of Bohemia: but the war with the Turks still continuing, he contented himself with deputing some of his ministers to take possession of that kingdom, which increased the disaffection of the Bohemians, and made the party of the Hussites more formidable than ever. Their leader **ZISCA**, was a Bohemian nobleman, under whose conduct they performed many surprising actions. He assembled an army of forty thousand men, and possessed himself of the city and castle of Prague, and many other fortresses, while the Emperor's ministers were glad to accept of a cessation of arms, being unable to make any considerable opposition. The Hussites exercised their greatest severities against the clergy, whom they abused and plundered most unmercifully, sparing neither their churches or altars.

These outrages obliged the Emperor to summon most of the princes of the empire to his assistance, and to march into Bohemia at the head of a prodigious army; where, after various success for some time, **ZISCA** compell'd the Emperor to retire out of the country again, and leave it entirely at his devotion. But what makes this transaction the more remarkable is, that **ZISCA**, who was so named from having but one eye, had lost the other in an engagement with the Emperor's forces, and blind as he was, afterwards defeated his enemies in many considerable battles. But as something may be here ascribed to the name and presence of **ZISCA** in the army, a great deal of his success must however certainly be owing to the other generals, who had their eyes in their heads, for the sight is in no case so necessary as in a battle: but however that

CHAP. V. that was, the continual victories of the Hussites inclined the Emperor at length to treat with them, and to offer ZISCA honourable terms; but as he was upon the way to the imperial court, in order to put a conclusion to the treaty, he died of the plague upon the road in the year 1427. Upon the death of ZISCA, the Emperor renewed the war with the Bohemians again, but with no better success than before. The Hussites defeated his forces from time to time, being always victorious, till about the year 1435, when they crumbled into so many sects and parties, that their divisions soon effected what it was not in the power of the whole Empire to compel them to. But the grand dispute was between the nobility and commonalty, the one refusing to be governed or directed by the other, their feuds arose to that height, that they came to a pitch'd battle, wherein the nobility obtained the victory; after which they sent to the Emperor, to invite him to come and take possession of the kingdom; and the Emperor so managed the matter upon the treaty, that he persuaded the barons to be reconciled to the church of Rome; which point being gained, the common people were obliged either to renounce their principles, or fly their country; so that Popery in a short time became as firmly established as ever. Indeed the Bohemian nobility did obtain for the present, that they should receive the communion in both kinds; but the clergy were no sooner restored to the exercise of their functions, but either by persuasion or force, they compelled the Bohemians to give up this also. So that after a thirty years war in defence of their religion, they relinquished all they had been contending for. Some of them, 'tis true, rather than comply with the church of Rome, retired to the woods and mountains in Moravia and Silesia, where they were afterwards joined by the Waldenses, and formed a considerable body. At the reformation the Bohemians in general embraced CALVIN's doctrine, which made the Lutherans, as well as the Papists, their enemies; and the Bohemians having elected Prince FREDERICK V. Prince Palatine of the Rhine, for their King, in prejudice of the Emperor FERDINAND II. whom they had formerly recognized, as has been related already, they were fallen upon by the Emperor and the Lutheran Princes of Germany at once. The Palatine's forces were defeated near Prague,

anno 1620, Popery was again established in this kingdom, and no other denomination of Christians has been tolerated there ever since, except in the province of Silesia, where the victorious Swedes obtained for them the free exercise of their religion, and many other privileges; which have however been frequently infringed. CHAP. V.

Dr. NICHOLSON, speaking of the religion of Moravia, a province of Bohemia, seems to ascribe the misfortunes of the reformed churches on that side chiefly to that unbounded toleration and liberty of conscience they were indulged in. As soon, says he, as the synod of St. Brinn, which was assembled in the year 1608, to settle the affairs of religion, had made an edict, That every man should have liberty to regulate his faith according to the measure of faith which God had given him; each cobbler set up for a preacher of the word, and expounder of the scriptures. Whereupon the church was immediately confounded and broken into an irreconcilable medley and hotchpotch of sects and schismatics, viz. Hussites, Picards, Anabaptists, Arians, Flaccians, Trinitarians, Photinians, Lutherans, Calvinists, Dulcians, Lugentians, &c. So that fourteen several conventicles of different persuasions were assembled sometimes in one city, each of them asserting peculiar doctrines and tenets of their own, and denying all manner of communion in church-ordinances with the other thirteen. And what could be expected from this anarchy in the reformation, but the re-establishment of Popery, which accordingly happen'd?

As to the rise of the Picards, one of the sects above mention'd, we have the following account of them, viz. That one PICARDUS, a Flemming, travelling into Bohemia, and pretending to the like state of Perfection as ADAM enjoyed, drew multitudes of people after him, who from the founder of their sect were called Picards. They pretended to have no regard to marriage, and lived in an island to which they gave the name of Paradise, perfectly naked, without a rag of clothing. But the famous ZISCA above-mentioned, hearing of them, disturbed their tranquility, and invading their island, put most of them to the sword; but their sect however met with encouragement in Germany, Bohemia, and other kingdoms many years after.

THE PRESENT STATE OF HUNGARY.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the name, situation, and extent of this kingdom; and of the air, lakes, rivers, and mountains.

CHAP. I. **H**UNGARY, part of the antient Pannonia, received its modern name from the Huns, a Scythian nation, who planted themselves here about the third century; but Pannonia was of a larger extent than Hungary, comprehending besides part of the modern Hungary, the provinces of Servia, Bosnia, Sclavonia, part of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Croatia, and Carniola.

Situation and extent.

The modern Hungary is bounded by the Crapack, or Carpathian mountains, which divide it from Poland on the north: by Transilvania and Wallachia towards the east: by the river Drave, which separates it from Sclavonia on the south: and by Stiria, Austria and Moravia towards the west: extending from forty-five degrees thirty minutes to the forty-ninth degree of north latitude, and from the sixteenth to the twenty-second degree of longitude, reckoning from from the meridian of London.

The air,

The air of Hungary is very unhealthful, especially to foreigners; which is thought to proceed in part from the sudden alteration of the weather; the days being excessive hot, and the nights intolerably cold in summer. It has been called *Cæmisterium Germaniæ*, from the great mortality which usually happens among the German forces when they take the field. The nauseous vapours which arise out of this boggy and sulphureous soil, are looked upon to be another great cause of this unhealthfulness: but these noxious exhalations are not so common towards the north of Hungary, and along the banks of the Teyffe, as they are in the south, and near the Danube.

Lakes.

This country, tho' it lies at some distance from the sea, is well water'd by lakes and rivers. The most considerable lakes are, 1. The lake Balaton, or Platsee, about forty miles in length, lying on the west side of Hungary, between the Drave and the Danube. 2. The New Fidelfee, about twenty eight miles long, lying a little to the south-west of the island of Schutz,

The principal Hungarian rivers are first, the Danube, which entering Hungary on the west side, takes its course to the south-east as far as Belgrade, running near three hundred miles through this country, and forming several considerable islands, the largest of which is Schutz, a little below Presburg. 2. The Tibiscus, or Teyffe, which rising at the foot of the Carpathian mountains, takes its course first to the westward, and having pass'd by Tockay, turns to the southward, and falls into the Danube over against Salankemen. 3. The Drave, which entering Hungary on the west, runs almost directly east, till it falls into the Danube a little below the town of Esseck. 4. The Raab, which rising in Stiria, enters the west side of Hungary; and taking its course to the north-east, falls into the Danube near Komorra. 5. The river Gran, which rises in the Carpathian mountains; and running to the southward, falls into the Danube near the city of Gran. 6. The Waag, which rises also in the north of Hungary, and discharges itself into the Danube a little above Komorra.

These rivers are all of them well stock'd with fish, especially the Teyffe, a thousand carps here having been bought for the value of a crown; and in some places fish are so plentiful, that they feed their hogs with them. This prolific quality in the Hungarian rivers is ascribed to the hot exhalations which arise every where out of that sulphureous soil. And now we are speaking of the Hungarian waters, the many salutary hot baths this country abounds with, must not be omitted; tho' I shall treat more particularly of them when I come to describe Buda, and other cities famous for their baths. But besides these, there are several fountains of wonderful qualities; among which, a spring of vitriol water near Schmolnitz, which in a short time turns plates of iron into copper. Other waters there are, which if an animal drink of them it is immediate death.

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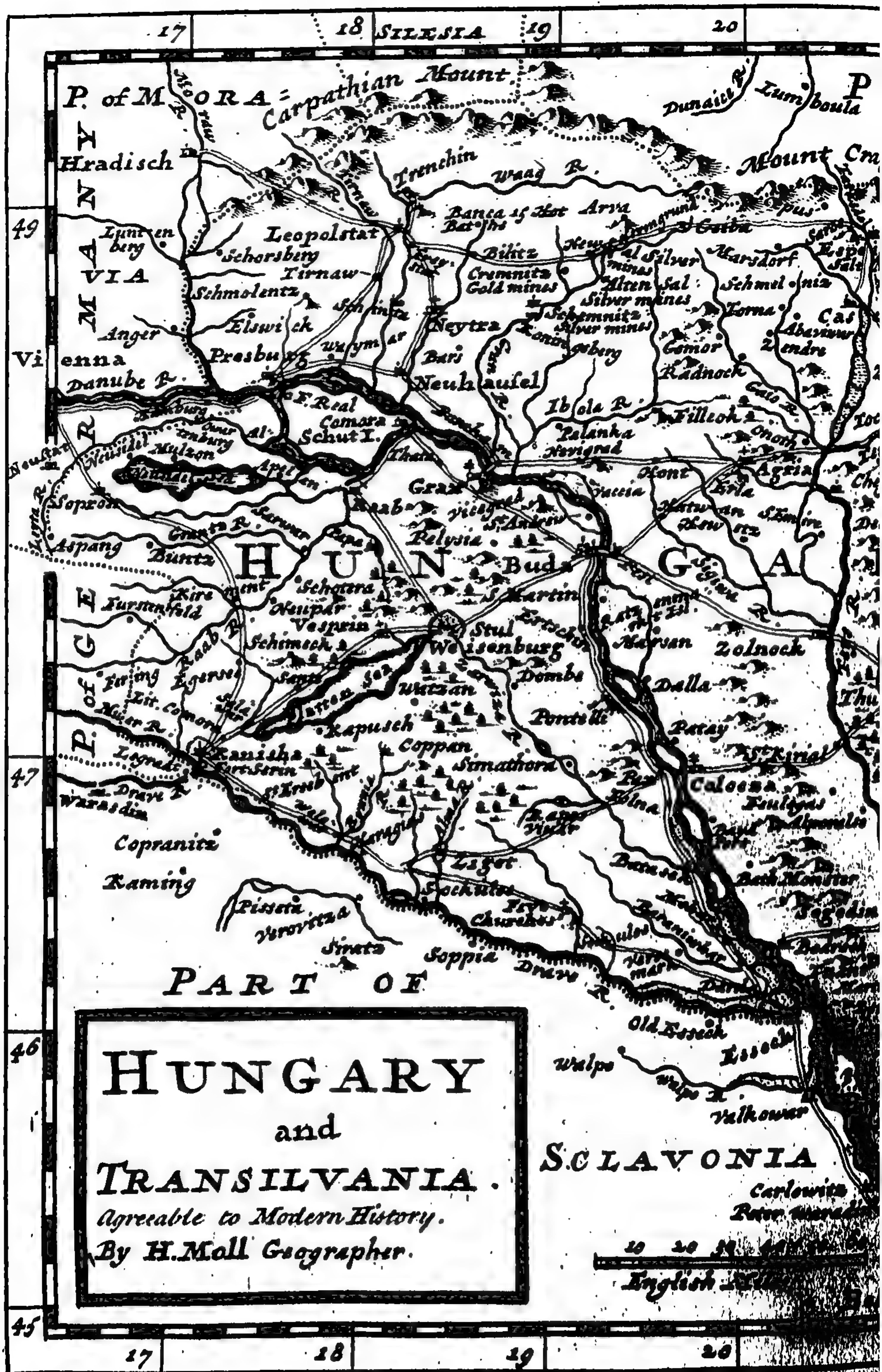
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CHAP. II. The Crapaek, or Carpathian hills are the most considerable mountains in this country, under which general name are comprehended all those hills which separate this kingdom from Poland, Moravia, Silesia, and some part of Austria. The people who live near it give it different names, according to the countries, or towns it passes by, as Kalemberg, Dulsberg, Delmberg, &c. The country along the Danube from Presburg to Belgrade is almost one continued plain; being a tract of near three hundred miles; and there are besides many other large and fruitful plains in Hungary, very little of it being taken up with woods or mountains.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the provinces, chief towns and mines of Hungary.

HUNGARY was antiently divided into counties, but the exact number of them is not easily learnt, much less the boundaries of them at this day; nor is this to be thought strange, Hungary having been a perpetual scene of war for some hundreds of years; and the provinces changing masters as the Christians or Turks happen'd to be successful, little regard was had to the antient division of the country. It is now usually divided into two parts, 1. the Upper, or Larger, which lies north-east of the Danube. And 2. the Lower, or Lesser, on the south-west side of the Danube. Upper Hungary is again subdivided into four governments, viz. 1. Presburg. 2. Bergstet, or the Berg Towns. 3. New-Hausel. And 4. Caschaw. Lower Hungary also is divided into three governments, viz. 1. that of Buda. 2. Raab. And 3. Canisia.

The chief towns in Upper Hungary are, 1. Presburg, the capital of the whole kingdom, where the states assemble; situate on the north side of the Danube, in forty eight degrees odd minutes north latitude, between forty and fifty miles to the eastward of Vienna. It stands in a pleasant fruitful country, and is well built, but of no great strength. The castle stands upon a neighbouring hill, and is fortified after the old way, with round towers; in one of which is kept the crown of Hungary, which, according to tradition, was presented by an angel to St. STEPHEN, their first christian king. 2. New-Hausel, situate on the river Nitrach, about thirty miles to the eastward of Presburg, and ten miles to the northward of the Danube. It is esteem'd a place of strength, but of no great extent, tho' it be the capital of a province. 3. Leopoldstat, a regular fortification, situate on the river Vagus, forty miles to the northward of New-Hausel. 4. Chremnitz, reckon'd the chief of the Berg, or mine towns, on account of its antiquity, is situate fifty miles to the north-

east of New-Hausel: the castle standing upon the highest ground in Hungary; but the town is most famous for its gold mine, said to have been wrought in above a thousand years. It is an hundred and seventy fathoms deep, and the vein runs ten miles in length. There have been found in this mine pieces of pure virgin gold; some whereof are to be seen among the Emperor's curiosities at Vienna. Near the town of Chremnitz also is a mine of vitriol fourscore fathoms deep. 6. Schemnitz, the most considerable of all the seven mine towns, is situate twenty miles to the southward of Chremnitz, and stands upon a rock, the buildings generally good, but the streets uneven. The air is very unhealthful, and the country barren, but the silver mines notwithstanding make it pretty much resorted to. The richest of these mines are two called the Trinity, and a third call'd the Windschat. The ore is rich, and most of it contains some gold, which they separate by melting the silver, and afterwards grinding it, and dissolving it in aqua fortis, made of the vitriol which comes from Chremnitz, wherein the gold subsides. These mines also afford crystals, amethysts and vitriol naturally crystalliz'd. 7. Newfol, or Bestricia, situate ten miles to the northward of Chremnitz, at the foot of a hill on the river Gran. It is chiefly remarkable for the copper mines near it, being the best in Hungary, and sometimes silver is extracted out of the copper. 8. Hern Grunt, situate about seven miles from Newfol, where the copper mines are so rich, that they yield from twenty to sixty pounds weight of copper in an hundred weight of ore. There are also several kinds of vitriol found in these mines, as white, green, blue, and a transparent red; and a green earth call'd Berg Grun, used in painting. Here are also two springs of vitriolate water, which in fourteen days turn iron into copper. 9. Esperies, situate on the river Tarkall near the frontiers of Poland, about an hundred and fifty miles to the eastward of Presburg, remarkable for its salt mines, in one of which the veins are so large that they dig out pieces of a thousand pound weight of pure salt. Near this place also are two poisonous fountains, the waters whereof kill any animal that tastes them, and are therefore walled up. 10. Caschaw, situate on the river Tarkall, or Taraza, twenty miles south of Esperies, a royal free town governed by the Emperor's deputy, which occasions a great resort of people of quality to it, and is become one of the best built towns in the country, notwithstanding the air is as unhealthful as any in Hungary. Their wine is also bad, and occasions many distempers; but being transported to Poland and other countries, in which great part of the trade of this place consists, loses its noxious qualities. 11. Agria, or Erlaw, situate on the small river

CHAP. II. Agria, in the middle of Hungary, sixty miles to the north-east of Buda, is a well-fortified town, and a bishop's see. The castle, which stands on the opposite side of the river, has been esteem'd one of the strongest fortresses in Hungary, but was taken and retaken several times in the former wars between the Turks and Christians. **12. Pest,** a large town, situate on the Danube, over against Buda, with which it has a communication by a bridge half a mile long. It is built of a quadrangular form, and affords a fine prospect at a distance. After the taking of Buda by the Imperialists, in the year 1686, this place follow'd the same fate, and was surrendered to the Emperor by the Turks. **13. Segedin,** situate on the river Teyssé, about sixty miles to the northward of Belgrade. It was taken by the Turks in the year 1552, and retaken by the Imperialists the same year Buda was retaken. **14. Temeswaer,** a strong frontier town, situate on the river Temes, between forty and fifty miles north-east of Belgrade, taken and retaken several times by the Turks and Christians; but has been in possession of the Imperialists, with the whole country about it, ever since the year 1718, and since confirm'd to them by treaty. **15. Zolnock,** a strong town, situate on the Teyssé, about sixty miles to the northward of Segedin, taken by the Turks in the year 1552, and recover'd by the Imperialists in the year 1685. **16. Montgatz,** situate near the borders of Poland, about fifty miles south-east of Esperies. It was formerly accounted impregnable, being built upon a steep rock, and consisting of three castles, one above another, the uppermost commanding those beneath, each of them encompass'd with a large ditch, and the whole surrounded by a morass. It was a great while obstinately defended by the Princess **RAGOTSKY**, wife of Count **TECKLY**, against all the power of the Imperialists; but the enemy continuing the blockade for some years, she was at length forc'd to surrender in the year 1688, for want of provisions. **17. Unghuar,** situate on the river Ungh, at the foot of the Carpathian mountains, near the frontiers of Poland, about forty miles to the eastward of Esperies, by some supposed to have communicated its name to the whole kingdom. **18. Tockay,** situate in a plain, at the confluence of the Teyssé and Bodrack, thirty miles to the eastward of Agria, famous for its excellent wine, of which they transport great quantities to Poland.

Lower Hungary. Buda. In the Lower Hungary the chief towns are, 1. Buda, formerly the capital of the kingdom, situate in 47 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, on the south side of the Danube, ninety miles south-east of Presburg. The city lies on the declivity of a hill, on the top whereof the castle stands, and is one of the strongest fortresses in Hungary, large and populous, and a place of good trade. The Impe-

CHAP. II. rialists took it by storm in the year 1686, after a siege of ten weeks. The duke of Lorrain commanded the siege; and besides the German forces, was attended by many noble volunteers from most kingdoms in Europe, and particularly from England, some of whom have since prov'd the greatest generals in Europe. The natural baths of Buda, **Baths.** says **Dr. BROWN**, who was there when the Turks were in possession of it, are the noblest in Europe; not only in respect of the large and hot springs, but in the magnificence of the buildings. Eight of these baths the doctor informs us he had an opportunity of viewing; the principal whereof are, 1. That call'd the bath of the green pillars, the water whereof is hot, but tolerable without the addition of cold water. It is impregnated with a petrifying juice, which discovers it self on the sides of the bath, upon the spout, and other places, and makes a grey stone. The exhalations of the bath reverberated by the cupola, form long stones like icicles, which hang down from the capitals of the pillars and irons which extend from one column to another, as is observ'd in some other subterraneous grotto's. The bath is of a round form, set about with large pillars supporting a cupola, which hath openings to let out the steams of the bath, and yet the whole room continues to be a hot stove. 2. The bath of Velibey, the noblest in Buda, which hath a strong sulphureous smell, and a petrifying juice, and is so hot that it requires a mixture of cold water to make it tolerable. The antichamber is very large, the bathing room capacious and high arch'd, and adorn'd with five cupola's; one a very fair one over the great round bath in the middle, and one less at each of the four corners, where are bathing rooms for private uses. Twelve pillars support the great cupola, between eight of which are fountains of hot water, and between the others are places to sit down, where the barbers and servants of the bath attend; and in each of these places are two cisterns of free stone, into which they let hot water and cold, to be mixed as every one likes. It is generally observed that the Turks are in nothing more neat and curious than in their baths; but when these places fall into the hands of the Christians they are pretty much neglected; so that it must not be expected that the bagnio's of Buda are kept in that exact order they were when **Dr. BROWN** was there, and the place was in the possession of the Mahometans. On the other hand, the Christians much improve their houses and private buildings, which the Turks altogether neglect, suffering the cities and towns under their government to run to ruin. When we have seen their temples, their bagnio's and caravansera's, there is very little else worth our notice in their greatest cities. 2. Gran, the ancient Strigonium, is situate on the south side of the Danube, over against Barchan, sixty miles south-east of Presburg, and thirty north-west of Buda;

CHAP. II. Buda; the see of an archbishop, who is primate of the kingdom. The city is divided into two parts, viz. the upper and lower city; the upper being built on the side of a hill, and the other along the banks of the Danube. The most considerable public buildings are the cathedral dedicated to St. STEPHEN, the archbishop's palace, and the castle. The town in general is well built and tolerably large, and is now in the possession of the Imperialists, as all the rest of the towns in Hungary are.

3. Komorra, situate at the east end of the island of Schutz, forty miles to the eastward of Presburg. It stands in a pleasant champaign country, almost surrounded by the rivers Danube and Waag, and has sustain'd many fruitless attacks by the Turks, when they were masters of the eastern part of Hungary.

4. Raab, a well fortified little city, and a bishop's see, situate on the southern branch of the Danube, that forms the island of Schutz. It stands about twenty miles south of Komorra, and has been in possession of the Imperialists ever since the year 1606.

5. Alba Regalis, or Stul Wieselberg, situate on the river Zawitza, in an inaccessible morass, about forty miles to the southward of Gran. Here the Hungarian Kings were crown'd and buried, till it was taken by the Turks in 1543. It has been in the possession of the Imperialists ever since the year 1688. These are the principal cities of Hungary, the rest will be seen in the map of the country bound up with this volume.

CHAP. III.

Treats of the genius and temper, persons and habits of the Hungarians; of their manner of travelling, and noble bridges.

The genius and temper of the Hungarians.

THE antient Hungarians met with much the same character from those who were then esteemed the polite part of the world, as people generally do now on our first acquaintance with them. There is scarce an instance of one nation giving another a better title than that of barbarous, with whom they have had but little conversation. Thus the nations who had the good fortune to receive Christianity before the Huns, tell us, that they were a savage people, wholly strangers to commerce and conversation, and used to cut and disfigure the faces of their children to make them appear terrible; so that they had no more the features of men than images carv'd on the publick buildings, which had suffer'd by the injuries of the weather. That they were bred up so hardily as not to stand in need of fire, and eat their meat without dressing. That they liv'd wild in the woods, having neither house, cottage, or hut to skreen them from the weather; and their cloathing was of the skins of wild beasts. That they neither manur'd

or planted their fields, or continu'd long in any one place, but rambled from one side of the country to the other. That they had no sense of morality, or of the nature of good and evil; nor were ever observ'd to exercise one act of religion. This is the character some zealous Christians have given us of the Pagan Huns. They seem loth to allow that any people out of the pale of the church can be endow'd with any good qualities; intimating that the rest of the world are bears and wolves, and can only be reduc'd from their fierceness and barbarity by embracing Christianity; which may in some measure be true: but that ever there was such an abandon'd race on the face of the earth, as they have made the antient Huns to be, I very much question.

The characters travellers give us of the modern Hungarians also is oddly compounded. They tell us, they are a brave warlike people, having stood as a barrier between Christendom and Turkey for upwards of two hundred years. That they are wise and politick, and zealous asserters of the Christian faith. On the other hand, they are charg'd with unfaithfulness and breach of leagues when they find it to their advantage, (which other christian Kings and States are often guilty of.) That they are an idle, slothful generation, which the abundant fruitfulness of the country inclines them to; as it does to excess in eating and drinking, even in the opinion of the Germans, who are not the most abstemious: but their most flagrant vice is said to be rebellion, while others look upon these frequent insurrections, as only noble struggles for their liberties.

The Hungarians are of a good stature and proportion, and have tolerable complexions, wearing fur caps on their heads, close-bodied coats girt about them with a sash, and over all they have their favourite cloak or mantle, which comes no lower than the hips, and is so contriv'd to be buckled under one arm, that the right hand is always at liberty. The colours they most affect in their clothes are red, blue, or green. Young gentlemen have usually feathers in their caps, a piece of pride said to be taught them by the Turks. The women of fashion as well as men, pretty much imitate the French mode; but neither the one or the other will leave off the short cloak or mantle. The women also throw a veil over their faces when they go abroad. The men shave their beards, but leave whiskers on the upper lip. Besides a broad sword, the usual arms of an Hungarian are an iron mace, with a round head furrow'd, and the balta made in the form of a hatchet.

Hungary being plentifully water'd with fine rivers, the usual way of travelling in summer is by water, and where they have not this conveniency, an open chariot drawn by two, three, or four horses abreast.

CHAP. III.

Persons and habits.

Their way of travelling.

CHAP. III. abreast, carries the traveller over this flat country with great expedition. They have also a very fleet breed of horses for riding, and never dock their tails, which are look'd on as a great ornament. The Hussars, or Hungarian troopers, whose pay is small, are very troublesome to travellers, robbing all they meet, where they can do it with any security. Nor are those numbers of sturdy gypsies that swarm in this country less dangerous, tho' they live in towns, and generally profess some handicraft trade. The wolves are another great disturbance on the road in the night time, especially where it happens to lie through a wood. And the dogs, when you approach a town upon the frontiers in the evening, come ready to devour a passenger, being turn'd out, it's said, on purpose to alarm the garrison, and prevent a surprize in the night time.

Bridges.

And now I'm upon the head of travelling, I cannot omit mentioning the noble bridges that are to be met with in this country, particularly the bridge of Esleek, built over the river Drave and the marshy grounds beyond it, being five miles long, and rail'd in with towers at every quarter of a mile's distance. This has been a pass much contended for in the Turkish wars, and occasion'd many smart engagements to gain the possession of it. There lies also a bridge of boats of half a mile long between Buda and Pest; and a third over the Danube between Gran and Barcan: but the bridge built over the Danube twenty Hungarian miles from Belgrade, far surpass'd all the rest, some of the ruins being visible at this day. It consisted of twenty piles of square stone an hundred feet in height, the basis whereof contain'd sixty feet on every side of the square. The distance between every one of these piles or pillars, was an hundred and seventy feet, and join'd together by arches, with this inscription, PROVIDENTIA AUG. VERE PONTIFICIS VIRTUS ROMANA QUID NON DOMAT? SUB JUGUM ECCE! RAPITUR ET DANUBIUS. And to perpetuate the memory of this bridge, many silver coins were stamp'd with this inscription, DANUBIUS.

There is no river in Europe, Dr. BROWN observes, that has so many large well-peopled islands as the Danube. One he mentions a little below Buda, forty miles long, and containing many villages. Another at the confluence of the Danube and the Drave; but the island of Schutz, which extends from Presburg to Komorra, and is surrounded by the Danube, is much the most considerable for the strength of the towns upon it, the fruitfulness of the soil, and the number of the inhabitants; which, as I remember, was given to the great Prince EUGENE by the Emperor, as a reward of his services upon his success against the Turks in the last war.

CHAP. IV.

Treats of the nature and produce of the soil: of their husbandry, cattle, and other animals; and of their manufactures.

NO soil can be more fruitful than that of Hungary, where it is free from woods and mountains, and there are not many of these. Their bread-corn is good, and yet so plentiful that it is six times cheaper than with us. Their grapes are large and luscious, and their wines, particularly those of Tokay, admired beyond any in Europe. The Hungarians improve their arable grounds by burning them, and instead of barns, in the war-time they made use of caves to lay their grain in, to conceal it as much as possible from the soldiers, and continue to lay it up in the same manner still in some places. But nothing better shews the fruitfulness of this country, than that it was able to subsist such vast armies as it did for many years together during the Turkish wars.

Nor have they less plenty of cattle than of corn and wine, selling incredible numbers of oxen every year into Germany, and other neighbouring countries; and such abundance of deer, game, and wild fowl are to be met with in their fields and forests, that none are restrain'd from taking them, even the peasants eat them as their ordinary food. The shoals of the best fresh-water fish in the world that are to be found in their lakes and rivers I have already mention'd, such as pikes, perch, carp, &c. which are so numerous, that some have imagin'd if their waters were divided into three parts, one third would be fish. Besides the cattle already mention'd, they have a good breed of buffaloes, which serve them in ploughing and husbandry. Their breed of horses are fleet but not large, and therefore more us'd for riding than drawing heavy carriages.

As to manufactures, I can't find they have any other than those of copper, and other hard wares; consequently their foreign trade is not very considerable: the exportation of their wines and cattle seem to be the best branches of it. That their trade is no greater may be ascrib'd to several causes, as first, their being an inland country at a distance from the sea. By the Danube indeed a very profitable navigation might be carried on to the coasts of the Black Sea, and even to the Mediterranean; but as the Turks are masters of the mouth of that river, nothing of that kind can be attempted at present: should the Emperor extend his conquests a little further, and make himself master of Wallachia and Bulgaria, the situation of Hungary would not lie much amiss for carrying on a trade between Asia and the German Empire: but what is the greatest discouragement to trade, is, that Hungary is look'd upon only as a province, and the imperial ministry, far from consulting the

CHAP. IV.

Soil and husbandry.

Cattle.

Game, Fowl and fish.

Manufactures and trade.

P. the good of the country, only wreck and impoverish the people to increase their master's revenue, and fill their own pockets; while they stop the mouths of the most popular Hungarian Lords with pensions or places.

CHAP. V.

Contains an abstract of the succession of their princes; and of their antient and modern history; and treats of the constitution of their government; and of the forces and revenues of the kingdom.

Hungary, like other countries, I find was at first divided into several little independant principalities, which united at length under one head, for their mutual defence. And the person they chose to be their leader was usually stil'd their Duke: most of the Hungarian writers relate, that the country was govern'd by fourteen of these Dukes successively, before the nation embrac'd Christianity; and that they exercis'd a sovereign jurisdiction over the people, tho' they did not assume the title of Kings. The last of these Dukes was GEYSA, who being converted about the year of Christ 1000, was baptiz'd by St. ADELBERT at Prague; and being old and infirm, with the consent of his people resign'd his government to his son STEPHEN: and their historians beginning with this Prince, give us the following table of their Kings.

1. STEPHEN, the son of Duke GEYSA, came to the crown about the year 1000.

2. PETER, STEPHEN's sister's son, succeeded to the crown, anno 1038; but being depos'd by his subjects, reign'd only four years, and was succeeded by,

3. ABAN, or OVAN, elected in the year 1042; but the people being no better pleas'd with this than their former monarch, assassinate him; after whom,

4. ANDREW, the brother of King STEPHEN, ascended the throne anno 1066; who in his lifetime procur'd his son SOLOMON to be proclaim'd his successor; but was succeeded by his brother,

5. BELA, who procur'd his brother ANDREW to be murder'd, anno 1071.

6. SOLOMON succeeded to the crown upon his uncle BELA's death, anno 1073; but GEYSA and LADISLAUS, the two sons of BELA, were admitted to be independant Princes in their respective provinces; and not contented with that, commenc'd a war against SOLOMON, in which he lost his life: whereupon,

7. GEYSA, the eldest son of BELA, ascended the throne anno 1704, and was succeeded by his brother,

8. LADISLAUS, anno 1077; who for his services to the church, is chronicled for a saint in the Hungarian calendar. Having two nephews,

the sons of his brother GEYSA, viz. BELA and CHAP. COLOMAN, he gave his crown by will to BELA V. the youngest, observing COLOMAN to be no favourer of the Christians; but BELA voluntarily resign'd to his eldest brother.

9. COLOMAN succeeded to the crown, anno 1095; but to secure his possession put out his brother BELA's eyes, and threw him into prison; he was succeeded by his son,

10. STEPHEN II. who ascended the throne anno 1114; but being soon weary of it, and retiring into a monastery, was succeeded by,

11. BELA the blind, who came to the crown anno 1132, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

12. GEYSA, anno 1141; after whose death his third son,

13. STEPHEN III. ascended the throne anno 1161; to whom succeeded,

14. LADISLAUS, the second son of BELA the blind, anno 1172; and after him,

15. STEPHEN III. fourth son of BELA, came to the crown anno 1172; but was depos'd within five months, and,

16. BELA III. the second son of GEYSA, was advanc'd to the throne anno 1173.

17. EMERIC, King BELA's son, succeeded him anno 1195; and was succeeded by,

18. LADISLAUS II. his only son, anno 1204; to whom succeeded,

19. ANDREW the brother of EMERIC, anno 1205; to whom succeeded,

20. BELA IV. ANDREW's second son, anno 1235; to whom succeeded,

21. STEPHEN his fourth son, anno 1260; who was succeeded by his son,

22. LADISLAUS, anno 1272; who being murder'd,

23. ANDREW King STEPHEN's son came to the crown, anno 1290; after whom,

24. WENCESLAUS, son to the King of Bohemia, was elected King, anno 1272; but his father finding the Hungarians a rebellious people, and continually inciting insurrections against him, after a reign of about six years re-call'd him. Whereupon,

25. OTHO Duke of Bavaria, was crown'd King anno 1305, by one of the factions, who with a great deal of difficulty maintaining himself on the throne about four years, was expelled the kingdom, and succeeded by,

26. CHARLES ROBERT, grandson of King STEPHEN V. anno 1310; who was a prosperous prince; and subjected Bulgaria, Servia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and many other principalities under his dominion; and was succeeded by his son,

27. LODOWICK, or LEWIS, anno 1342; who was also crown'd King of Hungary and Poland.

28. MARY, the daughter of LODOWICK, succeeded him anno 1382; but being very young, the

CHAP. the administration was left in the hands of her V. mother, whose conduct being disagreeable to the Hungarians, they elected,

29. CHARLES King of Naples, brother to King LODOWICK, anno 1383; who was murder'd by an assassin hir'd by the mother of the late Queen for that end; after whose death,

30. SIGISMOND, afterwards Emperor of Germany, who had married Queen MARY, was advanced to the throne of Hungary, anno 1387.

31. ALBERT, Archduke of Austria, marrying the only daughter of the Emperor SIGISMOND, succeeded his father-in-law, not only in the empire, but in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, anno 1438; who leaving no issue, but the Empress big with child,

32. ULADISLAUS, brother to the King of Poland, usurped the throne of Hungary, anno 1440; after whose death,

33. LADISLAUS, posthumous son of the Emperor SIGISMOND, succeeded to the throne, being an infant of five years of age, anno 1444; the administration during his minority being committed to the famous JOHN HUNNIAN, who perform'd such memorable actions against the Turks. Upon the death of LADISLAUS,

34. MATTHIAS CORVINUS, the son of HUNNIAN, was elected King anno 1458, in gratitude for his father's great services. This prince built the famous library at Buda; and died, 'tis said, in a fit of anger; after whose death,

35. ULADISLAUS, King of Bohemia, was advanced to the crown of Hungary by the favour of the late Queen, anno 1460; after whose death,

36. LODOWICK his son succeeded him both in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, anno 1516. He was a brave warlike Prince; but venturing to engage SOLIMAN Emperor of the Turks, with unequal numbers, was defeated, and falling into a morass with his horse loaded with armour, perish'd there, not being found till some weeks after the battle. To him succeeded,

37. JOHN Waywode of Transilvania, crown'd King of Hungary anno 1526; but driven from the throne by FERDINAND, brother to the Emperor CHARLES V. who had married ANNE the sister of King LODOWICK: however, SOLIMAN the Turkish Emperor restored him to the throne again; but his rival being supported by the Emperor CHARLES V,

38. FERDINAND, Archduke of Austria, was crown'd King of Hungary anno 1527; being afterwards elected Emperor of Germany.

39. MAXIMILIAN, eldest son to the Emperor FERDINAND, was crown'd King of the Romans, Hungary and Bohemia, anno 1564; during his father's life-time, and after his death advanced to the imperial throne.

40. RODOLPH, succeeded his father, the Em-

peror MAXIMILIAN in the kingdom of Hungary, anno 1576; but was wheedled, or frighten'd out of the kingdom of Hungary by his brother,

41. MATTHIAS, who ascended the throne anno 1612; and was afterwards elected Emperor. He was a severe persecutor of the Protestants, which occasion'd that insurrection in Bohemia, already mentioned in treating of that kingdom.

42. FERDINAND, Archduke of Austria, and grand-son to FERDINAND I. succeeded MATTHIAS in the kingdom of Hungary, as well as in his other dominions, anno 1618.

43. FERDINAND III. succeeded his father in the kingdom of Hungary, as well as in the empire, anno 1625; after whose death,

44. FERDINAND IV. his son came to the crown anno 1647; to whom,

45. LEOPOLD, the son of FERDINAND, succeeded anno 1658.

46. JOSEPH, son to the Emperor LEOPOLD, was crowned King of Hungary anno 1688, in his father's life-time; and the crown entailed by the states upon the heirs of his body.

47. CHARLES, the present Emperor, brother of the Emperor JOSEPH, succeeded to the kingdom of Hungary, and all his other hereditary dominions, on the 17th of April, 1711.

Upon perusing this table and the history of the Hungarian Kings, it appears that this crown has been at some times hereditary, and at others elective. That sometimes their princes have acted arbitrarily, and at others been limited and restrain'd by the states. That there have been innumerable struggles between the crown and the states; the crown contending to increase its power and prerogatives, and the states to enlarge their privileges, and put limitations on the prerogative. 'Tis surprising to find how many of their Kings have been deposed or murder'd, either by factious subjects, or ambitious rivals. And as no body will say that their Kings could by their constitution legally oppress their subjects and invade their properties; so neither will any one sure affirm, that king-killing is part of the constitution of this or any other kingdom. If the people indeed are vested with the supreme power, and Kings are but their officers, and accountable to them, they will have some pretence for resisting and dethroning them, when they apprehend they act contrary to the good of the community; and may without the imputation of parricide do justice upon them, in the language of our regicides, that the rest of the Kings of the earth may hear, and fear, and do no more so wickedly. But as our republicans go upon that mistake, that Kings can have no legal authority but what is conferred on them by the majority of the people, and therefore their Princes are always accountable to the majority of the people; and since there is scarce any instance in the world

CHAP. world that the majority of the people (the multi-
 V. tude) were ever consulted in the election of a monarch or supreme magistrate, their fancied power over their monarchs must be a mere chimæra; at least in all those countries where the supreme magistrate is not elected by a majority of the people; for if he received his authority from another hand, how is he accountable to them? unless it be said that all people in the world have and ever had, *jure divino*, an unalienable, undefeazible right to call their sovereign to account, depose, condemn, and execute him whenever they in their wisdoms conceive he does not promote the publick good. For shou'd it be admitted they have such an authority, does not every one know how incapable the inferiour part of mankind are of judging of the conduct of their princes: and notwithstanding the specious pretences of maintaining the people's rights and privileges by insurrections, and attempts upon the throne, does it not usually appear that some ambitious prince or nobleman is at the bottom of these conspiracies, and only flatters the rabble with the notion of their undoubted right to make and unmake kings, till by their assistance the conspirators have got into the saddle and obtain'd their ends, and then these noble patriots commonly laugh at the many-headed beast that has advanc'd them, leaving the people to labour under greater burthens than they did before; or perhaps loading them with insupportable taxes to maintain their own possession, pretending that their establishment and the people's happiness are inseparable? But surely no nation has ever suffered more in these struggles for power between the crown and the states than the Hungarians; for while one side called in the Emperor, the other called in the Turk to their assistance, and made their country a scene of war and bloodshed for upwards of two hundred years together, till in the end, the German Emperor has driven the Turks entirely out of Hungary, and reduced it to the form of a province. They have contended with their Princes about their rights and privileges till the imperial eagle has decided the controversy, by devouring both, and left them only the shadow of their ancient constitution. Their states or diet assemble like the parliaments of France, for form sake, or rather to record the arbitrary decrees of the Emperor, and by signifying their consent to them, take off the odium of every destructive scheme from the court, and derive it on themselves. By which means probably their chains are now so firmly riveted, that their slavery will be everlasting; unless another family should be elected to the imperial crown, and then they may possibly have another struggle for their dying liberties.

The election
and corona-
tion of the
Hungarian
Kings.

At the coronation of the Hungarian Kings, the people antiently used to assemble in the plain called

led Rackes, near Pest, (from whence a general assembly of the states is at this day called Rackos.) Here the bishops, the nobility, and the representatives of the several counties and cities having unanimously approv'd of the person propos'd for their King, who was usually the next in succession, he was conducted to Stuhl-Wiessenburg, or Alba Regalis, where he was presented to the people by the Palatine, who demanded three times whether they approved of the new-elected King; and having express'd their consent, he deliver'd a naked sword into the King's hand, which he brandish'd east, west, north and south: then he was attended to the great church, where the arch-bishop of Gran holding the regal robes in his hand, again demanded of the people whether they were satisfied with the King elect, and were willing to become his subjects; and receiving an answer in the affirmative, he proceeded to perform the usual rites observed at the coronation of their Kings; after which the prelates and nobility carry'd the arms and other reliques of King STEPHEN I. before the new King in a splendid procession to the palace. The crown of STEPHEN their first King is still preserv'd at Presburgh, with great veneration, or rather superstition; and no Prince is allow'd to be duely crown'd with any other crown. The Hungarians in general believe that the fate of their nation depends on the careful preservation of it, and in all their calamities took care to convey that to a place of security: nor have the Turks been less solicitous to make themselves masters of it, than the natives to preserve it, believing that the Hungarians would make no scruple of paying their allegiance to the Grand Seignior, if he cou'd once procure King STEPHEN'S crown to be set upon his head. The reason of this profound veneration for King STEPHEN'S crown has been already intimated, but I have since met with a more particular account of it, viz. that King STEPHEN having begun to propagate the Christian religion in his dominions, sent ASTRICUS, bishop of Colocza, to Pope BENEDICT VII. desiring his holiness to confirm him in his kingdom, and send him a crown and other regal ornaments. MYSCHA, Duke of Poland, having sent an embassy to Rome at this time on the same account, and a crown being provided for him, the day before it was to be sent away an angel appear'd to the Pope, and directed him to send the crown design'd for the Poles, to STEPHEN King of Hungary; which was done accordingly: and the Hungarians, who believe this tradition equally with any article of their faith, give this antique relick almost divine adoration.

The person of the greatest authority next to the King was the Palatine, or guardian of the kingdom, who arriv'd at that dignity by the election of the states. This officer had the first voice in

The Pala-
tine's powe

CHAP. V. the election of the King, was guardian to the infant Princes of the blood, had authority to assemble the states during an interregnum, to hear all petitions brought to the King, to confer with ambassadors and foreign ministers, and report their business to his majesty; and during a vacancy of the throne, to take the administration of the government into his hands.

Arch-bishop
of Gran.

The arch-bishop of Gran is the next great officer, being primate, Pope's legate, and chancellor of the kingdom; and presides in the assembly of the states, which is compos'd of the bishops, nobility, representatives of royal cities, &c.

Condition
of the com-
mon people.

The common people are vassals to their respective lords whose lands they live upon, whether they belong to the crown, to the clergy, the nobility or gentry, every lord of a manor is proprietor of the lands in his manor, as it was formerly with us, and the people who use them are his subjects, and receive justice in his courts, paying such rents and services as their lord is pleased to impose upon them. But these, though much the majority of the kingdom, never had any share in the government, or the election of their princes. It was indifferent to them whether the King or the nobility prevail'd, they always were slaves, and still are like to be so, having no liberties or properties but what are at the disposal of their respective lords.

Forces and
revenues.

The forces that this kingdom could and did raise when they were govern'd by their native Princes, were very considerable, as appears by the opposition they constantly gave the Turks, particularly when the famous Hunniades had the command of their armies. The Emperor at present raises what forces he pleases; but the revenue of the kingdom being computed at no more than an hundred and twenty thousand pounds, which arises chiefly from the mines and duties laid on cattle, and which perhaps is half of it taken up in paying the governours and great officers of the respective towns and provinces, and repairing the fortifications of the many garrison towns upon the frontiers, the forces maintain'd out of the proper revenue of Hungary are far from being sufficient to defend them against the Turks, but they will always stand in need of the assistance of the Emperor's other hereditary countries; so that Hungary probably does not bear its own charges at present, notwithstanding the various methods made use of by the imperial ministers to improve the revenue. And here we may observe once for all, that many kingdoms which made a considerable figure while they were govern'd by their own princes, after they have become provinces to a foreign power, have scarce been able to maintain the charges of the civil government, but been a burthen to the prince who has gain'd the dominion of them. The reason whereof I take to be,

that the eye of the prince being far remov'd, and the province oppress'd and exhausted by rapacious officers and tax-gatherers, who regard the making their own fortunes more than the improvement of the country; it fares as it does with a gentleman's estate which lies at a distance from him, whose stewards and agents usually roll in money, while the estate yields the owner little or nothing. Another great disadvantage is, that where the interest of any province comes in competition with that which is the seat of the government, and the residence of the sovereign, the distant province must be sure to suffer.

But to return to the Hungarian forces. Their horse are denominated Hussars, and their foot Heydukes. Several regiments of the former serv'd in Flanders in the late wars. Their horses are fleet and well manag'd, but of the smallest for troopers. The Hussars ride short, and rise in their stirrups when they make a stroke with their scimitars, to give the blow the greater force. But these troops are by no means equal to the English or Danish horse, whose weight alone will bear them down.

The Heydukes are very far from being good foot, compar'd with regular troops; but take them as an undisciplin'd militia, and few nations perhaps can produce a better. They still retain the Pyrrhical dance, with naked swords in their hands, brandishing them, and putting themselves into an hundred terrible postures, advancing, retreating, turning and winding about with great activity, and singing all the while to their own measures.

CHAP. VI.

Treats of the language, learning and religion of the Hungarians.

THERE is scarce any resemblance between the Hungarian language and that of any other people, except the Hebrew, which is govern'd by points and accents, as this is; the least variation of an accent or vowel alters the sense of a word. This independency on other languages makes it learnt with difficulty; and few foreigners attempt it: the natives therefore for the sake of commerce, and conversing with their neighbours, especially those of Poland, are bred up to have a tolerable understanding of the Latin tongue. There is scarce a peasant or mechanick in some parts of Hungary, but will be able to maintain a conversation in this language; I suppose in the same barbarous manner that Latin is spoken by the Dutch, who seldom trouble themselves about mood, tense, or concord.

Notwithstanding the Hungarians do not want parts, it is observ'd that this country has produced but few men of learning; and that there are no

CHAP.
VI.

no considerable schools or universities in the country; the reason whereof is said to be, that Hungary has been almost a perpetual scene of war. St. JEROME and St. MARTIN indeed were natives of this country, but had their education elsewhere, as all those have of late years who have apply'd themselves to letters; they resort either to the universities of Vienna, Prague, or Breslaw, for their education.

Religion.

The antient inhabitants of this country, it is said, had scarce any devotion but what they paid to their sword, which they look'd upon as the great preserver of their country, and the terror of their enemies.

The Christian religion was introduced here about the year 1000, by King STEPHEN, as has been taken notice of already. The Hussites of Bohemia propagated their opinions here in the fifteenth century; and in the sixteenth LUTHER's doctrine prevail'd: but they were like their neighbours of Bohemia, divided into a multitude of sects, some of them not easily defensible; however, all of them under the name of Protestants, generally join'd the other malecontents and the Turks against the Emperor of Germany, their sovereign, and maintain'd a war against him for many years. In the late wars between the confederates and the French, they pretty much embarrass'd the affairs of the confederacy under the conduct of Prince RAGOTSKI and BEREZINI, the Emperor being obliged to withdraw part of his troops from the confederate army to make head against them. RAGOTSKI, tho' he had been so long the defender of the Protestant interest in Hungary, as he pretended, was perverted to popery by the Jesuits in his declining years, while he resided in Turkey. By the last treaty of peace between the Emperor and the Grand Signior, in the year 1718, nothing was stipulated in favour of the Protestants and other malecontents; but on the contrary, the Turks engag'd that neither RAGOTSKI, BEREZINI, Count FORGATZ, or any of their leaders should be permitted to approach the frontiers of Hungary: so that the poor Protestants of that kingdom are now left entirely to the mercy of the Emperor, and have nothing to depend on but the intercession of the Princes of their communion to his Imperial Majesty.

The reason
the Empe-
ror's arms
make no
greater
progress in
Turkey.

Hungary is now entirely rescued out of the hands of the Turks, and Christianity the only religion profess'd in any of its provinces; and might have been so much sooner if the Protestants of Hungary, who were very numerous, had not had reason to apprehend greater severities from the Imperialists than from the Grand Signior. For such is the usage of the Roman catholicks, wherever they prevail, that they will admit of no other denomination of Christians to live amongst them: whereas the Turk, like the Dutch, allows liberty

of conscience to all, only requiring of his subjects that are not of the establish'd religion a trifling tax, which is scarce felt by them. Walachia and Moldavia also had long since thrown off the Mahometan yoke, if they could have expected better quarter from the Christian Princes of the west than they meet with from the Grand Signior: for being all of the Greek communion, they know from a multitude of precedents, that the first step that will be taken after their putting themselves under the protection of any Christian power, will be to make them renounce the Greek church and conform to the Latin, as the Venetians were attempting to do in the Morea; which gave a general disgust to that people, and occasioned the sudden loss of that province in the late war. Another thing which puts a great stop to the progress of the Emperor's arms in Turkey is, that the Princes of Europe are jealous of the growing greatness of the Austrian family; and think themselves safer while Romania, Greece, and other Turkish provinces in Europe are under the dominion of the Grand Seignior, than if they were in the possession of the Emperor, who would then be in a capacity of giving law to the rest of the Princes of Europe: and being master of Constantinople, the Black-Sea, and the Archipelago, would be able to put what limitations he pleas'd on the Turkey trade; and indeed to ingross the whole to himself. What could have hindred the Imperialists after the taking of Belgrade and Temeswaer in the late war from marching to the very gates of Constantinople, if the English and Dutch had not interpos'd their mediation; and the English by the virtue of the services they had done, and were doing for his imperial majesty in Italy and Sicily, prevail'd with him to be content with the countries he had gain'd the possession of? The Turks thought themselves infinitely oblig'd to the English and Dutch for the services they did them in this particular; for they look'd upon their European dominions to be in a very desperate condition. But the truth is, we had no desire to see the Imperialists approach nearer to the shores of the Black-Sea and the Mediterranean.

As to the advancement of the Christian religion, and destroying the Mahometan empire; this, the Princes of Europe do not much concern themselves about at present. They might if they pleas'd in one campaign, drive the Turks over the Hellespont: or the Emperor would do it alone, if they would sit still and not attack his dominions on this side. But what, say they, shall we get by this, but hazard the raising another universal monarch, who will at best treat us as his tributaries? whereas the Turk is already so low, that we have little to apprehend from him: on the contrary, he may be of great use to us if any aspiring monarch in Christendom should attempt

CHAP. VI. tempt to enslave the rest. And it has been frequently said of late, that in case of a religious war in Europe, the Turk may probably prove a good Protestant, or at least an allie to the Protestants: nay, the Emperor has already complain'd that some Protestant powers have endeavour'd to incite the Grand Signior, the great enemy of the Christian name, to invade his dominions: in which, say some, there may be no great hurt neither; for did not the French do the same when they were engaged in a war with the confederates? But to proceed to the Hungarian antiquities.

Antiquities.

The Romans having been a great while masters of Hungary, there are every day found here Roman coins, medals, and other monuments of antiquity. It seems the Emperors AURELIAN, PROBUS and GRATIAN were born in Pannonia: and a great number of Latin inscriptions are still to be seen in the country. CUSPINIAN observes, that a better account may be collected of eight Emperors and Kings from the medals and inscriptions which are found in Hungary, than was

ever given us by the best historians. And Zamosius affirms there are coins to be met with here, that give us the true portraitures of LYSIMACHUS, ALEXANDER the great, PHILIP of Macedon, DARIUS, and other antient heroes. Near the town of Deva NATALIS COMES relates, that the peasants found a great quantity of these antient medals of gold, which were discover'd by a sudden torrent; each of these, to the number of many thousands, weigh'd two or three crowns a-piece, and had on one side the image of LYSIMACHUS, and on the reverse VICTORIA. And with these medals were found a golden serpent, it being a custom among the antients to bury a serpent with their hidden treasures, signifying thereby a faithful keeper.

The arms of ATTILA the Hun, once sovereign of this country, are said to have been Gules, a falcon display'd, Or, membred and crown'd Argent. But the arms of the kingdom at this time are barrenise of eight Gules and Argent.

Arms.

THE PRESENT STATE OF TRANSILVANIA.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the name, situation, and extent of Transilvania; and of the air, springs, rivers, and mountains.

CHAP. I. **T**RANSILVANIA, part of the antient Dacia, was so call'd by the Romans, from its being situated beyond those forests which separate it from Hungary and Walachia. It is called also by the natives Erdely, or Ardeli, which in their language signifies a wood, or forest; and by the Germans Sieben Burgen, alluding to the seven fortresses, or strong places, which were erected in different parts of the country by the antient Pannonians, to keep the inhabitants in subjection.

Bounds and extent.

It is bounded by the Crapack or Carpathian mountains, which divide it from Poland towards the north; by Moldavia towards the east, from which it is also separated by a long ridge of hills; by Walachia and part of Hungary on the south, and by Hungary towards the west: extending from forty-five degrees odd minutes to forty eight degrees north latitude, and from the twenty-second to the twenty-fifth degree of longitude, reckoning

from the meridian of London: being about forty leagues in length from north to south, and about as many from east to west.

The air is excessive hot in summer, the country being surrounded by woods and mountains; but not quite so unhealthful as in Hungary. Their springs are unwholesome, which is said to proceed from their passing thro' a sulphureous soil. The principal rivers are, 1. The Alt, or Atlanta, which rises in the Carpathian mountains, and falls into the Danube; being by the last peace made the boundary between the German and Ottoman empires on the north side of the Danube. 2. The Marosch, or Merish, which arises also in the Crapack mountains, and falls into the Teyffe. 3. The river Samos, which rising near Clausenberg, takes its course to the north-west, and having passed near Tockay in Hungary, falls into the Teyffe not many leagues below it. Besides the mountains

CHAP. I.

The air.

Springs, rivers, and mountains

ains

CHAP. I. tains already mentioned on the confines of this country, there are several other hills of less note, covered with woods in the middle of the country.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the provinces and chief towns in Transilvania.

Provinces and chief towns, inhabited by four different nations.

IN this country inhabit four several people, very different in their original, as well as in their language, laws and customs: but all united under one prince. The first stile themselves Saxons; supposed to be a colony of the antient Transilvanians, or Dacians, who are possess'd of the province called Sieben Burgen, or Seven Towns, containing near two thirds of the country. 2. The Siculi, the posterity of the Huns, who inhabit the north-east, near the Crapack mountains. 3. The Hungarians, who reside towards the confines of Hungary and Walachia. And, 4. The Cingars, or Gypsies, who pitch their tents all over the country; a sort of licens'd thieves and pick-pockets; who having done some service to a Transilvanian Prince, obtained extraordinary privileges; and pretend some of them to be descended from the Transilvanian Waiwodes: But they have this to recommend them beyond our vagrants of the same kind, that they will often work hard, especially as smiths and tinkers, and procure a living that way when fortune-telling grows dull.

Saxon part.

That part of the country inhabited by the Saxons, is subdivided into five counties, viz. 1. Altland. 2. Landvordenwald. 3. Bruckland. 4. Veinland. And, 5. Nosnerland. But the particular bounds of these counties I don't find any where described, and therefore must content myself with enquiring into the situation of their chief towns.

Hermanstat.

And, 1. Hermanstat, the capital of Transilvania, is situate in the middle of a large plain on the banks of the little river Cibun, in the latitude of forty-six degrees, odd minutes, about fourscore miles north-east of Temeswaer. It was antiently the seat of their princes, as it is now of the governour of the province; and is the see of a bishop, suffragan to the archbishop of Colocza in Hungary. The place is esteemed strong, and the houses well built, the streets broad enough to admit of canals in the middle of them, which are filled by the neighbouring river. The courts of judicature for the Saxons are held here; and they have a pretty good trade in cloth and mead. The air is unhealthy; but the reigning distemper is the gout, from which few are free; said to proceed from a particular sort of wine made hereabouts. 2. Cronstat, or Corona, situate about fifty miles to the north-east of Hermanstat, is pleasantly situated in the midst of vineyards; and tolerably well fortified. The citizens are all Saxons, without the

least mixture of Hungarians, or any other nation; so that here their language is spoken in the greatest purity. 3. Fogaras, a small city on the river Atlanta, twenty-five miles to the westward of Cronstat. 4. Segeswaer, or Schesberg, situate on the banks of the river Cockle, thirty miles to the northward of Hermanstat, usually compared to Buda; one part of it lying on the side of a hill, and the other on the banks of the river. 5. Megies, situate on the river Cockle, seventeen miles south-west of Segeswaer, in a plain full of vineyards, from whence the country is called Wine-Land. 6. Nosenstat, or Bistricia, situate near the Crapack mountains, fourscore miles to the northward of Hermanstat; four miles from whence lie the gold mines of Rodna. 7. Clausenburg, olim Claudiopolis, situate on the river Samos, fifty miles north-west of Hermanstat; a large populous place where the states of Transilvania used to meet.

The division inhabited by the Hungarians, contains five counties, viz. 1. Alba Julia. 2. Huniad. 3. Thorda. 4. Dohoka. And, 5. Zatmar. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Alba Julia, called by the Germans Weissenburg, situate on the river Lompay, twenty-five miles west of Hermanstat. It received its name from JULIA AUGUSTA, mother of MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS PIUS: and was the capital city of the kings of Dacia, and at that time twenty miles in circumference. 2. Deva, situate twenty eight miles south of Weissenburg; remarkable for its excellent wines, and for the pass near it thro' the iron gate mountains, formerly of great consequence, till the imperial frontier was extended beyond it by the last peace.

Hungarian quarter.

Weissenburg

The country of the Siculi is situated on the north-east part of Transilvania; and contains seven counties, viz. 1. Markozeck. 2. Girgio. 3. Utvarthel. 4. Chick. 5. Kisdi. 6. Orbay. 7. Schepfi. Their capital towns being of the same names; but do not seem worth a particular description.

The Siculi

CHAP. III.

Treats of the nature of the soil, corn, fruits, minerals, cattle, trade and manufactures of the Transilvanians; and of their habits and customs.

THE soil of Transilvania is exceeding fruitful: the wheat esteem'd the best in Europe; and so plentiful, that the peasants eat no other bread: barley does not suit their soil so well, and therefore they brew little beer; but that defect is supplied with plenty of good wine, inferior only to that of Hungary. In their meadows and pastures they feed vast herds of large oxen, which encrease so upon them, that a fat ox may be purchased for the

Cattle.

CHAP. III. the value of twenty shillings in the country, but driven to market into Austria, will yield twelve or fifteen pounds. They have also a good breed of horses, very much esteem'd by foreigners. Their woods afford plenty of bees and honey, with which they make a sort of mead, which is highly valued, mixing the honey with several other pleasant ingredients. Their forests abound with all kinds of venison, deer, wild boars, hares, &c. Their hares much larger than with us, and a more valuable fur. They have also wild horses of incredible swiftness, whose mains hang almost down to the ground. Some parts of the country are infested by wolves and bears, which run together in herds, and in hard weather do great mischief among their cattle. But to conclude this head, says my author, the country is so well provided with all manner of necessaries and conveniences, that either the fields, woods, rivers, hills, or plains can afford, that there seems great reason for the antient draughts on TRAJAN's medals; whereon the goddess CERES was represented with a cornucopia in her right-hand, and in her left a table with this inscription, *Abundantia Daciae*.

Minerals. The Transilvanians have some mines of gold, and other metals in their mountains, but not so many as in Hungary. Their chief mines are either at Sculatti, or at Rimli Dominurdztz, in the last of which there have been found large lumps of virgin gold, which has been coin'd without purifying; and gave occasion for striking the old Roman medal still to be met with, on which Dacia was represented by a goddess with a book open in her right-hand, wherein was written *Aur. pur.* or pure gold. Their best silver mines are near Offera and Radna, where are also several copper mines, in which they sometimes meet with a vein of gold. There is plenty of steel at Cyck, and of iron at Thorosch and Huniad; and they frequently meet with brimstone and isinglass in their copper mines. They have also such quantities of rock salt in the county of Maromarus, that they export it to other countries.

Salt.

Manufactures.

Trade.

The only manufacture besides those of copper, iron and steel, is that of cloth, of which they do not export any great quantities. What they send abroad is chiefly fat cattle, wine, mead, rock salt, copper and iron wares; and a country so well stock'd with all manner of provisions and necessaries, was it under the government of its own prince, must make a tolerable figure in the world; but being a distant province belonging to the German Emperor, notwithstanding all these extraordinary advantages, Transilvania is scarce ever mention'd as part of Europe; and our people know less of it than of the remotest countries in the East or West-Indies.

Habits and customs.

The habits of the Saxons of Transilvania, are a waistcoat, over which they wear a short loose coat

lined with fur: their breeches and stockings fit close to the leg and thigh, and are all of a piece; the heels of their shoes are made of a plate of iron; and on their heads they wear a kind of dragoon's cap lined with fur. By their drinking, says my author, one would think them related to the Saxons of Germany; for they never look upon themselves to be acquainted with a man till they have been drunk with him; and at a drinking match, while the musick plays, they keep time with their cups by striking them one against another.

CHAP. IV.

They celebrate their funerals in much the same manner as the Irish do. Their women in a dismal howl, recite all the memorable passages in the life of the deceased; expressing by their tears, sighs and groans the utmost despair and sorrow for their loss.

As to the Hungarians who inhabit this country, I find nothing different in their manners, or habits, from those of Hungary: and the Siculi are chiefly taken notice of for their ridiculous pride, like the Welch, they all pretend to be descended from some antient noble family: not a husbandman or shepherd but assumes a title of honour very unsuitable to the meanness of his fortune and employment. As to the Cingars, or Gypsies, who inhabit this country, these are a vagabond race, already described at large in treating of Egypt and other parts of Turkey.

CHAP. IV.

Contains an abstract of the antient and modern history of the Transilvanians, and the present state of religion there.

TRANSILVANIA, as has been observed, is only the western part of the antient Dacia, which comprehended Moldavia and Walachia, (now tributary to the Turk, and described in Turkey) as well as Transilvania. History of Transilvania. LYSIMACHUS, one of ALEXANDER's generals, was the first who subdued this people, but has left us no account of their manners and customs, or form of government. The next time we hear of them, is from JULIUS CÆSAR, when they made frequent incursions into the Roman territories. CÆSAR repulsed their forces, and compelled them to become tributary to the Roman state during his administration; but in the reign of AUGUSTUS they broke in upon the empire again; and LENTULUS being sent against them, fortified the southern banks of the Danube, as the best means to prevent their incursions for the future. The Emperor TRAJAN defeated their last King DECABALUS, who threw himself upon his sword on the loss of the battle; and his country was reduced to the form of a province: but the Dacians

CHAP. IV. cians afterwards making frequent insurrections, the Emperor AURELIAN transplanted the Roman colonies, and the civilized natives to the southern side of the Danube, about Bulgaria and Servia; from whence that country obtained the name of New Dacia. Old Dacia, of which Transilvania was part, being thus deserted by the Romans, the best part of the natives was subdued by the Goths, who kept possession of it till they were driven over the Danube by the Huns, who became lords of Transilvania and Hungary much about the same time. STEPHEN, the first King of Hungary, subdued Transilvania, and introduced Christianity there; after which it was reputed a province of the kingdom of Hungary, and governed by an Hungarian viceroy, stiled in their language a Waiwode; and thus Transilvania was governed from about the year of our Lord 1000, to the year 1526; when LEWIS King of Hungary dying without issue male, JOHN Waiwode of Transilvania was by a faction elected King of Hungary, in opposition to FERDINAND, brother to the Emperor CHARLES V. JOHN, not finding himself a match for the Emperor, first fled into Poland, where having remain'd some time, SOLYMAN Emperor of the Turks invited him to return to Transilvania, promising to support his interest: whereupon JOHN assumed the title of Prince of Transilvania, independant of Hungary, agreeing at the same time to pay a small tribute to the Turk, by way of acknowledgment for his protection. After the death of this Prince, his son JOHN succeeded him in the principality of Transilvania, and was also elected and crown'd King of Hungary, which occasioned a bloody war between the Emperor and the Turk, who supported JOHN; but a truce being concluded for eight years, Hungary was yielded to the Emperor, and Transilvania confirmed to Prince JOHN; who dying without issue, STEPHEN BATHORI succeeded him, and was afterwards elected King of Poland. When his brother CHRISTOPHER BATHORI succeeded him in the principality of Transilvania. After whose death, SIGISMOND his son succeeded to the principality; and throwing off his subjection to the Turk, entered into an alliance with the Emperor RODOLPH; by whom he was admitted to a vote in the diet at Ratisbon, and declared a prince of the Empire, on condition that on failure of issue the principality of Transilvania should be re-annexed to the crown of Hungary; but SIGISMOND afterwards quarrelling with the Emperor, was driven out of his principality. After him SIGISMOND RAGOTSKI took upon him the title of Prince; but finding himself unable to contend with the Emperor, soon

after resign'd it. Whereupon GABRIEL BATHORI assum'd the government; and to secure his possession put himself under the protection of the Turk. To him succeeded BETHLEM GABOR, who being supported by ACHMET the Turkish Emperor, he enter'd into a war with the Emperor FERDINAND II. in behalf of FREDERICK Count Palatine of the Rhine, elected King of Bohemia, and made himself master of a good part of the kingdom of Hungary and Moravia; and dying in the year 1629, the states complimented his widow with the principality; but she finding herself unqualified for the high office, resign'd the principality to Prince GEORGE RAGOTSKI, who, under the protection of the Turk, engaged in a war with the Emperor. To whom succeeded GEORGE RAGOTSKI II. his son, but the Turks proclaimed ACHATIUS BARTCHAY Prince of Transilvania in his life-time; and afterwards beheading ACHATIUS, JOHN KIMEN was elected Prince by the states; but the Turks refusing to confirm him, he was cut in pieces by their faction: and MICHAEL ABAFFI succeeded him, anno 1661; who, with the consent of the states of Transilvania, resign'd this principality to the Emperor of Germany, as King of Hungary, for ever; as appears by an act of that Prince and the states, dated at Hermanstat, anno 1688: and the Imperialists immediately put garrisons into all the fortified towns. Upon the death of ABAFFI, anno 1690, the Emperor appointed the Prince his son Waiwode of the country, in opposition to Count TACKELI and the Ottoman Port. And the principality of Transilvania remains now incorporated with the crown of Hungary under the imperial protection; and by the treaty of Carlowitz and Passerowitz, this principality was confirmed to the Emperor by the Turks.

The established religion in Transilvania is the Roman Catholick, as in all the rest of the Emperor's hereditary dominions; but here are great numbers of Lutherans, Calvinists, and other Protestants of all denominations, who are great sufferers on account of their religion: the severity exercised towards them has been one occasion of the many insurrections here, as well as in Hungary. But the mischief is, that when any of the Protestant powers of Europe interpose in their behalf, and desire that they may enjoy the same privileges with his imperial majesty's other subjects, they are answer'd by another request, namely, that the Papists in Protestant countries may enjoy equal privileges with the Protestants; which when the Protestant princes think fit to comply with, possibly their brethren in the Emperor's hereditary dominions will be indulged in like manner.

Gabriel Bathori.
Bethlem Gabor.

George Ragotski.

George Ragotski II.
Achatius.

John Kimen.

Michael Abaffi.

Transilvania incorporated with Hungary.

Religion.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE Frontier Provinces of the Empire.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the province of Slavonia.

CHAP. I. **U**NDER the head of Slavonia I include Ratzia, which is only the south-east part of this province, so denominated from one of the counties or subdivisions call'd Ratzen, and the people Ratzians, or rather Rascians, in the accounts we receive from those parts. The antient Slavonia contain'd many large countries; some extended it from the Adriatick almost to the Euxine sea, but I don't find any two writers agreed as to its dimensions; however, certain it is the Slavonian language obtain'd, and is still spoken in many kingdoms of Europe.

Boundaries and extent.

Face of the country and soil.

Chief towns.

Posega.

Walpo.

The modern Slavonia is bounded by the rivers Drave and Danube, which separate it from Hungary, towards the north and east; by the river Save, which divides it from Servia and Bosnia on the south; and by Stiria on the west; and is computed to be upwards of two hundred miles in length, and between fifty and sixty miles in breadth. The air is good, the country for the most part level, and not too much incumber'd with woods and mountains, but exceedingly well water'd by those noble rivers above mention'd, namely, the Danube, the Drave, and the Save; besides many lesser streams, from whence we might conclude it to be a very fruitful country; but as it was for many years a frontier between Turkey and Christendom, it has not been cultivated and improved as it ought to have been.

The bounds of the respective counties or subdivisions of this province having been so often alter'd in the wars between the Turks and Imperialists, I shall content my self with describing the situation of their chief towns, which are all now under the dominion of the Emperor: and 1. Posega, the capital of the province, and of a county to which it gives name, is situate in the latitude of 45 deg. odd minutes on the river Oriana, fifteen miles north of the river Save, and a hundred and twenty to the westward of Belgrade. It contains about a thousand houses, and is a place of good trade, having about four hundred villages under its jurisdiction. 2. Walpo situate on a river of the same

name, thirty five miles north-east of Posega. 3. Esseck, famous for its bridge near the confluence of the Drave and the Danube, which has been already describ'd in treating of Hungary. 4. Walcowar, about twenty miles to the southward of Esseck. 5. Ilock, ten miles south-east of Walcowar. 6. Peterwaradin, situate on the Danube, between forty and fifty miles south-east of Esseck; a well fortified town, and the frontier of the Turks after the taking of Buda; but is now with the whole province under the dominion of the Emperor. 7. Salankamen, fifteen miles to the eastward of Peterwaradin, remarkable only for the victory obtain'd there over the Turks by Prince LEWIS of Baden, in the year 1691. 8. Carlowitz, a little to the northward of Peterwaradin; not taken notice of till the peace concluded there between the Imperialists and the Turks, in the year 1699. 9. Semlin, in the mid-way between Salankamen and Belgrade. 10. Alt Sirmium, or Zirmium, the capital of a county to which it communicates its name; formerly the metropolis of Pannonia inferior, and since the see of a bishop; but is now reduced to a village, and is situate about sixty miles to the westward of Belgrade. 11. Zagrab, or Agram, situate near the river Save, about an hundred miles to the westward of Posega; the capital of a county and a bishop's see. 12. Gradiska, a well fortified town, situate near the Save, about fifteen miles to the westward of Posega.

The natives of Slavonia are of a good stature and hale constitutions, and fit for laborious employments. Their country very proper for tillage, and would produce plenty of corn and wine if they could enjoy a settled peace, and their fields were well cultivated. The navigable rivers which pass through Slavonia, render it also exceeding proper to carry on a trade between the Empire and Turkey; but 'tis a misfortune that notwithstanding these frontier countries are blest with all the advantages that nature can bestow upon them, great part of them are often a perfect desert, and only considerable for the strength of their towns, and

CHAP. II. and the number of their garrisons, which are always pernicious to trade and husbandry; for none will attempt to establish manufactures, or improve their lands, where the soldiers probably will reap the fruits of their labours.

Religion.

As the whole province is now under the dominion of the Emperor, the Roman catholick is the establish'd religion; but there were not long since almost as many Grecian as Popish Christians. The Roman clergy will no doubt bring over the Greeks to their communion in time, by one means or other, as they do in all countries where they have the ascendant. Those who dissent from them have much better quarter from the Turks than from their Popish brethren of the west. As for the Mahometans, with which this province was not long since replenish'd, they are all retir'd out of it to a man, except some few, who upon secular accounts embraced Christianity. There is no instance of a Mahometan (while he remains such) taking up his constant residence in a Christian country: on the contrary, much the greatest part of the Grand Signior's subjects in Europe are Greek Christians, and tolerated in the free exercise of their religion there.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the province of Servia.

I Have already just touch'd upon Servia in treating of Turkey in Europe; but as Belgrade, the capital city, and great part of the province has been lately subdued by the Imperialists, I deferr'd speaking particularly of it till I should have occasion to describe the Emperor's dominions.

Servia, the antient Mæsia Superior, is bounded by the Danube and the Save, which separate it from Hungary and Sclavonia, towards the north; by Bulgaria, or Mæsia Inferior, on the east; by Albania and part of Macedon on the south; and by the province of Bosnia towards the west, extending two hundred and fifty miles in length, from east to west; and about an hundred and twenty in breadth from north to south. It enjoys a healthful temperate air, and fruitful soil, being stiled by the Romans their granary for corn. It is pleasantly diversified with woods and champaign hills and plains, and well water'd with rivers; and were it cultivated, wou'd produce wine as well as corn in abundance: but the same misfortune attends this as the rest of the frontier provinces, that the husbandman does not care to sow or plant more of his grounds than is absolutely necessary for the support of his family, under an apprehension of having the fruits of his labours devour'd by the Turkish or Imperial forces, from whose depredations they are not entirely free, even in time of peace.

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The chief towns in Servia are, 1. Belgrade, call'd by the Germans, Greek Wiedenburg, situate on a hill at the confluence of the rivers Danube and Save, forty-five degrees north latitude, and twenty degrees of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. The town is large, very advantageously situated for trade, and one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. It was taken from the Christians by Solyman the Magnificent, in the year 1521, and retaken by the Imperialists in 1686, under the conduct of the Duke of Bavaria. The Turks laid siege to it again in the year 1688, and a magazine of the town being blown up by one of the enemies bombs, with part of the walls, the Turks enter'd it sword in hand, and put all the garrison to the sword, consisting of six thousand men, except the governour and three hundred soldiers, who escaped out of one of the gates, while the enemy was busy in plundering the town. About the middle of June 1717, the Imperialists, under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy, invested Belgrade again, and the place being of the last importance to the Turks, the Grand Vizier was commanded to relieve it at all hazards, which he attempted on the 16th of August 1717, and this brought on a general battle, wherein the Imperialists obtain'd a compleat victory. It is certain, says a gentleman who was in the action, that since the siege of Vienna there never was seen so great a number of Turks in the field, especially of Janizaries; and it must be own'd they defended themselves well for some time. Very few officers ever saw a hotter or better-order'd fire of the Turks; and from the number of the Christians kill'd and wounded, particularly among the cavalry, it is evident they were not bad marksmen; but the resolution and good harmony between our horse and foot, who seconded each other admirably well in this battle, at last forced the enemy to give way.

We took from them above an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, thirty or forty mortars, a proportionable quantity of ammunition, and their whole camp: and it is worth admiration, says this gentleman, that not one soldier enter'd the enemies camp to plunder till the general gave permission, nor till the whole army was rally'd and put in order.

The loss of this battle was attended with the surrender of Belgrade, which capitulated two days afterwards; and the garrison began to evacuate the place on the 22d of August, but being follow'd by most of the inhabitants, it was the 24th before they were all march'd out; it being computed that no less than sixty thousand Turks left the place, whereof twenty thousand were soldiers. By an exact list of the artillery taken in the town and in the battle, it appears that it consisted of four hundred and fifty six brass cannon,

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two

CHAP. II.

Chief towns.

Belgrade, often taken and retaken.

The last siege.

The battle of Belgrade.

Belgrade surrendered 22 Aug. 1717.

CHAP. II. two hundred and nine of iron, and an hundred and three brass mortars : From all which we may easily judge of the largeness and importance of this city.

Semendria. 2. Semendria, situate at the confluence of the Danube and Morava, about twenty miles to the eastward of Belgrade. It was antiently the capital of Servia, but is now an inconsiderable town. After the battle of Belgrade, Prince Eugene took a view of it, in order to put the town into a posture of defence, and make it a frontier garrison against the Turks ; but whether he did not think it would be capable to maintain a siege, or the charge was apprehended too great, that design was not proceeded in, as I can learn. 3. Widdin,

Widdin. situate on the Danube, about an hundred and fifty miles to the eastward of Belgrade, and near the river Timock : by the late treaty made the boundary of the two empires in Servia : It is by some writers call'd a strong town, but I can't learn there is one place between Belgrade and Constantinople capable of sustaining a long siege. 4. Nissa,

Nissa. situate about an hundred and twenty miles south-east of Belgrade ; another town to which some have given the name of a strong fortress ; but I find it has been frequently taken and retaken, and sometimes without a formal siege. 5. **Scopia.** Scopia, or Uscopia, a large trading city, situate on the borders of Macedon, about sixty miles to the southward of Nissa. It stands in a pleasant fruitful country ; and has several fine mosques, besistins and caravanseras, which are an ornament to it.

History of Servia. This country of Servia, with Bulgaria, or the Lower Mæsia, were brought under the dominion of the Romans in the reign of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and made a Roman province ; in which state it continued till the fall of the eastern empire, when it was seiz'd by the Sorabi, a Slavonian people, and a branch of the Sarmatians, whose name was afterwards contracted to Sorbi, and then chang'd to Servi, from whence the people were called Servians. When the Turkish arms began to make a progress in Europe, the Despots or Princes of Servia, put themselves under the protection of the Kings of Hungary, that they might be the better enabled to make head against the Infidels ; and paid some small tribute to that crown, as an acknowledgment of their dependency ; and from hence the house of Austria, as Kings of Hungary, claim the dominion of this province : but the truth is, the Turks made an entire conquest of it, and the Despots of Servia became tributary to them so long ago as the year 1460 ; since which, they modell'd it after the form of their other provinces ; and made it subject to the Beglerbeg, or Viceroy of Romania : so that the Emperor had little more than the title of sovereign of this country till the battle of Belgrade, anno 1717 ;

and the peace which ensued upon it, whereby great part of Servia was transfer'd to the Emperor. CHAP. II. And here I think I have a fair opportunity of making out the boundaries of the German and Ottoman empires, which none of our geographers have hitherto done, or continue to do very wrong, according to antient treaties, notwithstanding the Emperor's territories are extended in many places above a hundred and fifty miles beyond the former limits by the late treaty of Passerowitz.

To begin then on the north-side the Danube : All places and countries situate on the west-side of the river Alauta, and particularly Temeswaer, are confirm'd to the Emperor ; and whatever lies to the east of that river remains to the Ottoman Porte, the said river separating the two empires from Transilvania to the place where it falls into the Danube. On the other side the Danube, the limits of the said empires are appointed to be from the place where the little river Timock falls into the Danube up for ten leagues along the same ; Isperlechia and its dependencies remaining to the Turks, and Ressova to the Emperor. And the said limits are continued from thence thro' the mountains towards Parakin, which remains to the Emperor, and Razna to the Porte, over the little Morava, between Scahack and Belina to Bedka, and from thence to the territory of Zokol towards Belina, as far as the river Drin ; so that Belgrade, Parakin, Istolaz, Schahak, Bedka and Belina, with their antient territories are yielded to the Emperor, and Zokol and Razna, with their antient territories remain to the Porte : and the subjects of the two empires are equally to enjoy the navigation of the Timock. 3. From the Drin to the river Unna all wall'd and open places on the banks of the Save in possession of the Imperialists shall remain to the Emperor, as shall the river Save with both its banks. 4. From the place where the Unna and the Save join'd to the territory of the antient Novi, shall remain to the Emperor. 5. The territories of New Novi on the west-side of the Unna, which after the treaty of Carlowitz were granted to the Porte, shall be restor'd to the Emperor with all their dependencies. As to the rest, the limits of Croatia remain the same as they were on the treaty of Carlowitz, the river Unna being the boundary between the two empires in this province.

CHAP. III.

Treats of the province of Croatia.

THE province of Bosnia, which lies between Servia and Croatia, has already been describ'd in treating of Turkey in Europe ; and is indeed almost all of it left in the possession of the Turks by

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THE NORTH SEA

P. of the CIRCLE

of BELGIUM

or BUR-

GUNDY

Containing Holland
and Flanders, but -
has now no Vote in
Diet of the Empire.

PART of

Châlons

FRANCE

GERMANY.

Divided into CIRCLES.
Agreeable to Modern History.

By H. Moll Geographer.

Rypen DE N. M. AR

Sles- wick Flensburg

Tonningen

HOLSTEIN

Ploen Lubeck

Gluckstat wismar

HAMBURG

LUNEN- BURG

Zell

HANO. BR. WOLFEN

HILDESH. MAG

BRU LU: NEBURG

Cassel

HESSE

CASSIA

Coburg

Schweinfurt

Bamberg

Circulo of

FRANCONI

ONDRACK

WURTENBERG

C. of SWABIA

Tubingen

Ulm

Furstenberg

Rampen

Solothurn

Basel

P. of SWIT:

ZERLAND

Lands

P. of I T A

Milan

MILAN



Vienna is in longitude 16:
 40. Latitude 48:7.
 140 m. N. W. of Buda.
 190 m. S. W. of Warsaw
 400 m. N. of Rome.
 470 m. S. of Copenhagen.
 570 m. N. of Bender.
 360 m. S. of Amsterdam.
 600 m. S. of Paris.
 690 m. S. of Stockholm.
 730 m. S. of London.
 850 m. N. W. of Constantinople.
 970 m. N. E. of Madrid.
 2200 m. S. E. of Lisbon.

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HAP. III. by the treaty of Passerowitz, except those towns and places which lie upon or near the Save, and these were confirm'd to the Emperor; the preliminary article, which was the foundation of that treaty, declaring that each party should keep what they were then possess'd of. And this being all that's requisite to be said of the province of Bosnia in this place, I proceed westward to that of Croatia.

Croatia, part of the antient Illyricum, is bound- ed by the river Save, which separates it from Scla- vonia towards the north; by Bosnia towards the east; by Morlachia towards the south; and by Carniola on the west; and is about eighty miles in length, and as much in breadth. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Carlstat, the capital of the imperial Croatia, situate on the river Culp, twenty miles to the southward of the Save; and being a frontier town is tolerably fortified. 2. Siseg, situate on the Save, thirty-five miles to the east- ward of Carlstat; esteem'd a place of some strength. 3. Castanovitz, situate near the river Unna, about thirty miles to the westward of Gra- disca. These are all subject to the Emperor. 4. Dubiez, on the east-side of the river Unna, subject to the Turk: it being agreed that the ri- ver Unna shall be the boundary between the two empires. 5. Whitz, situate on the same river

Unna, fifty miles to the southward of Carlstat; this also is subject to the Turk. CHAP. III.

The country of Croatia is naturally fruitful, producing plenty of corn, wine and oil, where it is cultivated; but as it is a frontier against the Turks, has not yielded much more than would supply the necessities of the inhabitants of late years.

The people are of a good stature, and make brave hardy soldiers; on which account many of the German Princes have their horse-guards com- pos'd of Croatz, or Krabatz, as they are call'd.

Morlachia, which lies between Croatia and the gulph of Venice, is sometimes reckon'd a part of Croatia; but Morlachia being subject to the Ve- netians, and Croatia to the German and Turkish empires, they may very well be look'd on as dis- tinct provinces at this day: I choose therefore to defer speaking more particularly of Morlachia till I come to treat of the Venetian territories, as also of Dalmatia, the sea-coast whereof belongs to the Venetians, and the inland part of the country to the Turks.

And thus having given a description of the frontier provinces of the German Empire, as well towards Poland as Turkey; I proceed to treat of the Empire in general.

THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

GERMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the name, situation, extent, climate, seas and rivers of Germany.

CHAP. I. THE Germans have been known by several names, as Teutones, Germans, Almans, &c. 1. Teutones, turn'd by the High- Dutch into Teutshen and Deutschen; and by the English into the word Dutch, the most probable derivation whereof is from Teut, the name of one of the antient Celtick deities, whose descen- dants, or rather votaries, the Germans pretended to be. 2. German, a word said to be deriv'd from Wehr and Man; Wehr and War being of the same import in the antient Teutonick; so that Wehrman signified a Warriour, or gallant Man, as the Germans were generally esteem'd;

and nothing is so common as the turning the German W into G by the Latins, and thus they make German of Werman. 3. Alemanni, or Almans, as they are call'd by the French, Spa- niards and Italians, said to be derived from the words All and Man, as much as to say all man- ner of men, or a mixture of all people, as the vast numbers they brought into the field, inclin'd their enemies to think they were. As to the name of Celts, or Celtæ, this being common to them, with many other nations, I shall wave the entring into the etymology of it here.

The bounds of antient Germany were very dif- ferent and extent.

CHAP. I. ferent from the modern, the Danube being look'd upon as the southern, and the Rhine the western limits of it; but then they extended it so far north as to include Scandinavia. The bounds of modern Germany, if we include Bohemia and Silesia, (already describ'd) are the Baltick Sea, Denmark, and the German ocean towards the north: Poland and Hungary on the east: the gulph of Venice and the Alps, which divide it from Italy towards the south; and France and the Low Countries towards the west: extending from forty-five degrees thirty minutes north latitude to fifty-four degrees thirty minutes, and from the sixth to the nineteenth degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London; being about six hundred English miles from north to south, and five hundred from east to west. The air in the southern provinces is temperate and healthful, and the soil extremely fruitful; but towards the north the cold is very severe in winter; and the lands produce neither wine or oil, and but moderate crops of grain. The seas of Germany are the Baltick and the German ocean, and the Gulph of Venice may now come into the number of the German seas, the Emperor being master of the port of Trieste and some other towns on that side, where he has lately attempted to establish a trade. The ocean washes but a very small part of the German shores at present, tho' Germany gives name to that sea: indeed, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries were made part of the empire by CHARLES V. by the name of the circle of Burgundy, and then Germany might be said to have had a pretty large sea-coast; but these provinces are now esteem'd no part of the empire.

Rivers. The rivers of Germany have some of them been already touch'd upon, but the principal of them require a further description here: and, 1. The Danube, which claims the preference of any in Europe; whose name Danubius, or Danuvius, is but the Roman version of the Teutonick or German word Danow, or Done, by most of the Roman historians deriv'd from Duni, a branch of the antient German nation who inhabited the banks of this river. The German writers on the contrary derive the name from Don-Aw, which in their language signifies a swift rushing stream, as this appears to be, especially about the cataracts in this river. Below Belgrade it has generally obtain'd the name of Isther; but the antient writers used the words Isther and Danubius promiscuously for the whole river.

The Danube. The Source is near a small village in Swabia, from thence call'd Tone Eschingen, or Thonaw Eschingen, situate in the Hyrcinian forest, here call'd Schwartz Waldt, or the Black Forest: the hill at the foot whereof it rises, is not more than eight yards high, tho' some geographers have made it to issue out of a vast mountain. Not many furlongs from its head it receives two rivulets named

Brygen and Pregen, both larger than it self, and makes it look something like a river; afterwards it is mightily augmented by several navigable rivers, the chief whereof are, 1. The Iser, which having pass'd by Kempten, and several other considerable places in Swabia, discharges it self into the Danube near Ulm, the capital of the country. 2. The Lech, which having pass'd by Landtsburg, Augsburg, and several other great cities, falls into the Danube between Newburg and Donawert. 3. The Regen, which falls into this river at Ratisbon, from thence call'd in High-Dutch, Regensburg. 4. The Isar, which having pass'd by Landtsbut, Mosburg, Mittenwald, &c. mingles its waters with the Danube near Pletling. 5. The Inn, the finest river in Bavaria, which gives name to the city of Inspruck, and falls into the Danube at Passaw. 6. The Ens, which discharges it self into this river at the town of Ens, to which it communicates its name. 7. The Rab, or Ararabon, which joins its waters with the Danube, near the strong fortrefs of Raab in Hungary. 8. The Drave, a large navigable river, which separates Hungary from Sclavonia, and falls into the Danube near Esleek. 9. The Save, which passing by most of the cities of Sclavonia and Servia, discharges it self into the Danube at Belgrade. 10. The Teyffe, or Tibiscus, already mentioned, which rises in the Carpathian mountains, and running southward thro' Hungary, falls into the Danube over against Salankemen: and there are, besides these, several considerable rivers in the Turkish provinces, as the Morava, the Alauta, the Pruth, &c. between Belgrade and the Euxine sea, which fall into the Danube and increase the stream. The swiftness of the current, 'tis observ'd, renders the waters of the Danube muddy, and of a whitish colour; insomuch, that the clear streams of some other rivers which fall into it are plainly discernible after a course of several miles. And notwithstanding the many large rivers which the Danube receives into it, it never is observ'd to rise higher than usual, tho' the banks of the lesser rivers which fall into it are often overflow'd. The reason whereof is said to be, that in summer time the Danube has as great supplies of water from the melted snow on the mountains, as it can have in winter from the rains, so that the alteration can never be considerable. But, says my author, perhaps the vastness of the river may give people occasion to fancy it always of the same size, tho' its increase in winter, if it were to be nicely examin'd, would possibly be found greater than in summer. This river has so deep and wide a channel, that both the Imperialists and Turks have their fleets of men of war upon it, and many smart engagements have happened between these powers upon the water; particularly at the siege of Belgrade, and other great towns that stand upon

CHAP. I. The Iser, and other rivers which fall into it.

The Lech.

The Regen.

The Isar.

The Inn.

Ens.

Rab.

The Drave.

The Save.

The Teyffe.

The Morava, the Alauta, the Pruth, &c.

The Danube never overflows.

Fleets of men of war engage upon it.

CHAP. I. upon it, and cannot be attack'd with any hopes of success without a fleet. The whole course of this river from its source to the Euxine sea, into which it discharges it self by six or seven mouths, is computed to be about fifteen hundred English miles. There are three cataracts in that part of the Danube which runs thro' Christendom, the first whereof is call'd Der-Saw Russel, or Swines-Snout, so named from a craggy rock of that shape, which hangs over the river near Lintz in Austria, under which there is a very dangerous whirlpool. 2. Der Strudel, so call'd from the prodigious noise which the water makes in its fall: this cataract is near the town of Greinon in Austria. 3. Der Wurbel, or the Whirlpool, about a furlong distant from Strudel. But however terrible these mighty water-falls may have been represented of old, I don't find but the water-men find means to pass them at present without much hazard. There are some indeed in that part of the river which runs through Turkey that are said to be impassable, but this perhaps may proceed from the unskilfulness of the Turkish water-men.

The Rhine. 2. The second great river is the Rhine, which rises from two springs in the Alps, the one near a small village called Tavetsch, out of the high mountain of Gottards Geburg, and the other near Reinwald in Rhætia, which two fountains are forty miles asunder, but unite their streams about eight miles from the city of Coire; and within less than a mile beyond this confluence the river dilates it self into that great lake call'd Der Bodensee, or the lake of Constance. There are reckon'd nine cataracts in the Rhine, two whereof only are esteem'd dangerous, one of them being a little below the city of Schaffhuysen in Switzerland, where the whole river falls from the top of a rock seventy-five foot high: the other is at Lauffenburg in Switzerland, which has its name from the cataract, Lauffen in their language signifying a water-fall, and Burg a fortress. This river runs to the northward between Swabia and Alsace into the Palatinate, receiving the Neckar at Mannheim, and the Main at Mentz, and continuing its course to Coblenz is join'd by the Moselle; afterwards it passes by Cologne and through the dutchy of Cleve, being join'd by the Roer and the Lippe and other smaller rivers, and enters the Netherlands at Schenckenschans. I defer speaking of the further progress of it therefore till I come to the Low Countries.

The Elbe. 3. The Elbe, which rises near Hirschburg in Silesia from eleven several heads, which after they are united run northward between Misnia and Lusatia into Saxony, and being join'd by the Muldau, Egra, and other rivers, passes by Magdeburgh, Lawenburgh, and Humburgh to Gluckstadt, below which it divides into two branches, and soon after discharges itself into the

German ocean. There is scarce any European river that will bear ships of burthen to pass up so high as the Elbe does; for at Hamburgh, upwards of seventy miles from the sea, it is an ordinary thing to see vessels of three or four hundred tons.

4. The Weser, which rises in the mountains of Thuringia, and passing through Hessen and Westphalia, falls into the German ocean a little below Bremen. The rest of the German rivers, with the lakes, mineral-waters, baths, mountains, mines, and forests, will be describ'd in the respective circles, or provinces, to which they belong.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the persons, genius and temper of the Germans; of their vices and virtues; diet, lodging, and diversions.

THE stature of the antient Germans, as well as the present race, was observ'd to be of the largest, especially if compared with the French. Indeed there are Roman authors who inform us, that there was but little difference between the Germans and the Gauls in their persons or manners; but this must be understood of those Gauls which lay near the Rhine, whose country is now reckon'd part of Germany: for every country, I am satisfied, produces people of the same bulk, features and complexions it did two thousand years ago; and whenever a new set of people take possession of a country, they become like those who inhabited it before in a very few generations. If a swarthy Scythian or Tartar of a short squat make, flat nose, thick lips, and little black eyes set deep in his head, was to be transplanted into Germany (as many nations of the Scythians were formerly) his posterity in an hundred or two of years would infallibly be tall lusty fellows, of fair complexions, and regular features, as the present Germans are. And on the contrary, if a German was to be transplanted into Tartary, his posterity would in time become deformed, and dwindle into the Tartar make. For notwithstanding we all sprung from one original, our features and complexion, our stature, and even tempers vary according to the part of the world we happen to be planted in. There is something in the air, the soil, the diet, or manner of life which makes the inhabitants of one country appear as if they were cast in a different mould from those of another. But to proceed: whether the rest of the world were piqu'd to see the Germans excel them in stature, or for what other reason I can't conceive, they have generally agreed to charge the whole German nation with stupidity and want of sense; insinuating that it is not possible for the soul to animate so vast a bulk with the same advantage it does one of an inferior size. The leaden temper of the Germans (say the French) wants to be mended by mingling the French quick-silver with it. And true:

CHAP. II.

The persons of the Germans.

Intellectually.

CHAP. II. it is, almost every people have something in their tempers as well as in their persons to distinguish them by. The levity of the French and the gravity of the Spaniard are as much occasion'd by the situation of their respective countries as the different tastes of their wines are. Animals of such and such a frame of mind and body are as natural to some certain soils, as the plants peculiar to the country are. But notwithstanding these different tempers and capacities that are to be met with in the world, the heaviest and most untractable part of mankind are capable of being wonderfully improved by their education and application to business. Nor is it the lad of the quickest parts that always makes the greatest man. If one whom nature has been bountiful to at first makes swifter advances in his studies than usual, perhaps he wants the patience and diligence of others, who by their unwearied application, at length may possibly surpass him. Again, if one person wants a ready wit, it is frequently made up to him in a good judgment. And as it is with particular persons, so I apprehend it to be with nations. If they are defective in one respect, it is made up to them in another. Heaven has not given us all the same endowments, but has however distributed the gifts of nature so equally, that every one is satisfied with his particular portion; and perhaps there are very few defects but may be surmounted by diligence and application: not a German but if his genius was duely considered, and he was introduced into an employment suitable to it, might make a figure in the world; of which we shall be further convinced when we come to speak of their learning, arts and sciences.

Vices.

The morals of the Germans also have been censur'd, drunkenness is said to be a vice proper to the country, *Germanorum vivere est bibere*, is become a proverb; but whether they are more addicted to drinking than their northern neighbours, or indeed than the English at present, is very much question'd. Certain it is they cannot exceed the Russians in disorders of this kind. Nothing is more common, says my reverend author, than for the Germans to form drinking societies, which they call *Drinck Brudder*, where they contract an intimacy by being drunk together. But I don't find there is much more in this than in our common clubs, where people sometimes drink to excess. And these were as severely censur'd in England within these fifty years, as those in Germany can be. The Germans seem to be a little hard upon strangers indeed, in obliging them to take off a large bowl on their first entrance into their houses, which is call'd their Welcome. This and some other such drunken customs, puts the French King, it is said, to some difficulty to find a minister capable of negotiating his affairs in this country; for the French are as

remarkable for their sobriety, as the Germans for intemperance: and according to PHILIP MELANCTHON, the Germans were guilty of eating as well as drinking to excess, for he us'd to say, We Germans eat our selves sick: We eat our selves into hell. It is no extraordinary thing for them to sit from twelve at noon to five in the evening at dinner, and from seven at night till two or three in the morning: but I perceive the greatest part of this time is spent in drinking after the cloth is taken away; and then perhaps we may not fall much short of them our selves. Their ordinary food is beef, mutton, fowls, &c. as with us; but they have one dish which has been introduced in England very lately, and that is snails: from Michaelmas to Lady-Day these are eaten at the tables of the quality as a great rarity. There is scarce a nobleman's garden but has a snail-house in it, which furnishes his table with them. Their drink is beer and wine, as with us, but both the one and the other they have upon easier terms; for they have not only Rhenish and other wines of their own growth, but Hungary, France and Italy lie contiguous to them, where the best wines are produced.

There is no nation more in love with travelling than the Germans. We meet with them in all the courts of Europe; and if it should be admitted that their natural parts were not equal to their neighbours, the experience they gain abroad makes an ample amends for what they are supposed to be naturally defective in. But the misfortune is, this passion for travelling frequently ruins their estates, and impoverishes their country; they carry out more money annually, 'tis said, than their silver mines produce; for a German nobleman will not be seen in a foreign court without an equipage suitable to his quality, and perhaps beyond it.

The Germans however, with all the vices and vanities ascribed to them, are allowed to be endowed with some very commendable virtues, particularly honesty and fairness in their dealings. To be Dutch-hearted is a phrase with them, which signifies an open-hearted honest man, who scorns flattery and dissimulation. And the French have a saying, That a German's word is as good as another man's bond.

Hospitality is another good quality, which the antient as well as the present Germans are allow'd to have. JULIUS CÆSAR informs us, that in his days their houses were open to all men, who were welcome to such entertainment as they found. That they look'd upon it as a piece of injustice to affront a traveller, and thought it a piece of religion to protect those who came under their roof. Nor are the present Germans degenerated from their ancestors; for, as has been observed already, the same countries will produce people of like dispositions and qualities to the end of the world, how

CHAP. II.

Food.

Travelling.

Virtues.
Integrity and
honesty.

Hospitality.

CHAP. how often soever the inhabitants may be changed.

II. According to a modern author, you may travel cheaper in Germany than in any other country; because, says he, you pay nothing, or very little for your meat or lodging; and you will meet with all imaginable security, murders and robberies being rarely heard of: the only inconvenience is, the being obliged to ride night and day in a post-waggon, as they call it, tho' it goes but a footpace; and if you happen to have the opportunity of resting two or three hours, in the middle of a winter's night, the only bedding you must expect is clean straw, where people of all ranks and degrees, noblemen and beggars lie promiscuously.

Courage.

The courage and bravery of the antient or present Germans were never disputed; but probably the knowledge they had that their own bulk and strength exceeded that of other nations contributed in a great measure to raise in them that contempt of the rest of mankind, which obtained the name of courage: for whether at last, when a person's size and strength gives him an assurance of victory, this opinion of his own abilities can properly be denominated courage, I very much question; there being but little room for a man to shew his courage where there is little or no hazard to be run. On the contrary, where the hazard is so great that there is scarce any probability of success, or if the thing a person hazards his life for be not worth so great a venture, I take the champion to be a fool. From which few observations it will follow, that not one tenth-part of the actions which are look'd upon as the effects of courage deserve so noble an epithet. But to proceed: it is generally said, if Germany be ever conquer'd it must be by Germans; that is, either by the mercenary troops hired from thence, or by their own dissensions: for was Germany firmly united, they might bid defiance to all the world. I have had occasion to observe formerly, that where two armies are equally disciplin'd, and equal in their numbers and situation, that side which has the greatest weight of men and horses will infallibly carry their point; and there is no country which affords greater numbers, or larger bodies of men and horses than this does. Had not the army of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS consisted of Germans, with which he was furnish'd by the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, as well as Swedes, he had never made that progress in Germany that he did. The French King also, in the late wars, owed much of his success to the Switzers: his foot would have made but a very inconsiderable figure in the field without these and the Germans, which the Duke of Bavaria brought to his assistance.

rite and
persons.

Hunting the wild boar or deer is the sport most generally followed in Germany by the quality: but there seems to be but little riding in the case; for the beast being found by the huntsmen some

time before, is surrounded by a large company, CHAP. who with their guns, lances, spears, and dogs, III. dispatch the creature as soon as they can, without suffering him to run for his life: sometimes indeed a wild boar will break thro' the croud, and 'tis well if he do not wound either man or horse with his tusks. Another diversion in winter is, the riding thro' the streets on the snow in sledges, which are drawn by horses richly accouter'd, and adorn'd with bells and feathers: But this is a diversion used by their northern neighbours also, and has been mention'd already. The game which they used chiefly to delight in was chess; but since their officers associated with ours, and those of other nations in the last war, they cannot be ignorant of any modern games, and no doubt divert themselves with them as their countrymen used to do in the army.

In their houses we seldom see a fire, except in the kitchen; but their rooms are heated by a stove, or oven, to what degree they desire: and they have this particular to them in their winter-lodgings, that they lay one feather-bed over them, and another under them. Lodging.

CHAP. III.

Treats of their language, learning, universities, arts and sciences.

THE High-Dutch, which is the language of Germany, is much admired by some, as a noble copious language, but very difficult to be attain'd by the French or Italians, on account of the multitude of consonants in it. There are a thousand words in the High-Dutch, says my author, which can never possibly be pronounced by one who has been used to a soft and easy language: but there can be no greater argument of the antiquity of the High-Dutch tongue, than the many monosyllables which are found in it, because these cannot be supposed to be derived from any other language. SIMON STEVIN, a Dutchman, has collected above two thousand monosyllable primitives in this tongue, whereas he could not find more than an hundred and sixty-three in the Latin, and two hundred and sixty-five in the Greek. In the English tongue a whole speech might be composed of monosyllables, which were all of them originally High-Dutch, according to the right reverend author already mentioned. There are, he observes farther, in the German tongue twenty-three principal terminations, which tho' they signify nothing in themselves, yet being added to another word, very much alter its signification; of which our English tongue retains a great many; as *er* in buyer, seller, &c. *hood*, in manhood, priesthood, &c. *dom*, in kingdom, dukedom, &c. by the help of which the German tongue is made

CHAP.

CHAP. III. exceeding copious. It is held also to be the richest of any in its admirable compounds; for in this language we have not only words compounded of adjectives and substantives, and verbs or participles, with prepositions, which is usual in all languages, but also innumerable words which consist of two substantives or two adjectives. In the English tongue also we still retain this elegancy of compounding substantives, as in house-wife, snow-ball, foot-ball, &c. But the greatest excellency in this kind of composition is, our author observes, in the altering the signification of the word by transposing of the substantives; as we say in English, horse-mill and mill-horse, &c. of which there are infinitely more examples in the High-Dutch than English language.

But the Germans have it seems much corrupted their language of late, by introducing a great number of Italian, French, and Latin words, which they have turned into Dutch by giving them a German termination. There are also numberless dialects of the High-Dutch in Germany, and some of them so different, that the natives of one province scarce understand those of another. A Brandenburgish will hardly understand a Misnian, or a Swabe either of them. The citizens of Leipzick observe three several dialects within the walls of their city. The old British, English, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Flemish languages are also all derived from the High-Dutch, and look'd upon as branches of it. Upon the frontiers of Germany the people frequently speak the language of the nation which lies contiguous to them; as in Lorrain and the bishoprick of Triers, they speak French; in the Upper Tyrol, Italian; and in Bohemia and Moravia, the Slavonian: but Latin and French are said to be the best travelling languages through Germany, the meanest servants in the inns being able to express themselves intelligibly in Latin, though they do not speak very correctly.

Learning.

The Germans could not boast of any great stock of learning till they became acquainted with the Romans. Some schools they had, where the priests who served at the altar were instructed in the principles of their religion, which they reveal'd to the laity only in dark fables, and mysterious riddles, and the actions of their great men they used to record in doggrel rhimes, but never committed them to writing. In the reign of the Emperor ADRIAN, several schools were erected in that part of Germany which lies next the Rhine, where their young nobility were taught Latin; but still the northern Germans wanted the opportunity of education, till the French got footing in Germany, whose princes founded schools amongst them, especially DAGONERT and CHARLES the Great; but the great difficulty of the governours of these schools, was the reducing the High-Dutch

tongue to writing, which till then had never been brought under any rules: and this was found so difficult an undertaking, that for many years all proceedings at law, and every thing else which was put in writing, was always drawn up in the Latin tongue. But the Germans having regulated their language by degrees, applied themselves to the study of the liberal arts and sciences with so much zeal, that in a short time were raised several universities of note. JUSTUS LIPSIUS relates, that in his days there were more universities in Germany than in all the rest of Christendom. There are at this day reckoned above thirty, and the German princes are mighty zealous in keeping up the grandeur of them, being proud of nothing more than the number of scholars in their dominions.

Universities

There are no people more industrious in their several professions than the Germans, nor do their scholars come behind the mechanicks in their diligent application to their studies: the Hebrew is no where so generally learnt, or better understood than in Germany; and 'tis observ'd that no language is more spoken by the trading Jews than the High-Dutch.

Printing is here encouraged to a fault. Every man of letters is an author, and they multiply books without number, whether they have any thing new to entertain the world with or not. It were to be wish'd, says my reverend author, that a little more moderation were used in publishing those millions of suppositions and disputations which annually overstock the fairs at Frankfort and Leipzick. But it seems no man can be a graduate in their universities, who has not published one disputation at least.

The Germans are allowed by all to be excellent mechanicks and chymists. The inventions of gun-powder, guns, and printing, are generally ascribed to them; but this of gun-powder must be acknowledg'd to be discover'd by pure accident. It is related, that BARTHOLD SWARTZ, a Franciscan fryar of this nation, having made a great proficiency in chymistry, once happen'd to mingle sulphur and salt-petre with some other ingredients in an earthen crucible, and setting them on a hot fire, in order to make an experiment, the vessel was broke in a thousand pieces, with a wonderful noise and violence, which at first surpriz'd him; but upon second thoughts repeating the experiment, he began to conceive mighty hopes of it, and first he procur'd a long iron pipe, not unlike the barrel of a gun, and having drill'd a touch-hole, he ramm'd in the same ingredients he observ'd had such terrible effects in his crucible, putting some small stones upon them, and setting fire to the combustible matter, the stones were thrown out with greater force and noise than could be expected. And this was the original of guns;

Mechanicks and chymists.

Gun-powder.

Guns invented.

CHAP. III. guns; and tho' the powder was discover'd by accident, yet the application of it to this purpose was purely owing to his own murdering genius, none that I have heard of having endeavour'd to deprive him of the honour of it. This occurrence happen'd about the year 1330; but the invention was conceal'd from the publick for some time, and only communicated to friends. The Venetians were the next people acquainted with this invention, which did them good service when they were besieg'd by the Genoese: they soon after took the cities of Padua, Verona, and others, from the Germans, by the help of their guns; so that in a little time the Germans saw their artificial thunder turn'd against them: and the German Jews, 'tis said, instructed the Turks in this art, out of their prejudice to Christianity; but if the Jews had not, the Christian renegades would soon have done it. The Venetians were the first that made use of guns at sea; and after them the merchants of the Baltick: the English took Calais with their great guns in 1347; and taught the French the use of them. The Spaniards about the same time found the advantage of them; which the Moors, they were engag'd with, could not but observe and endeavour to imitate. And thus these terrible engines in about the space of fifty or threescore years, were made use of by all the nations in Europe. But when the Spaniards discover'd America, it is evident the natives were perfect strangers to guns in that part of the world: for they look'd upon the Spaniards to be gods, when after a flash of lightning they saw some of their countrymen fall down dead, and heard the thunder of the artillery; in so much, that they began to offer sacrifice to them, till the Spanish cruelties, 'tis said, gave them some reason to change the opinion they had conceiv'd of these thunderers. Having taken a Spaniard therefore straggling from his company, 'tis reported that they threw him into a river, and held him under water till he was drown'd, by way of experiment, to try if he was mortal. But to proceed; we have abundance of reason to believe that the Germans, notwithstanding all that has been said, were not the first who understood the force of nitre and sulphur mix'd together; tho' I am ready to allow that they were the first who applied them to the use we now put them to. It is evident that our countryman ROGER BACON, a Franciscan friar, and fellow of Merton-college in Oxford, was acquainted with the experiment three or fourscore years before SCHWARTZ the German happen'd upon it: For in one of his letters inscribed *ad Parisiensem*, he observes, That out of salt-petre, sulphur, and coal-dust, he could make fire which should burn at what distance he pleased: that with the same matter he could cause thunder and lightning in the air, more terrible than that produced

CHAP. III. naturally. That a city or an army might be destroyed by this fire, and that it burst forth with an incredible noise. The Chinese also had the use of gun-powder long before we knew it in Europe, tho' they did not apply it to those destructive ends: and indeed it is not easy to believe that the world should for three or four thousand years remain perfectly ignorant of the force of nitre and sulphur mixed together; tho' it did not come to be much talked of, till we saw the dreadful effects of them when applied to guns and bombs, and the blowing up men and towns. And I cannot avoid here relating an observation of a physician for improving these murdering arts, namely, that poisons might be so compounded and fired from guns and mortars, that they should carry certain death to all that came within the smell of them, and especially on shipboard, where the mariners could not get out of their reach. Some have thought, that the reason Friar BACON did not communicate his knowledge of the force of gun-powder more generally, was the ill consequences that he apprehended from it; but others say, he was afraid of confirming the people in the notion they had of his being a conjurer, from some experiments he had made, which at that time were thought above the power of nature.

As to the art of printing, which the Germans challenge the invention of, I shall defer speaking of it till I come to Holland; the Dutch seeming to have a better pretence to the invention than the Germans; and it is very certain that the Chinese had it long before either: but thus much must be allowed the Europeans, that they have brought this art to much greater perfection than the Chinese, who know nothing of distributing the letters, and composing several sheets with the same types, to this day; but have as many forms, or rather boards, as sheets; so that the materials used in printing a small book, would fill an ordinary room. And from hence 'tis natural to believe, that the Europeans neither learnt the art of the Chinese, nor the Chinese of them, their manner of printing being so very different.

Whether clock-work was an invention of the Germans is much disputed; but 'tis certain they brought that art to very great perfection; and among other instances of it, 'tis related that the Emperor CHARLES V. had a watch in the jewel of his ring, and King JAMES I. of England another of the same kind, both made in Germany. The Germans also are excellent engravers and painters, and understand engineering perfectly well: but I must confess I have scarce faith to believe what is related of REGIOMONTANUS, namely, that he made a wooden eagle, which flew a quarter of a mile out of town to meet the Emperor MAXIMILIAN when he came to Nuremberg, and returned back with him thither; and that

CHAP. IV. the same artist made an iron fly, which he threw off his hand, and after it had flown round the room return'd to him again. But however that were, our English mechanicks seem to be in the greatest reputation for clocks and watches, since the days of TOMPION; their work being seen in the palaces of the greatest Princes in the known world.

CHAP. IV.

Contains an abstract of the ancient and modern history of Germany, with the succession of its Emperors.

The uncertainty of the origin of nations.

AMONG the many nations whose origin hath been enquir'd into in the progress of this work, if there had been one of which it could with any certainty be said, by what people, or in what century it was first planted, I should not despair of discovering the original inhabitants of this. Indeed CLUVERIUS and Dr. HEYLIN, and after them an hundred more, pretend to shew precisely from which of the grand-sons of NOAH, and at what time every country of any consequence in Europe was first peopled: but what slender evidence do they rely upon? or rather, have they produced any but a pretended similitude of names? From GOMER the grandson of NOAH, say they, descended the Cimbrians or Cimmerians, who peopled Germany; for there cannot be a more easy change than that of Gomerians into Cimmerians, and this is to pass for proof. Had they said no more than that all nations were peopled by the posterity of NOAH, as we learn from scripture, they would have had the concurrence of every man who is not an infidel; but to pretend to point out particularly which of them inhabited this country, and which of them that, and the precise time of their peregrinations, when there are no histories written within two thousand years of the times they pretended to be so well acquainted with, seems to me an unpardonable presumption; and may incline their readers to believe they have no better authority for many facts they recite of a later date.

The Romans first acquainted with the Germans.

It is from the Romans we first learn any thing of this people which can be depended on. The Germans had pass'd the banks of the Rhine it seems, and fallen upon the Gauls, who were then under the protection of the Romans: whereupon JULIUS CÆSAR attack'd a body of them commanded by ARIOVISTUS one of their kings, and drove them back over the Rhine again; after which he built a bridge over that river, and obtain'd some further victories over them: but DRUSUS, the adopted son of AUGUSTUS, had the greatest success in Germany of any of the Roman generals, from whence he obtain'd the title of GERMANICUS; for he

subdued the whole country as far as the ocean, and reduc'd it into the form of a Roman province. CHAP. IV. QUINTILIUS VARUS, who succeeded DRUSUS, lost all that his predecessor had gain'd, and with it three entire Roman legions, which seems to have been more sensibly resented by AUGUSTUS than any misfortune in his reign: insomuch, that 'tis related, he would often cry out as in a fit of distraction, VARUS, restore me my legions. After which defeat this prince thought fit to make the Rhine and the Danube the boundaries of his empire on that side; and to defend it against the incursions of the Germans for the future, he quarter'd eight legions upon the banks of the Rhine, and four upon the Danube.

During this war the Romans had an opportunity of informing themselves of the manners and customs of the Germans: and they observe in the first place, that they were divided into many nations and principalities, all of them speaking the same language. That some of these nations were govern'd by Kings with limited powers, and others were absolute in their dominions; some of their princes were elective, and others hereditary; and some aristocratical and democratical governments were also found amongst them. And that many of these states and kingdoms frequently united under one head, or general, both in their offensive and defensive wars. The patriarchal form of government seems first to have obtain'd here, as in other countries we have pass'd through; for we are told, that several families being frequently united by marriages or compacts, for their common defence under one head or leader, they gave him the name of Hertzog or Duke, and submitted their controversies to his determination: and that sometimes the ambitious head of a powerful family subdued his weaker neighbours, and assumed the same absolute dominion over them as he claim'd over his own tribe. Thus various constitutions were struck out, according to the circumstances the several people happen'd to be under. And I believe all the world will agree with me at this day, that neither monarchy, or aristocracy, a limited or absolute power in the state or sovereign, are any of them jure divino; but whatever kind of government is once establish'd in any country ought to be submitted to. Thus much however I can't help observing, that whatever were the forms of government the ancient Germans liv'd under, most of the princes of Germany at present are absolute in their respective dominions, as the Emperor himself is in his hereditary countries: nay, there is scarce that state or monarchy in being at this day, but the sovereigns of them are absolute. The common people subject to the Venetians, the States of the United Provinces, or any other republick in Europe, have as little share in the administration as those who live under

The state of ancient Germany, as to government.

Republicks as arbitrary as monarchies.

CHAP. IV. a monarchy, and their governors are as arbitrary and uncontrollable. The only difference, as has long been observ'd, is, that under a monarchy we have usually one tyrant, and under a state some hundreds; and yet I don't know how it comes to pass, but the subjects of a monarchy are usually look'd upon to be in a state of slavery, while those who live in a common-wealth are suppos'd to be in perfect freedom. But to return to Germany: We have a set of historians who are very positive that the antient German Kings were elected and depos'd by their people whenever they saw fit: that this was an unalienable right in the multitude, which they could never part with; and as we are suppos'd to be of German extraction, this ought to be part of the English constitution. But they may remember too, that these same Germans, or Saxons, used to determine their controversies by combat, or going to loggerheads: and that their criminals were try'd by fire and water ordeal, thrown into a river, or oblig'd to walk over nine or ten burning plough-shares blind-fold, to vindicate their innocence; and a hundred other extravagancies of the like nature, which are parts of that admir'd constitution, that few of the present generation will be fond of returning to. But further, what should we get by making the populace judges of their Prince's actions, so little as they understand of the state of the world, and the interest of their own nation? Would they not commit ten thousand Errors in politicks? would they not be liable to be spirited up by every designing knave, to the destruction of the Prince and the community; and perhaps oftener use their electing and deposing powers to their own hurt than benefit? Some men are so fond of a democracy, that they will not give themselves leave to reflect that they are at present under a much happier constitution than ever the antient Germans experienc'd. The art of government, as well as other arts, is capable of improvement; and why we should be always appealing to the first rude draughts, and inculcating to the mob that we ought to imitate only the first essays of this nature, that were made when there were no laws to ascertain the Prince's prerogative, or the people's rights, in which our great happiness consists, shews a more than ordinary perverseness, or a very great degree of ignorance in the history of the antients.

I proceed now to take notice of some other customs of the antient inhabitants of Germany, collected by CLUVERIUS from CÆSAR, TACITUS, and other Roman historians. The common people, they tell us, generally went naked 'till they grew old, when they hung the skin of some wild beast about their shoulders, fastening it with a thong; and men of the best quality only wore a little woollen mantle, or a coat without sleeves. Their usual bed was the ground, or a little straw; and people of distinction lay upon the

skins of wolves or bears. That they dipp'd their new-born infants in cold water; and some say, threw them into rivers, that by their swimming or sinking their legitimacy might be determin'd. Their food was bread, flesh, butter and fruits, as now. Their drink, water, milk and beer, not knowing the use of wine. They had seldom more than one knife in a family, for they pull'd their meat to pieces with their fingers, as they do still in the East; but then 'tis usually so over-done that it is ready to drop in pieces. They were usually very merry at their entertainments, sitting in a semicircle, the master of the family in the middle, and the rest on the right and left of him, according to their quality; but no women were admitted to their feasts, or a son under twenty years of age. They had the liberty of marrying or cohabiting with as many women as they pleased; but the common people usually contented themselves with one a piece, on account of the charge that attended the keeping more, as is suppos'd. The eldest son, or next heir of the family, always inherited the entire principality, or estate of his ancestor; and the younger children had certain villages, or lordships assign'd them for their maintenance.

Few Pagan nations, 'tis said, liv'd up to the rules of morality so well as the Germans did. They express'd a more than ordinary regard for divine worship; chusing their priests out of their nobility, who were not altogether ignorant of moral philosophy and physicks, and were usually call'd to their councils of state. Women were also admitted to the priestly office; and both the one and the other had the profoundest respect paid them by the laity. The doctrine of transmigration prevail'd amongst them, they believed that departed souls animated other creatures when they had left these bodies, and were happy or miserable, according as they behav'd in this life. The sun they worshipped with that devotion, that CLUVERIUS is of opinion, they look'd upon this planet as the only true God, dedicating the first day of the week to it. They also worshipp'd the God WODEN, or GODAN, after whom Wednesday, or the fourth day of the week is call'd. This word GODAN afterwards came to be contracted into God, and from the Germans we have it. They worshipped also the God TARANES, the same with the Danish THOR, the Thunderer, from whom our Thursday hath its name. The Goddess FREIA, or VENUS, was also worshipp'd by the Germans, from whom Friday was so call'd. The God THIES, or TIES, another of their deities answerable to MARS, gave name to Tuesday. CLUVERIUS also would have us believe, that they worshipped the Trinity: that they were acquainted with the history of the creation, the fall of angels, &c. but I don't see any foundation he hath for this. They perform'd their religious

CHAP. IV. The religion of the antient Germans.

CHAP. exercises, and sacrificed in groves, the one being
IV. usually made choice of for an altar: and instead
of a temple, they erected an arbour made of oak
and beechen boughs. They look'd upon it, says
CLUVERIUS, as impious to draw any picture, or
representation of their gods; and yet we find the
image of an armed man set on the top of a vast
pillar, worshipped by the Saxons till the time of
CHARLES the Great, who destroy'd it; the me-
mory of which occurrence is still kept up among
the Germans in their tragedies; and some pieces
of that mighty pillar are still preserved in the
cathedral church of Harberstat.

The priests, as well as the sacrifice, were al-
ways crown'd with wreaths of oak, or of some
other sacred tree. They sacrificed not only beasts,
but men, if we may believe the Roman writers;
but when they offer'd human sacrifices, they were
taken from among their slaves, or malefactors;
though upon extraordinary occasions, it is said,
they would offer their own children. The priests
usually shot the sacrifice to death with arrows, if
it was a beast, but the men were sometimes cru-
cified. They inspected the entrails of the animal,
and from thence prognosticated good or ill success
in their wars and other undertakings; and when
the rites were ended, the sacrifices, whether they
consisted of men or animals, were eaten, and they
were merry, as usual at festivals; the priests en-
tertaining them with musick and dancing. But I
must confess, that part of the account which men-
tions the eating of human flesh, makes me give
the less credit to the rest, because I have yet ne-
ver met with that people on the face of the earth
which do allow themselves in eating their own
species, and it is generally what even other ani-
mals abhor.

Funerals.

Their belief that their souls should animate o-
ther bodies after death, 'tis said, made them fear-
less of danger; and if a man happen'd to be under
unfortunate circumstances, he made no scruple of
dispatching himself to the other world. They
burnt their dead bodies, and having gather'd up
the bones and ashes of the funeral pile, they buried
them together. The wives, slaves, dogs, horses
and armour of the decess'd, 'tis said, were also
thrown into the fire, in order to serve their lord
in the other world. And at the funerals of the
great, were tiltings and tournaments, and songs
sung in memory of their heroick actions.

The nor-
thern na-
tions break
in upon
the Roman
empire.

I have already shewn that the Germans de-
fended their frontiers so well against the Romans,
that they were contented to make the Rhine and
the Danube the boundaries of their empire; and
accordingly built fortresses, and planted garrisons
on the banks of both those rivers to prevent the
incursions of the barbarous nations, as they call'd
them: but notwithstanding these precautions, with-
in less than an hundred years after CONSTAN-

TING the Great, the Franks, Burgundians, Al- CHAP.
mans, and other German nations, broke through IV.
those boundaries, pass'd the Rhine, and dispos-
sels'd the Romans of all Gaul, Rhætia and No-
ricum, which they shar'd amongst them; but the
Franks prevailing over the rest, at length esta-
blish'd their empire over all modern Germany,
France, and Italy, under the conduct of CHARLES
the Great.

Germany was never under the dominion of Charles th
one sovereign, as Dr. NICHOLSON observes, till Great, fir
the reign of this Prince, who was the son of PE- Emperor
PIN, King of France. He was born the 28th of Germany,
January, 747, and upon the death of his father &c. anno
PEPIN, which happen'd in the year 768, he 800.
shared his dominions with his brother. After his
brother's death, he assum'd the government of
the whole, notwithstanding his brother left a son
behind him, with whom his mother fled to DESI-
DERIUS, King of Lombardy, for protection. Hi-
ther CHARLES pursu'd her, and having defeated
King DESIDERIUS, made himself master of great
part of Italy, and particularly of Rome. The
Pope and clergy of that city having been forc'd
to submit to the Kings of Lombardy, and lost
much of the power they had formerly usurp'd,
look'd upon King CHARLES as their deliverer,
and swore allegiance to him on St. PETER's tomb:
he was also, by the decree of Pope ADRIAN, de-
clar'd Patrician of Rome, which was then a title
only inferior to that of Emperor, and gave him
authority to confirm the election of the Popes,
and grant the Italian bishops the investiture of
their sees. King CHARLES, to shew his gratitude
to the Pope, and to confirm him in his interests,
gave him a power of constituting Exarchs, or
lieutenants over the provinces of Ancona, Bo-
lognia, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Ferrara, &c.
and conferr'd on him almost regal powers. This
Prince afterwards conquer'd part of Spain, and re-
duced the Saxons in Germany to his obedience,
planting the Christian religion wherever he carried
his arms, and founding schools and universities
throughout his whole empire. Pope ADRIAN dy-
ing in the year 795, LEO the third was chosen
to succeed him, and his election confirm'd by
CHARLES the Great, as Patrician of Rome; but
an insurrection being incited against this Pope by
the nephews of Pope ADRIAN, who treated him
barbarously, oblig'd him to fly into Germany to
CHARLES the Great for protection, who there-
upon march'd again into Italy, and having con-
demn'd the offenders to death, their sentence was
chang'd into that of banishment; at the interces-
sion of the Pope. It was at this time, viz. on
Christmas-day, in the year of our Lord 800, that
the Pope with the senate and people of Rome, a-
greed to confer the title of Roman Emperor on
CHARLES the Great, and accordingly placed the
imperial.

HAP. IV. imperial crown upon his head the moment he was at his devotions in St. PETER's church; and the people with loud acclamations saluted him Emperor of the Romans. The Pope also anointed him with the holy oils, acknowledging him to be his sovereign; and the Emperor's statue was afterwards set up in the publick places of Rome; but the Emperor chose to reside in Germany, leaving Italy in a great measure under the influence of the Pope, who knew how to make an advantage of his absence, as his predecessors had done on the removing the imperial seat from Rome to Constantinople. **CHARLES** the Great having enjoy'd the title of Emperor fourteen years, died in the year 814, and was buried at Aix la Chapelle, where he had founded a church, designing to have made that city the capital of his Empire, and the residence of his successors. He was about seventy two years of age when he died, the epitaph on his tomb being no more than this, *Magni Caroli Regis Christianissimi Romanorum Imperatoris corpus hoc sepulchro conditum jacet.*

LUDOWICK, or LEWIS, King of Aquitain, for his piety surnam'd the Godly, succeeded his father **CHARLES** the Great, being crown'd Emperor by Pope **STEPHEN IV.** at Rheims in France. This Prince order'd the bible to be translated into the Saxon tongue, and dispersed among the common people. He had three sons, viz. **LOTHARIUS, LUDOWICK** and **PEPIN**, by his first wife, who all rebelled against their father, and shut him up in a monastery; but being rescued by his subjects from his confinement, he assembled an army, and was marching against his son **LOTHARIUS**, when he died. He left also a son named **CHARLES**, by a second venter.

LOTHARIUS, the eldest son of **LEWIS**, succeeded his father, anno 840, in the whole Empire, and having reigned fifteen years, retir'd into a monastery at Treves, where he lived some time. It was in this reign that **JOHN VIII.** filled the papal chair, generally reported to be a woman, and call'd Pope **JOAN.**

LUDOWICK, or LEWIS II. succeeded **LOTHARIUS** his father, upon his resignation of the Empire, and retiring to a convent, anno 855. He conquer'd Slavonia, and planted Christianity in that country. It was in this reign the court of Rome assumed the power of electing their Pope, without the concurrence of their sovereign: and **ADRIAN II.** was the first who was chosen without the Emperor's leave.

CHARLES the Bald, son of **LEWIS I.** succeeded his nephew anno 875. He is said to be a weak Prince, being persuaded by Pope **JOHN IX.** to solemnize his coronation at Rome, and there receive the imperial scepter at his hands.

LUDOWICK, or LEWIS III. succeeded his father

CHARLES, anno 878; and having reign'd about a year, died, leaving his throne to his brother

CHARLES the Gross, so named from his corpulency, who by the death of his two brothers became possess'd of all Germany, France, and Italy. He was the first who added the year of our Lord to the year of his reign, in his grants and acts of state. He made a disadvantageous peace with the Normans, whereby he left them in possession of that part of France which is now call'd Normandy; and having done some other mean unpopular things, was deposed by his nobility, and died miserably in a poor village in Swabia.

ARNOLPH, natural son of the King of Bavaria, and Duke of Carinthia, was advanced to the throne by the same faction which deposed his predecessor, anno 888. He defeated **GUIDO** and **BERENGARIUS**, who opposed him in Italy, and took Rome by storm; but is said to have been soon after poison'd there by **GUIDO**'s wife.

LUDOWICK, or LEWIS IV. the son of **ARNOLPH**, was advanced to the imperial throne, 900, on the death of his father. He was in perpetual war with the Hungarians, in which he had very ill success, and great numbers of the German nobility lost their lives. The Pope also set up another **LUDOWICK** against him in Italy, which created him a great deal of disturbance.

The imperial crown, after the death of **LEWIS IV.** was offer'd to **OTTO**, Duke of Saxony, by the German nobility, who being grown old, recommended to them **CONRADE**, Duke of Franconia, who was thereupon declared Emperor: but the very men who advanced him, not approving his conduct, attempted to dethrone him. **CONRADE** however secured his possession, and on his death appointed **HENRY** the son of **OTTO**, Duke of Saxony, to succeed him.

HENRY, surnam'd **AUCERS**, from the pleasure he took in hawking, succeeded to the empire by virtue of his predecessor **CONRADE**'s will, anno 919. The Pope it seems offer'd to consecrate and anoint him Emperor; but he answer'd, that he did not think he stood in need of his confirmation. He was a brave Prince, defended the empire against the Hungarians and other foreign enemies, and compos'd the factions among his own people at home. He first fortified the great towns of Germany, and order'd every ninth peasant to remove into the cities, and that a third part of the corn and hay about every city should be assigned for the maintenance of the inhabitants. He also first instituted tilts and tournaments: and after a prosperous reign of seven years and a half, died of an apoplexy in Italy, much regretted by his German subjects.

OTTO, the son of **HENRY**, succeeded his father, anno 936, being from his piety and happy conduct.

CHAP. IV.

Charles III. 879.

Arnolph 888.

Lewis IV. 900.

Conrade 912.

Henry 919.

Otho 936.

CHAP. IV. conduct stiled the Great. He obliged **HAROLD**, King of Denmark, to acknowledge his dependance on the empire, and to introduce Christianity into his dominions. He also subdued **BOLESLAUS**, King of Bohemia, and planted Christianity in that country. On the other hand, he deposed Pope **JOHN XII.** and placed **LEO VIII.** in his room, decreeing, that for the future the Pope should be appointed only by the Emperor. In this reign the ceremony of christening the bells of churches was first introduced.

Otho II.
973.

Otho III.
984.

Emperors
first elected.

Henry II.
1020.

Conrade
1024.

Henry III.
1039.

Henry IV.
1056.

OTHO II. succeeded his father, and after a prosperous reign left the empire to his son,

OTHO III. an infant of ten years of age. He prov'd a very wise Prince, and was the first according to some, who instituted the custom of choosing an Emperor by a majority of voices of seven electors. After a reign of eighteen years, he was poison'd in Italy with a pair of gloves by his concubine, on account of his refusing to marry her, as he had promised.

HENRY, Duke of Bavaria, was chosen Emperor by the Electors, anno 1002, being crown'd by the arch-bishop of Mentz. He was successful in his wars against the Saracens in Italy, whom he drove out of Apulia and Calabria, and vanquish'd the Wendish forces, who had over-run great part of Germany. His piety procured him the title of the Holy, and his self-denial was so great, that upon his death-bed, after he had been married above twenty years, he return'd his Empress **CUNIGUNDA** to her relations, assuring them she was a pure virgin, having by mutual consent on the day of their marriage, agreed they wou'd never come together. But history relates that he was once so jealous of this lady, that he made her walk bare-foot over a red-hot grate to manifest her innocence; and if we may credit the writers of those times, she never flinch'd at it, or express'd the least sense of pain.

CONRADE, a Prince descended from **CHARLES** the Great, succeeded to the empire anno 1024, being crown'd at Aix la Chapelle, by the arch-bishop of Cologne. He was generally beloved by his subjects, and amongst his laws he enacted, that no Prince should make war on any province of the empire on pain of death.

HENRY, the son of **CONRADE**, surnamed the Black, succeeded his father. He was successful in his wars against the Bohemians and Hungarians; and in the year 1046, was called into Italy, to settle the peace of that country, which was disturb'd by three Popes, set up by contrary factions. He did not approve any of them, it seems, but set up a fourth, viz. **CLEMENT II.** and revived the decree, That the Pope should be appointed by the Emperor.

HENRY IV. an infant of six years of age, succeeded his father. Pope **HILDEBRAND**, called

GREGORY VII. refused to acknowledge this Emperor for his sovereign, and set up **RODOLPH**, Duke of Swabia, against him, who was content to accept the Imperial crown at the hands of the Pope: and though **RODOLPH** was defeated and kill'd in battle, the Pope so managed matters, that he procured **HENRY** to be deposed by his subjects, who elected his son in his stead, after he had reign'd fifty years, and fought sixty-two general battels. And he was reduced to such straits before he died, that he begg'd a prebendary in the church of Spire, which he had founded himself, and was denied it by the bishop.

HENRY V. the son of **HENRY IV.** succeeded Henry V. his father in the empire, anno 1106; but was obliged to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, and renounce all pretensions to the investiture of bishopricks, which his ancestors claim'd. It is reported that at his coronation his sword was melted by lightning, and the scabbard remain'd untouch'd by the fire. This Prince dying without issue,

LOTHARIUS, Duke of Saxony, was elected Emperor, and received his crown from the Pope. He revived the practice of the civil law in the empire.

CONRADE, Duke of Swabia, son of the late Emperor's sister, succeeded his uncle, but was opposed for some time by **HENRY**, Duke of Bavaria. In this reign a body of the canon laws was compiled, and taught in the German universities.

FREDERICK, Duke of Swabia, was elected Emperor upon the death of **CONRADE**, being named **BARBAROSSA**, from his red beard. He was crown'd by Pope **ADRIAN**, but during the papacy of Pope **ALEXANDER III.** he was excommunicated for opposing some encroachments of that see, and so humbled, that he was content to throw himself at the Pope's feet, and suffer him to tread on his neck. In the year 1187, this Emperor, **RICHARD I.** of England, and **PHILIP II.** of France, all went in person on an expedition to the Holy Land, where this unhappy Emperor was drowned in a river, as he was bathing himself, and was buried at Tyre.

HENRY, the son of **FREDERICK BARBAROSSA**, succeeded his father. He died also in a voyage to the Holy Land, which the Pope had prevail'd upon him to undertake.

PHILIP, the brother of **HENRY**, succeeded him; but refusing to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, he was excommunicated, and **OTHO**, Duke of Brunswick, set up against him by the Pope and the Electors. The whole empire was engaged on the one side or the other by these competitors in a bloody war, till **PHILIP** was treacherously assassinated in his bed.

OTHO, the surviving competitor by the death of **PHILIP** became possess'd of the whole Empire,

CHAP. IV.

IV.

Helps and Hobbies.

Inter-
num.

Rolph
of the
arian fa-

10

1298.

July VII.

SIGISMOND King of Hungary and Bohemia, ~~Sigismund~~
and brother to the Emperor **WENCESLAUS**, was ~~1437~~
unanimously chosen Emperor by the Electors
and

CHAP. IV. and is represented by the catholick historians, as a brave Prince, of uncommon piety and learning; but it was he that suffer'd JOHN HUSS, and JEROM of Prague, to be condemn'd as hereticks by the council of Constance, and afterwards burnt, notwithstanding he had granted them a passport, and was engaged in honour and conscience for their safe return to their country; which so exasperated the Hussites of Bohemia, that they raised a formidable army; and under the conduct of their General Zisca, defeated his forces in fourteen general battles, and maintain'd the war against him with advantage till his death.

Frederick
IV. 1440.

FREDERICK IV. Duke of Austria, and son-in-law to the Emperor SIGISMOND, was unanimously chosen Emperor upon the death of his father, and was crown'd at Rome by Pope NICHOLAS V. He made it his business to procure peace in his dominions; and by his marriage with LEONORA the daughter of ALPHONSUS King of Portugal, the houses of Spain and Austria came to be united. He reign'd fifty-three years, being longer than any of his predecessors sat on the imperial throne.

Maximilian
1493.

MAXIMILIAN succeeded his father **FREDERICK**, anno 1493, having been elected King of the Romans in the year 1486. He married MARY the daughter and heiress of CHARLES Duke of Burgundy; whereby all the territories belonging to that Duke were transferred to the house of Austria. He was engaged in perpetual wars; and for five years before his death had his coffin carried with him in all his expeditions, not so much to put him in mind of his mortality, as some have suggested, as to conceal some extraordinary treasure that was lock'd up in it.

Charles V.
1519.

CHARLES V. surnam'd the Great, Archduke of Austria, son to PHILIP King of Spain, and grandson of MAXIMILIAN, was next elected Emperor, anno 1519; but FRANCIS the first, King of France, being his competitor, and spending a great deal of money among the Electors, delay'd the choice, and caus'd an interregnum of six months. He was crown'd at Aix la Chapelle, on the 21st of August 1520. He procured LUTHER's doctrine to be condemn'd, but did not meddle with his person: and it was in this reign that the disciples of LUTHER obtain'd the name of Protestants, from their protesting against a decree of the imperial diet, in favour of the Catholics. This prince is reported to have been victorious in seventy battles. He had the Pope and the French King his prisoners at the same time; and carried his arms into Africa, where he conquer'd the kingdom of Tunis: he subdued the Protestant princes who were engag'd in the Smalcaldick league; taking the Elector of Saxony and the Prince of Hesse prisoners, and drove the Turk from the siege of Vienna. And after a prosperous reign of eight and thirty years, resign'd his empire

Protestants
first so call'd.

to his brother **FERDINAND**; retiring into a convent in Spain, where he declared he had more satisfaction in one day, than in all the triumphs of his preceding life; and in this retirement he died, about two years after his resignation.

FERDINAND I. was declared Emperor on the resignation of his brother, by the unanimous consent of the Electors; but Pope PIUS IV. refused to confirm him, because neither the resignation of CHARLES V. nor the election of **FERDINAND** were done with his concurrence. He was a peaceful prince; and used to assign one part of the day to hear the complaints of his meanest subjects; and was esteem'd a great favourer of the Protestants.

MAXIMILIAN II. his son succeeded him, being at that time King of Bohemia, and afterwards King of Hungary. He was as indulgent to the Protestants as his father, which occasion'd his being called by some the Lutheran Emperor.

RODOLPH succeeded his father MAXIMILIAN in the empire, being elected as usual. He applied himself to the study of most arts and sciences, and especially the mathematicks, and entertain'd the famous TYCHO BRAHE in his court; but was esteem'd a better scholar than a governor.

MATTHIAS, the brother of RODOLPH King of Hungary and Bohemia, succeeded him, anno 1612. He was very severe upon the Protestants, which occasion'd an insurrection in Bohemia; and at Prague two of his ministers were thrown out of the castle-windows, as has been mention'd already in the description of Bohemia. He died without issue, having reign'd seven years; and was succeeded by

FERDINAND of Gratz, Archduke of Austria, grandson to FERDINAND I. anno 1619. The Bohemians apprehending he would be as severe upon the Protestants as his predecessor, offer'd the crown of Bohemia to FREDERICK V. Count Palatine of the Rhine; tho' they had before acknowledg'd FERDINAND for their King; which so incensed the Emperor, that he determined the destruction of the Protestants: whereupon followed a bloody war in Germany, which lasted near thirty years; but was ended by the treaty of Westphalia, in the reign of his son; whereby the Protestants were secured in their religious and civil rights.

FERDINAND III. being elected King of the Romans the year before, succeeded his father, anno 1637. He carried on the war his father had begun, and obtain'd a great victory over the Protestants at Ratisbon; and broke the power of the Swedes, who had been long victorious in Germany; but being afterwards deserted by most of the Princes of the Empire, was obliged to enter into a treaty with them, and allow them honourable terms. The ministers of the Catholick

Princes

CHAP.
IV.

Ferdinand
1558.

Maximilian
1564.

Rodolph
1576.

Matthias
1612.

Ferdinand
1619.

Ferdinand
1637.

H A P. Princes residing at Munster during this treaty, and the Protestant ministers at Osnabrug, this is sometimes called the peace of Munster, and at others the peace of Osnabrug: it is also sometimes called the treaty of Westphalia, from its being concluded in that circle. In the year 1653, the Emperor procur'd his eldest son FERDINAND to be elected King of the Romans, and crown'd; but this Prince dying within a year afterwards, his father survived him, and he never arrived at the imperial dignity.

LEOPOLD, the only surviving son of FERDINAND III. was elected Emperor on the eighth of July 1658, after an interregnum of eight months, and crown'd at Francfort the twenty-second day of the same month. At the time of his election he sign'd and executed certain articles of agreement, made between his said Imperial Majesty and the Electors of the Empire, called the Capitulations of the Emperor LEOPOLD: whereby he obliged himself to protect Christendom, the see of Rome, and the Pope, to promote peace in the empire, and do justice without exception, according to the laws: and also to protect the Electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, Palatine, and all their subjects of the Protestant religion, according to the treaty of Osnabrug and Munster. He oblig'd himself also to observe the Imperial constitutions, and acts of the diet; and declares he will not suffer any thing to be published against the peace of religion, concluded in the treaty of Westphalia. That he will protect the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire in the enjoyment of their rights and privileges. That the ambassadors of the Electors shall take place of those sent from any republick. That he will make no alliance with foreign states, or engage in any war without the consent of the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire; or alienate any thing which belongs to the Empire without the consent of the Electors. And it is thereby declared, That any state or subject of the Empire may engage in foreign wars, provided they are not against the Empire, or any of its members. And the Emperor further declares, That he will not pretend to any hereditary right of succession to the Imperial dignity; but leave the Electors their full right of electing a King of the Romans, according to the golden bull, even during the Emperor's life, with or without his consent. And that he will employ none in his councils, or in any office in the Empire, but native Germans. But the most extraordinary article inserted in this Pacta Conventa, as it may be called, was, That he should afford Spain no assistance against France.

At the accession of the Emperor LEOPOLD, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, King of Sweden, was become very terrible to the German Princes, having in a manner conquer'd Poland, and made a

great progress in the north of Germany; where- upon the new Emperor enter'd into a confederacy with Denmark, Brandenburg, and Poland, and carried on the war against Sweden with various fortune, till the peace of Oliva put an end to it in the year 1660. In the year 1663 he enter'd into a war with the Turk, in which he lost the city of Newhausel. The Emperor's forces however having defeated several great bodies of the Turks afterwards, a truce was concluded between the two empires in the year 1664, for twenty years. The Hungarians still continued restless, and exercised the Emperor with continual conspiracies against his government; which they were induced to, 'tis said, on account of the invasion of their religious and civil rights; and in the year 1669, they made an offer to the Grand Signior of their country, in order to obtain his protection against his Imperial Majesty: but the Turks being then engag'd in the siege of Candia, neglected the proposal; and the Hungarians were left to defend themselves against their exasperated Prince as well as they could: and indeed they were grown so formidable, that the Emperor thought fit to send that great General, the Duke of Lorrain, against them, at the head of a powerful army, in the year 1671; who reduced many of the revolted cities, and made the most considerable leaders of the malecontents prisoners; amongst whom were the Counts SERINI, FRANGAPANI, and NADASTI, who were all soon after beheaded: and the Emperor hoping to root the Protestant religion out of the kingdom at once, sent down the most bigotted Roman Catholick governors and judges amongst them, who exercised all manner of cruelties upon the miserable inhabitants; which made many of them fly into the Grand Signior's dominions, and again implore his assistance. But the Emperor, being soon made sensible of the ill consequences of such severities, directed his ministers to proceed with more moderation.

In the years 1672 and 1673, the French having over-run good part of Holland and Flanders, and committed great ravages in the Palatinate on the frontiers of Germany, the Emperor enter'd into a confederacy with Spain and the States General against them, and sent an army of forty thousand men under the command of General MONTECUCULI to the assistance of the Dutch, who were in some danger of being conquer'd by France at this time, if this seasonable relief had not in a great measure prevented it. The war however was carried on for some years with various success, till 1678, when a peace was concluded at Nimeguen, between the contending powers.

The French having sent four thousand men to the assistance of the Hungarians the preceding year, who join'd Count TÖCKELI, the malecontents carried all before them in that country; but the

CHAP. IV.

Peace of Oliva, 1660.

War with the Turks and Hungarians, 1663.

War with France, 1672.

Peace of Nimeguen, 1678.

The French assist the Hungarians.

CHAP. IV. Emperor making them an offer to confirm them in all their religious and civil rights upon their returning to their duty, most part of the Hungarians laid down their arms; and a general diet or assembly of the States being held, the Emperor passed some acts very advantageous to the Protestants. Count TECKELI however could not be prevailed on to submit himself, the Turk having engaged to make him Sovereign of Hungary.

Surprise
Strasbourg.
1680.

The French King also being assur'd of the Grand Signior's design to break with the Emperor, surprized Strasbourg, the most considerable town on the frontiers of Germany towards France, in the year 1680, and enter'd into an alliance with Count TECKELI, who having married the Princess RAGOTSKI, and thereby gotten possession of the places that depended on that family, raised an army of thirty or forty thousand men, with which he join'd the Turks; and in the year 1683, the Porte declar'd war against the Emperor. The Imperial court, apprehending the storm that was coming, sent embassies to the princes of Christendom to desire their assistance against the common enemy: and most of them contributed something, but none of them so largely as Pope INNOCENT XI. and JOHN King of Poland. TECKELI in the mean time made himself master of several great towns in Hungary, and began to stile himself Sovereign of the country, coining money in his own name; against whom a great army was sent under the command of the Duke of Lorrain. But while the Imperial troops were endeavouring to reduce the revolted places in Hungary, the Grand Vizier, CARA MUSTAPHA, having join'd Count TECKELI, on a sudden march'd into Austria, and laid siege to Vienna; the Emperor having but just time to retire from the city with his court before it was invested.

Vienna be-
sieged, 1683.

The Turks sat down before the town on the 14th of July, 1683, and carried on the siege with their usual fury for two months, when the garrison was so weakned and harrass'd by continual attacks, that Vienna was almost given over for lost; and the preservation of it is generally ascrib'd to the vigilance and conduct of the governor, Count STAREMBERG. But the Duke of Lorrain, the Imperial General, being at length join'd by the Elector of Saxony with ten thousand men, and after him by JOHN SOBIESKI, King of Poland, with twenty-four thousand horse, came to a resolution to give the enemy battle. The right wing of the Imperialists was commanded by the King of Poland, the left by the Duke of Lorrain, and the center by the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony and Prince WALDECK; and in this order they march'd to attack the Infidels, TECKELI with his troops being at this time absent upon some expedition, which made their work much the easier: and after about three hours obstinate resistance, they forced the Turkish camp, whereupon the e-

The siege
rais'd.

nemy's horse fled, leaving their foot to the mercy of the victorious Christians, and the siege was happily raised on the twelfth day of September. The Christians afterwards pursued the flying enemy, drove the Turks out of the island of Schut, and retook the fortress of Gran, and several other places from the Infidels.

The Imperialists were successful both against the Turks and Hungarians the following years, 1684 and 1685, defeating Count TECKELI, and taking in several towns; but were forced to raise the siege of Buda, after they had lain before it some time. In the year 1686, the Christians besieg'd it with better success, taking the city by storm. This is one of the most famous sieges in our memory, at which many noble volunteers assisted from most of the kingdoms in Europe. The following year the Emperor reduc'd the greatest part of Hungary under his obedience; and caused his eldest son, the Arch-duke JOSEPH, to be crown'd King at Presburgh. He also procured the consent of the States, that this kingdom should be no more elective but hereditary. In the year 1688, the Imperialists, under the conduct of the Duke of Bavaria, took Belgrade, which put the Turks into the utmost consternation; there being no place of any considerable strength between that city and Constantinople. In the mean time the French continued to ravage the Palatinate, burning and plundering all the towns and villages between Heidelberg and Frankfort; whereupon a grand confederacy was form'd against France, by the Emperor, Spain, England, Holland, Savoy, and several of the German Princes, wherein it was agreed, "That they would never make peace with LEWIS XIV. until he had made reparation to the holy see for all damages done to it; and till he had annul'd and made void all his infamous proceedings against the holy father INNOCENT XI. Nor till he had restor'd to each party all he had taken from them since the peace of Munster. Nor till he had restor'd to the Protestants of France all their possessions and goods, and an entire liberty of conscience. Nor until he had restor'd the Estates of the kingdom of France to their antient liberties and privileges." Upon the conclusion of which alliance the war was carried on with all imaginable vigour, both upon the Rhine, and in Flanders.

Prince LEWIS of Baden, who commanded on the frontiers of Turkey, on the Duke of Lorrain's being sent to make head against the French upon the Rhine, was very successful in his first campaign, defeating the Turks in a general battle near Patochin, and afterwards made himself master of the cities of Nissa and Widdin. In the year 1690, the Emperor prevail'd with the Electors to chuse his eldest son JOSEPH (who was already King of Hungary) to be King of the Romans.

CHAP. IV.

Buda taken
1686.

Hungary
made an
hereditary
kingdom.

Belgrade taken,
1688.

Confederacy
against
France,
An. 1690.

Conditions
of it.

War in
Turkey.

King of the
Romans
chosen.

The

HAP. IV. The year 1690 proved very unfortunate to the Imperialists; for they lost not only Widdin and Nissa, but Belgrade also was taken by storm, on blowing up a magazine, which threw down great part of the wall. Count **TECKELI**, being also made Prince of Transylvania by the Grand Signior, routed a body of the Imperialists, and took possession of that country; tho' he was forced to relinquish it before the year came about. The following year Prince **LEWIS** of Baden had the good fortune to defeat the Turks in a general battle, near Salankamen, wherein the Grand Vizier **CUPERLI** was kill'd; and afterwards took Peterwaradin: but laying siege to Belgrade, in the year 1693, the Turks made so gallant a defence, that they were forced to rise from before it. Transylvania was again invaded by the Turks, in the year 1695, where the Imperial General **VERANI** was defeated and taken prisoner; and afterwards beheaded in cool blood by the barbarous Turk, contrary to all rules of war. There happen'd afterwards a considerable action between the Turks and Imperialists near Temeswaer, where both claim'd the victory, but neither party had much reason to boast. The last great battle which was fought between the Imperialists and the Turks in this war, was in the year 1697, near Zenta in Hungary, in which Prince **EUGENE** of Savoy commanded the Christians, and obtain'd a compleat victory, the Turks losing thirty thousand men, among whom was the Grand Vizier, with their camp, cannon, and an incredible quantity of ammunition and provision. The same year the Elector of Saxony, who commanded the Imperialists at the battle of Temeswaer, was advanced to the crown of Poland, to the mortification of the French, who set up the Prince of Conti against him; and perhaps this might have some influence on the treaty of Ryswick, which was concluded at this time between the confederates and France: tho' surely no articles could be more different than these were from those the allies propos'd to themselves at the beginning of the war; for there they engage that they will not make peace with France till the French Protestants are restor'd to their religious and civil rights, and in this peace those Protestants are not so much as mention'd; but on the contrary, Popery is established in the Palatinate, and the poor Protestants left to the mercy of their enemies. The substance of the other articles were, That France should restore to Spain, Barcelona, Roses, Gironne in Catalonia, and Luxemburg, Mons, and Charleroy, and all other towns that had been taken by the French in the Low-Countries, or in America: That the Elector Palatine should be restor'd to his territories, Dinant restor'd to Liege, and Fort Kiel, Friburg, Starfort, Old Brisac, and Philipsburg restor'd to the empire; but the important city of Straßburg was re-

sign'd to France; the castles of Traerbach, Ebreburgh, Kirnburgh, and the fortress of Montroyal to be demolish'd and restor'd to their respective owners; and Lorraine was to be restor'd to its Duke. The following year, 1698, a treaty was set on foot between Germany and Turkey, in which the English and Dutch were admitted mediators; and a truce was concluded for twenty-five years between the two empires, at Carlowitz, on the twenty-sixth of January, 1698-9. whereby all Transylvania was confirm'd to the Emperor, and the province of Temeswaer to the Grand Signior; and for the rest, each party was to keep what was in their respective possessions, and the Roman Catholics in the Turkish dominions were to have the free exercise of their religion.

About this time the English, French, and Hollander enter'd into a treaty for the partition of the Spanish dominions between the Arch-duke **CHARLES** and the Dauphin of France, in case **CHARLES II.** King of Spain should happen to die; and this they did without the consent of the Austrian family, who look'd upon themselves to have an undoubted right to the whole Spanish monarchy; and the Emperor being desir'd to come into the said treaty, after it was concluded, rejected the proposal with some indignation.

Soon after the signing of the partition treaty, viz. King of Spain dies, 1700. on the first of November 1700, died **CHARLES II.** King of Spain; and by his will, (at least as the French King pretended) appointed the Duke of Anjou, second son to the Dauphin of France, to succeed him in all his dominions. And **LEWIS XIV.** without any regard to the treaty of partition so lately made, immediately took possession of the Spanish territories in Spain, Italy, and the Low-Countries; and declar'd his grandson, the Duke of Anjou, King of Spain, and the dominions there-to belonging. And his title to the same was acknowledged even by England and Holland; nay, King **WILLIAM** and the States General wrote letters to the Duke of Anjou, congratulating his accession: and he was crown'd at Madrid the 14th of April 1701. The Imperialists under the command of Prince **EUGENE** thereupon march'd into Italy this summer with an army of forty thousand men, in order to make good his Imperial Majesty's pretensions to the Spanish territories there; and were very successful in their first attempts.

JAMES II. King of England, dying on the 6th of September 1701, at St. Germain in France, and the French King causing his son to be proclaim'd King of England by the name of **JAMES III.** King **WILLIAM** enter'd into an alliance with the Emperor and the Dutch against France: whereby it was agreed, that satisfaction should be procured to the Emperor for his pretensions upon Spain; and that England and Holland should be secured in their dominions and commerce. And

CHAP. IV.

Truce of Carlowitz, 1698.

Treaty of Partition, 1699.

Duke of Anjou succeeds him.

Oppos'd by the Emperor.

Another alliance formed against France, 1701, on the death of King James II.

CHAP. IV. if this could not be obtain'd in a peaceable way within the space of two months from the date of the treaty (7th September 1701,) that then they should assist each other with all their forces to accomplish it. And in order to this, they should endeavour to conquer the Spanish Netherlands for a barrier for the Dutch: And the Dutchy of Milan, the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the Spanish places on the coast of Tuscany for the Emperor: And the English and Dutch were to possess such places as they should take from the Spaniards in the Indies. And it was further agreed, that none of the parties should make peace without the consent of the other: nor until they had obtain'd satisfaction for the Emperor, and a security for the dominions and trade of the English and Dutch, and procur'd, that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united under the same Prince, and the French excluded from the trade of the West-Indies.

Success of
the Imperial-
ists in Italy.

King Wil-
liam dies
the 8th of
March
1701-2.

War de-
clar'd against
France.

Battle of
Luzara.

The Imperialists in the mean time had made a considerable progress in Italy, and among other actions, Prince Eugene on the first of February 1701, N. S. surprized the French General Marshal VILLEROY in his bed at Cremona, having discover'd a way into the town by a subterraneous passage. While the allies were preparing to second the Emperor in his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, King WILLIAM died on the 8th of March 1702, to the great mortification of the confederates: but his successor Queen ANNE, declaring that she would carry on the preparations against France, and support the allies, their hopes begun to revive, and all things went on in the same channel as in the former reign.

Her British Majesty formally declar'd war against France on the fourth of May 1702; and having constituted the Earl of Marlborough General of her forces in the Low Countries, the Dutch also gave him the command of their troops; and in his first campaign he obliged the French to quit the Spanish Guelderland. The grand fleet also sailed to Spain, with ten thousand land-forces on board under the command of the Duke of Ormond, and made a descent near Cadiz, inviting the Spaniards to join them, and assert the title of the house of Austria: but some disorders the English had committed, with the natural aversion of the Spaniards for hereticks, render'd the attempt unsuccessful; and the British troops were obliged to re-embark without effecting any thing considerable. However they had the good fortune, in their return home, to meet with the Spanish galleons at Vigo, which made some amends for their disappointment at Cadiz.

A great battle was fought this summer near Luzara in Italy, between the French and Imperialists on the 15th of August N. S. and great was the slaughter on both sides; but it is a doubt at

this day which side had the victory. The Imperialists however, had the good fortune to make themselves masters of Landau in Germany this campaign; and the Earl of Marlborough took Venloe, and afterwards Ruremond and Stevenswaert upon the Meuse: Marshal Boufflers also abandoning the city of Liege on the approach of the confederates, the Earl of Marlborough took possession of it, and on the 23d of October took the citadel by storm: whereupon the Chartreuse of Liege surrendered to the allies on the 29th of the same instant. And thus ended the campaign of 1702, when the Earl of Marlborough, as he was returning by water from the confederate army to Holland, was made prisoner by a French party from Guelder; but none of the party knowing him, and the Earl producing a French pass, after they had plunder'd the boat, he was dismissed, and suffered to proceed in his passage. At his return to England he was created Duke of Marlborough: and it was resolved by the parliament, that the English forces under his command in Flanders should be increased to fifty thousand men.

The following campaign, anno 1703, the Duke of Bavaria having declared for France, was join'd by a body of French troops under the command of Marshal Villars; and made himself master of the city of Ratisbon, where the diet of the Empire was assembled. The Elector afterwards invaded Tyrol, in order to open a communication with the French in Italy; but the Imperialists invading Bavaria at the same time, he was obliged to retire to defend his own country; but afterwards made himself master of Augsburgh. On the other side, the confederates in the Low Countries besieged Bonn, and took it, and afterwards Huy, Limburgh and Guelder. The French under the command of the Duke of Burgundy invested Old Brisac, and took it; after which Marshal Tallard set down before Landau, and the Prince of Hesse being detach'd from the Netherlands to endeavour the relief of that town, was surprized by Tallard and defeated, soon after which the place surrendered.

The confederate forces under the command of General Opdam in Flanders, also were surprized by Boufflers this campaign near Eckeren, on the 30th of June N. S. and Opdam, being cut off from his army, fled to Breda, giving all for lost; but the other Generals maintaining their ground, there was an incredible slaughter on both sides; till night came on, when the French thought fit to retire.

This year the King of Portugal came into the grand alliance; and the Emperor and the King of the Romans resigned their right in the dominions of Spain to the Archduke CHARLES; who was thereupon declared King of Spain by the name of CHARLES III, and on the 26th of December his Catholic

CHAP. IV.
Landau
taken.
Progress of
the allies in
Flanders.

Duke of Ba-
varia joins
the French
1703.

Towns ta-
ken this
campaign.

Prince of
Hesse de-
feated.

Battle of
Eckeren.

King of
Portugal
comes into
the alliance
Archduke
Charles de-
clared King
of Spain.

HAP. IV. Catholick Majesty arrived in England, and after having been magnificently entertain'd by the court at Windsor, he continued his voyage to Portugal, under the convoy of an English Squadron of men of war.

The same year the Duke of Savoy coming into the grand alliance, the Duke of Vendosme, who commanded the French in Italy, having some intimation of his design, made six thousand of his troops prisoners; which his Royal Highness retaliated by taking the French ambassador into custody, and all the subjects of France in his dominions. About the same time the Marquis of Visconti join'd the Duke of Savoy with fifteen hundred German horse, and afterwards General Staremberg with sixteen thousand Imperialists more, having march'd two hundred miles, and skirmish'd every day with the French, who were superior to him in numbers; and it is to the conduct of this General, that the allies were in a great measure obliged for their future success on that side: for if the Duke of Savoy had not been supported in this critical juncture, all Italy had been lost. And thus ended the Year 1703.

The Imperial Minister, Count Wratisslaw, having represented to her Britannick Majesty the distress the Empire was reduced to by the French and Bavarians, and a fresh insurrection of the Hungarian malecontents, the Duke of Marlborough was detach'd from the Netherlands with a formidable army to assist the Imperialists on the Danube, whither he began his march the middle of May 1704; and having join'd Prince Lewis of Baden, attack'd the Bavarian intrenchments near Donawert on the 2d of July, and carried them after a sharp dispute, wherein many thousands were kill'd on both sides. The allies immediately after took possession of Donawert, and entering the Duke of Bavaria's country, he was obliged to retire under the cannon of Augsburg, where an accommodation was proposed to his Electoral Highness by the confederate Generals, and in a manner agreed to: but the Elector understanding that Marshal Tallard, with a strong body of French troops, had pass'd the Black Forest, and was ready to join him, broke off the treaty abruptly; which provoked the Duke of Marlborough to detach thirty squadrons of horse to burn and destroy the country of Bavaria to the very walls of his capital city of Munich. On the 13th of August N. S. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough engaged the French and Bavarians at Hochstet, where they obtain'd a compleat victory, near twenty thousand of the enemy being kill'd, and thirteen thousand made prisoners, together with Marshal Tallard, General of the French: whereupon the city of Augsburg sent to desire the protection of the Duke of Marlborough; and the Emperor, in consideration of this important service,

made him a Prince of the Empire. The city of Ulm **CHAP. IV.** also surrendred to the Imperialists on the 11th of September; after which Prince Lewis of Baden invested Landau, while the Duke of Marlborough covered the siege, and the place surrendred on the 24th of November N. S. In the mean time the Electores of Bavaria yielded up the whole Electorate to the Imperialists.

A detachment of twelve thousand English and Dutch forces were this year sent to the assistance of the King of Portugal, under the command of Duke Schomberg: whereupon King **CHARLES III.** publish'd a declaration, inviting his Spanish subjects to join him; and the King of Portugal publish'd another declaration, shewing the right of King Charles III. to the Spanish monarchy, and his reasons for his appearing in arms against King PHILIP, whom he stiled a usurper. King PHILIP, on the other hand, declared war against the King of Portugal, King CHARLES, and all their allies; and soon after invading Portugal, took several towns on the frontiers of that kingdom. Duke Schomberg weary of his command in Portugal, where he found neither horses for mounting the confederate cavalry, or any other provisions of war they had agreed to furnish; and the Portuguese Generals insisting on their having the command of the English troops, he desired to be recalled, and the Earl of Galway was appointed to command the English troops in Portugal in his room.

In the beginning of the year 1704, Admiral Rook with a body of land-forces on board commanded by the Prince of Hesse, sail'd to Barcelona, where he arrived the 18th of May; and the Prince of Hesse landed near the town with 2500 men, sending a summons to the governor to surrender, who did not think fit to obey it. This expedition was undertaken on an assurance that there would be an insurrection in the town in favour of King CHARLES, on the appearance of the confederate fleet; but nothing of this sort happening, the troops were re-imbarqued; and the fleet sail'd to Gibraltar, and having made a descent the 21st of July, attack'd the place with that fury, that it surrendred the 24th. Sir GEORGE Rook engaged the French fleet, commanded by the Count de Thoulouse, on the 24th of August following, and had gain'd a compleat victory if his ammunition had not fail'd him, which was occasion'd by the great fire which was made on the attack of Gibraltar, and the leaving a quantity of ammunition there to secure it. However, the French fleet was so shatter'd, that they declin'd renewing the engagement the next day, and never after disputed the dominion of the seas with the confederates during the war.

In Italy the confederates had not so good success this campaign as in some other parts of Europe:

CHAP. IV. rope : for here the French took Verceil and Suza, and the confederates were not in a condition to attempt the relief of either. On the other hand, the Hungarian malecontents were prevail'd with to accept the mediation of England and Holland, which was some relief to the Emperor on that side.

War in Italy 1705. Verue in Piedmont surrendred to the French the 8th of April 1705 ; and soon after Nice and Villa Franca ; and on the 16th of August a battle was fought near Cassano in Italy between the French and Imperialists, wherein great numbers were kill'd on both sides, but neither of them had much reason to boast of the victory, tho' both sung Te Deum for it.

In the Low Countries. The Duke of Marlborough commanding on the Moselle this campaign, the French retook the town of Huy, and made themselves masters of Liege ; but the confederate army returning to Flanders, the French were forced to relinquish those places again. The Duke afterwards enter'd the French lines near Tirlemont, and defeated a great body of the enemies troops ; but as he was about to attack their grand army at Overysch, the deputies of the states opposed it, and refused to let the Dutch troops engage ; which the Duke resented so highly, that it cost their High Mightinesses some pains to reconcile themselves to him again : but such ample amends and large promises were made him on this occasion, that they continued very dear ever afterwards.

The death of Leopold Emperor of Germany. LEOPOLD Emperor of Germany, after a long and prosperous reign, died at Vienna on the fifth of May N. S. in the year 1705. He was born the 9th of June 1640, and crown'd King of Hungary on the 27th of June 1655, and of Bohemia the 14th of September 1656 ; and afterwards elected Emperor on the 18th of July 1658. He was three times married, but left children only by his last Empress MAGDALENA THERESA, daughter to Prince PHILIP WILLIAM of Newburg, by whom he had the late Emperor JOSEPH, and the present Emperor CHARLES, and three Archduchesses, viz. MARY ELIZABETH, MARY ANNE, and MARY MAGDALEN. This Prince is frequently stiled the Happy, from his escaping the many conspiracies form'd against him, and his success against the Turks : and it is certain, he was very happy in the choice of his ministers and generals, which ought not to be look'd upon as purely the effect of chance, but something in this case may very well be ascribed to the judgment of the Prince.

Joseph. 1705. JOSEPH King of the Romans succeeded his father LEOPOLD, who laid his dying commands on him to assist his brother CHARLES in the recovery of the Spanish monarchy. The late Emperor being embalm'd, his heart was put into a silver box, and carried to the chapel of Loretto to

be deposited behind the high altar there. His bowels were put into another silver box, and with a great deal of ceremony interred in the cathedral church of St. STEPHEN ; and his body, after it had lain three days in state in the Imperial palace, was interred in the church of the Capuchins at Vienna, with all imaginable state.

The grand fleet, under the command of Sir **CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL**, with a body of land-forces on board commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, set sail from England on the 24th of May, this year 1705 ; and having touch'd at Lisbon, King CHARLES III. came on board them, after which the fleet sail'd to Barcelona, arriving before that city on the 22d of August, N. S. The confederate forces having made a descent, attack'd the fort of Montjuich, or Montjoy, and carried it on the 6th of September ; but the Prince of Hesse was kill'd at the first attack. The city of Barcelona also surrendred on the 4th of October N. S. and the whole province of Catalonia, except Roses, immediately after declared for King CHARLES III. The following winter the Earl of Peterborough made a prodigious progress in Spain, considering the small force he had with him ; for he took possession of the city of Valencia, and obliged that whole province to declare for the house of Austria. The Portuguese also were upon the offensive this year, and took some towns on the frontiers of Spain ; but setting down before Badajox were forced to raise the siege, and were afterwards handsomely bang'd by the French general, the Marshal Thesse. But the French and Spaniards being apprehensive of a general revolt in the kingdom of Spain, if the allies were suffer'd to remain in the quiet possession of Catalonia and Valencia, drew off most of their forces from the frontiers of Portugal, and on the third of April N. S. laid siege to the city of Barcelona, where King CHARLES III. commanded in person : King PHILIP also thought fit to command the French and Spanish troops which form'd the siege in person ; for on the fortune of this place it was generally thought at that time, the fate of the Spanish monarchy depended. There was not more than seven or eight hundred regular troops in Barcelona, when King PHILIP sat down before it ; but the Earl of Peterborough found means to throw in three or four thousand men afterwards, who defended the place till the 8th of May N. S. when the confederate fleet consisting of fifty men of war, besides frigats and transports, with a body of land-forces on board, arriv'd in the road of Barcelona, the fleet being commanded by Sir JOHN LEAKE, and the land-forces by the Earl of Peterborough ; which put the French and Spaniards into such a consternation, that they precipitately raised the siege, and drew off their troops on the 12th of May early in the morning.

CHAP. IV. Barcelona taken by the allies.

Catalonia and Valencia declare for King Charles.

1705. Barcelona besieged by King Philip.

The siege raised.

HAP. IV. morning, leaving their artillery and ammunition, provision, and wounded men behind them, and march'd directly for France with King PHILIP at the head of them : and what is very remarkable, there happen'd at the same time at nine in the morning almost a total eclipse of the sun, being the French King's device, for six minutes ; from whence many of the superstitious took leave to conjecture that the French, as well as the Spanish monarchy, would soon decline and become a prey to their enemies.

the allies
ke posses-
on of Ma-
ed. The siege of Barcelona was no sooner rais'd, but the Portuguese and English Generals on that side took a resolution of advancing directly to Madrid ; whereupon the Queen and court of Spain thought fit to retire to the confines of France, and the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of Galway took possession of that capital on the 24th of June 1706 ; and on the 27th King CHARLES III. was proclaim'd there : whereupon Toledo, and several other great towns made their submission. This success made the confederate generals at Madrid send express after express to King CHARLES III. to hasten his march to his capital city and join them with all the forces he could assemble ; but the Kingdom of Arragon declaring for him at the same time, he march'd to Saragossa, and trifled away so much time there in bull-fests and other amusements, that King PHILIP had time to draw together an army superior to that of the allies at Madrid, and obliged the confederates to quit that city ; whereupon the towns of Toledo, Salamanca and other places in Castile, which had desired the protection of the allies, declared again for King PHILIP ; and three or four days afterwards, when it was too late, King CHARLES join'd the Portuguese at Guadalaxara with six or seven regiments. But the forces of the confederates, not being able to subsist in Castile for want of provisions, decamp'd about the ninth of September, and march'd into Valencia, where they were join'd by ten thousand men from England, who landed at Alicant, at least they were ten thousand when they embarked in England ; but sickness and other accidents, destroy'd above half of them before they enter'd upon action. On the eleventh of December this year died Don PEDRO King of Portugal, in the 58th year of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son Don JUAN IV.

the allies
ke posses-
on of Ma-
ed. Upon the Rhine there was very little action ; and in Hungary a suspension of arms was agreed on this campaign between the Imperialists and the Malecontents : but in Flanders on the 12th of May O. S. that memorable battle was fought call'd the battle of Ramillies, between the Confederates under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, and the French and Bavarians commanded by the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal VILLEROY, where-

in the Allies gain'd a compleat victory, taking great part of the enemy's artillery and baggage, with very little loss on the side of the Allies. Whereupon the cities of Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin, Ghent, Oudenard, Bruges, Antwerp, and several other considerable cities in Flanders and Brabant, made their submission, and acknowledged King CHARLES III. for their sovereign. The Duke of Marlborough the same campaign besieged and made himself master of Ostend, Menin, Dendermond and Aeth.

In Italy also the confederates were very successful at the end of the campaign, though things had but a dark aspect on that side in the beginning of the year : for the Duke of Vendosme on the 19th of April defeated the Imperialists at Calcinato. On the 23d of May the French invested Turin, and press'd that city very hard ; whereupon Prince EUGENE march'd to the relief of it. On the 5th of August the French took the counterscarp of the citadel of Turin, and both town and castle were upon the point of being taken : but the Duke of Savoy and Prince EUGENE having join'd their forces, attack'd the French in their intrenchments before Turin on the 7th of September N. S. and having obtain'd a compleat victory, enter'd the city in triumph. Soon after the city of Milan and the greatest part of that dutchy submitted to the Imperialists : and about the beginning of March following, a treaty was concluded between Prince EUGENE on the part of the Imperialists, and Prince VAUDEMONT on the part of France ; whereby it was agreed, that the French should evacuate all they were possess'd of in Italy, and be permitted to march home with the usual marks of honour. And thus ended the year 1706, the most glorious to the Allies of any during the war, and which would infallibly have put an end to it, if there had been a good understanding between the English, Imperialists, and Portuguese in Spain ; but while their Generals were disputing about command and precedence, most of the mighty advantages we had gain'd in that kingdom were lost, never to be retriev'd again. We conquer'd great part of Spain indeed afterwards ; but the indolent conduct of some who were principally concern'd, had so disgusted the Spaniards, that they would never be reconcil'd to the allies afterwards.

The first considerable action which happen'd in the year 1707, was the battle of Almanza, where the French, under the command of the Duke of Berwick, entirely routed the army of the allies commanded by the Marquis Das Minas and the Earl of Galway. The Portuguese horse, it seems, abandon'd the foot at the first charge, which occasion'd most of the English and Dutch infantry to be cut in pieces : while the horse with their two generals made their retreat into Catalonia, leaving the kingdoms of Valencia and Arragon.

CHAP. IV.

Battle of Turin.

The French evacuate Italy.

1707. Battle of Almanza.

CHAP. gon, which had so readily declar'd for the allies
IV. to the mercy of their enraged King, who made them pay very largely for their revolt, and deprived them of their antient privileges. Nor are the barbarities and insults which the miserable inhabitants suffer'd on this occasion from the conquerors to be express'd; particularly in the cities of Valencia, Saragossa, Requena, Xativa and Alcyra, which upon the loss of the battle of Almanza were obliged to submit to King PHILIP's forces: and on the 30th of September following the Duke of Orleans took the city of Lerida by storm. The principal occasion of all which misfortunes, if we may depend upon the resolutions of the Commons of England, was, That of near thirty thousand English forces provided for the service of Spain and Portugal, there were but eight thousand and some odd hundreds there at the battle of Almanza. But what contributed further towards the misfortune of the allies in Spain, was a romantick project of the Duke of Savoy's, (in which revenge had a greater share than prudence) for the taking of Thoulon, in which expedition was employ'd the grand fleet of England, and upwards of forty thousand men by land, which attempt came to nothing, neither was there any probability it should; whereas, if half that force had been sent to Spain on the conclusion of the war in Italy, that kingdom had been secured to king CHARLES III.

Enterprize
against
Thoulon.

The Imperialists possess themselves of Naples.

In the mean time Count THAUN, with fifteen thousand Imperialists, enter'd the kingdom of Naples without opposition. The city of Naples submitted on the 6th of July to King CHARLES III. without striking a stroke: And on the 16th the castles of Naples surrendered. Count THAUN on the 29th of September following took Gaeta by storm, and in it the Duke de Escalona, Viceroy of Naples for King PHILIP, with all the nobility in that interest, whereby the kingdom of Naples was entirely reduc'd to the obedience of King CHARLES.

In Flanders there happen'd little or no action this campaign; and upon the Rhine the allies seem'd to be asleep, while Marshal Villars, who commanded the French on that side, forc'd the lines of Buhl, possess'd himself of Raftat, and afterwards laid under contribution the Circles of Suabia and Franconia, the Electorate of Mentz, the Landgravate of Darmstat, the Palatinate of the Rhine, and several other German Principalities: and to finish the misfortunes of this fatal year 1707, Admiral SHOVEL on his return from the Mediterranean with the grand fleet, on the 22d of October split upon a rock near the land's end of England, and was lost with all his hands on board, to the number of near one thousand, two or three other men of war in the fleet running the same fate. And much about the same time four English

men of war, and a rich fleet of merchant ships CHAP.
were taken off the Lizard by a French squadron IV.
from Brest. We begun this year, 'tis true, with a thanksgiving for the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland: but some people observe, that the allies had but very few real occasions of singing Te Deum afterwards, during the course of the war, besides the defeating the Pretender's design against Scotland, who in the beginning of March 1707-8, sail'd from Dunkirk to the Frith of Edinburgh with a squadron of French men of war, and a body of land-forces on board; and was driven from thence on the 13th of the same month by the English fleet commanded by Sir GEORGE BYNG, who took the Salisbury, on board of which ship, 'tis said, the Pretender dined the same day.

The Imperial General Count STAREMBERG was sent into Spain in the beginning of the year 1708, to command the German forces in that kingdom; and soon after Major-General STANHOPE was dispatch'd to Barcelona to command the English there; and Sir JOHN LEAKE convoy'd six or eight thousand men from Italy to Spain to re-inforce King CHARLES. The Admiral also brought over to Barcelona at the same time the Princess of Wolfembuttel, the present Empress, who was contracted to King CHARLES; and in this city the marriage was consummated: and whether, according to the Jewish law, his Majesty thought it improper to go into the wars the first year after his espousals, I shall not take upon me to resolve; but certain it is, this was a very unactive campaign in Catalonia. Admiral LEAKE indeed, after his setting the Queen of Spain on shore, sail'd to Cagliari, the capital of the island of Sardinia; and the inhabitants both of city and country declared for King CHARLES III. with very little persuasion. The island of Minorca, in which is the commodious harbour of Port Mahon, was also soon after reduc'd to the obedience of King CHARLES by the confederate fleet. The young King of Portugal being at the same time taken up with a marriage-treaty, and celebrating his nuptials with the Arch-Duchess MARY-ANNE of Austria, who was convoyed to Lisbon by Sir GEORGE BYNG, little was done this campaign on the side of Portugal.

1708.

Sardinia and Minorca reduc'd by the Allies.

The three colleges of the Empire determin'd to admit the Elector of Hanover to sit and vote in the electoral college on the 30th of June, 1708: which had been oppos'd for sixteen years: whereupon his Electoral Highness was prevail'd upon to take upon him the command of the Imperial troops upon the Rhine; but it happen'd to be a campaign of very little action.

In Flanders the French surprized the cities of Ghent and Bruges about the beginning of July, and afterwards invested Oudenard; the Dukes of Burgundy

CHAP. IV. gundy and Berry, and the Chevalier St. George being in the field in person, they were attack'd by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince EUGENE, while they lay before this town, and their troops being defeated, were forced to raise the siege, and retire to Ghent. The Duke of Marlborough afterwards levell'd the French lines between Impres and the Lys, putting Artois and Picardy under contribution. On the other hand, the French laid Dutch Flanders under contribution. And on the 13th of August, Prince EUGENE of Savoy laid siege to the city of Lisle, the capital of French Flanders, while the Duke of Marlborough with the grand army cover'd the siege. This is one of the strongest fortresses in the world; and was defended by one and twenty battalions of foot, and several regiments of horse, commanded by the Marshal Boufflers. The allies attack'd the counterescarp on the seventh of September, and carried it after an obstinate defence, wherein they lost two thousand men, and sixteen of their engineers. At another attack the allies lost a thousand men, and Prince EUGENE was wounded by a musket-ball, which graz'd upon his skull; and being thereby confin'd to his tent, the Duke of Marlborough took upon him the command of the siege. The French, to distress the besiegers the more, cut off their communication with all their garrisons, except Ostend: from whence General WEBB marching with a great convoy of provisions towards Lisle, on the 28th of September, was attack'd at Winnendale by twenty-four thousand French, commanded by General de la Mothe; but the French were defeated, and the convoy arriv'd safe at Lisle: by which General WEBB obtain'd abundance of honour, the enemy being treble his number, and furnish'd with a train of artillery, whereas he had not a field-piece with him. The town of Lisle surrender'd on the 23d of October following, the garrison retiring into the castle, except the horse, who were permitted to march away; and it was the 9th of December before the castle surrender'd: in the siege whereof, and of the town, the allies did not lose less than twelve or fourteen thousand men by the sword, besides what they lost by sickness or other accidents. While the allies were at the siege of the castle, the Duke of Bavaria attack'd Brussels, but was forc'd to rise from before it on the approach of the Duke of Marlborough: who afterwards invested Ghent on the 18th of December, and the town surrender'd the 30th. The next day the French quitted Bruges, and all the other towns they had taken in Spanish Flanders. And thus ended this long campaign of 1708, in a cold and rigorous season, in which great numbers of men and horses must have perish'd, if Ghent had not surrender'd so suddenly, beyond all expectation,

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there being a garrison of near twenty thousand men in that place. CHAP. IV.

The year 1709 begun very pacifically, the French offering by way of preliminaries, to acknowledge King CHARLES III. King of Spain; and to yield up all the Spanish dominions to the house of Austria, to resign Strasburg, Brisac, &c. to the Emperor; to acknowledge the Queen of Great Britain, and demolish Dunkirk, and relinquish Lisle, and all other places the allies had taken in the Netherlands: but after all these things were agreed on, the French plenipotentiaries refused to sign the articles; whereupon the treaty broke off the latter end of May, and both sides prepar'd again for war. And the allies, having assembled their forces, invested Tournay the 27th of June; the town surrendring the 30th of July, and the citadel the 3d of September following. This place cost the confederates a world of men, being one of the finest fortifications in the Netherlands, and undermined in almost every part where it was to be approach'd. On the eleventh of September following was fought the battle of Malplaquet, or Blaregnies, near Mons, between the allies, commanded by Prince EUGENE of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough on one side, and the French, under the command of the Marshals Villars and Boufflers on the other; each army consisting of an hundred thousand men and more, the finest troops in the world. The French had posted themselves very advantageously in the woods of Sart and Janfart, where they cut down trees, and render'd the attack exceeding difficult. In other places they were cover'd by a triple intrenchment, and all the intervals planted with artillery, which made it several hours before the confederates could make any impression upon them. At length the intrenchments were forc'd after it had cost the allies near twenty thousand men: but the French retir'd in good order, the confederate forces being in no condition to pursue them far. The following winter the French being distress'd by famine, as well as by the arms of the confederates, made fresh overtures of peace, wherein the French King agreed to all the preliminary articles above recited, but the assisting to dethrone his grandson with his own troops; and in lieu of it, offer'd to contribute a sum of money towards it, if he refused to submit to the abovesaid conditions: but the terms were rejected. The last place of treaty was, at Gertrudenburg; where such was our confidence in our good friends the Dutch, that we intrusted them entirely with our interests, and had not a minister amongst them. The Dutch treated with the French plenipotentiaries, exclusive of the ministers of the other allies: and their High Mightinesses were so exceeding stiff, that this treaty too came to nothing.

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On

1709.
Offers of
peace.Tournay
taken.Battle of
Malplaquet.

CHAP. IV. On the side of Portugal the allies were unsuccessful this year; for the Marquis de Bay, who commanded King PHILIP's forces, obtain'd a victory over the allies on the banks of the river Caya, and made one entire brigade of English prisoners. On the other hand, the allies made themselves masters of Balaguer in Catalonia; but there happen'd no other considerable action in Spain.

The Pope, having refused to acknowledge CHARLES III. King of Spain, or grant him the investiture of Naples, the Imperial Generals possessed themselves of Comachio, and several other places belonging to the see of Rome; but his Holiness having consider'd better of it, consented to acknowledge that Prince Sovereign of the Spanish dominions.

1710. The King of Sweden having been some time engag'd in a war with the King of Poland, and laid his Electorate of Saxony under contribution, and threatned other parts of the Empire, which occasion'd some troops to be withdrawn from Flanders, the confederates enter'd into a treaty in the beginning of the year 1710, for preserving the peace of the Empire; whereby each of the contracting powers were to furnish a certain number of troops, and form an army to oppose those who should disturb the peace of the Empire for the future.

In Flanders the allies took several towns from the French this year, particularly Mortaign, Doway, Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant, before which places they lost abundance of men. The confederates had no sooner taken one fortress, but another rose up at a very small distance in the room of it; and at this rate the war might have lasted forty years, if the English would have found money to have supported it: it having been long since observed, that the attacking France on the side of Flanders, is like the taking a bull by the horns, or battering it where it is most impregnable; when at the same time the adding ten or fifteen thousand men to the army in Spain, would soon have reduc'd that kingdom, and put an end to the war at once; as will evidently appear by the swift progress the arms of the allies made in Spain this campaign, which they were forced to abandon as suddenly for want of being timely supported.

The confederates attack'd King PHILIP, who commanded his army in person, near Almenara, in Catalonia, on the 27th of July, and put his cavalry to the rout; but it being late in the evening when the action began, his foot retired by the favour of the night under the cannon of Lerida; and from thence King PHILIP retreated to Saragossa, being closely pursued by the allies. On the twentieth of August following, the two rival Kings, CHARLES and PHILIP, came to a general battle, near the city of Saragossa; wherein King CHARLES obtain'd a compleat victory, and

King PHILIP retir'd into France by the way of CHAP. Navarre. The city of Saragossa hereupon open'd IV. her gates to the conqueror, who made his triumphant entry into the town the same night; where having staid about a week to refresh his troops, the army continued its march to Madrid; of which capital King CHARLES took possession again on the 21st of September: but all the Grantees were retir'd from thence, that they might not be put under a necessity of declaring for either party, before they saw the success of the war. In this situation King CHARLES press'd the army of the allies on the side of Portugal to join him; but they could not be prevail'd on to move that way: and King PHILIP having assembled a superior army to that of the confederates at Madrid, King CHARLES took a resolution of returning to Catalonia, which he did soon after with a thousand horse, leaving the army to follow him at leisure.

K. Charles takes possession of Madrid again.

The army of the allies in their march from Castile, for the conveniency of subsisting their troops, or upon some misunderstanding between the Generals, was divided into two bodies; the Germans and Portuguese, commanded by Count STAREMBERG, took one road; and the English, under General STANHOPE, another. The English General thought fit to halt with his body, consisting of eight battalions and as many squadrons at the town of Brihuega; where he was surprized December the 9th by King PHILIP and his whole army, which surrounded the place: the English defended themselves here till the 10th in the morning; when all their ammunition being spent, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. General STAREMBERG receiving advice of the distress the English in Brihuega were reduc'd to, march'd with all diligence to their relief; but was prevented by King PHILIP, who gave him battle at Villa Viciosa, about a league from Brihuega, within a few hours after General STANHOPE had surrender'd. In this battle STAREMBERG gave great proof of his military skill by defeating the Spaniards, though he was not half their number; but understanding that the English in Brihuega had been made prisoners the morning before, he continued his march towards Arragon; and having withdrawn the confederate troops out of the garrison towns in that kingdom, he march'd to join King CHARLES in Catalonia; who was not able to prevent the taking of Gironne by the French the same winter. And thus this unhappy year 1710, which begun with so much glory, ended with the utmost disgrace to the allies: which happen'd rather from a misunderstanding between their ministers and generals, and a fondness in some people to have the war prolong'd, than thro' the want of forces or treasure, to have establish'd what had been so well begun.

The English forces take prisoners Brihuega.

Battle of Saragossa.



Charles VI. the Present Emperor of Germany

CHAP. IV. The year 1711 was fatal to some of the greatest Princes of Europe; for on the 14th of April, N.S. died LEWIS, Dauphin of France, of the small-pox, in the fiftieth year of his age, being succeeded in that honour by his eldest son LEWIS, Duke of Burgundy. And on the 20th of the same month of April, died JOSEPH, late Emperor of Germany, of the same distemper. Upon this last great event the allies used their utmost efforts to have CHARLES III. King of Spain, the only surviving brother of the late Emperor, elected in his room; and by their consent Prince EUGENE detach'd fifty squadrons of horse and twelve battalions of foot from the grand army in Flanders, to reinforce the Imperialists on the Rhine, and frustrate the designs of the French, who were endeavouring to penetrate into Germany again; in order to influence the Electors, and prevent the advancement of King CHARLES to the Imperial throne. And on the 27th of September King CHARLES was convoy'd by the confederate fleet to Vado in Italy, where he arriv'd the 7th of October; and from thence went to Milan, where while he resided he was chosen Emperor; namely, on the 12th of the same month of October. Here the new Emperor receiving advice that proposals of peace had been offer'd to the allies on the part of France, he wrote to the Princes of the Empire and to the Dutch, to dissuade them from accepting those proposals, or entering into any treaty with France, without some further concessions; which he assur'd them he would not agree to himself, be the consequence what it would. Her British Majesty, on the contrary, notified to the allies, that she had pitch'd upon Utrecht for the place of treaty; and that the conferences would begin there on the first of January, O. S. and invited them to send their ministers thither. Whereupon Prince EUGENE was dispatch'd into England by the Emperor, to dissuade the Queen from treating with France. But her ministry represented to him, that the expences of Britain, which in the beginning of the war did not amount to four millions per ann. were now increased to near seven millions, by her being oblig'd to supply the annual deficiencies of the allies. That the States General were frequently deficient two thirds of the quota of shipping they had stipulated to provide; which not only increased the charge of the English, but was the occasion of great damages to the royal navy, and the ruin of the English merchants, whose ships were destroy'd for want of convoys; the English men of war being employ'd in services which ought to have been perform'd by the States. That the Dutch also had been deficient in the Netherlands upwards of twenty thousand men of their quota of troops; and that the whole burthen of the war almost in Spain and Portugal had of late been thrown upon the English; the

Dutch every year lessening the number of their troops in those countries: and the Emperor, who was most nearly concern'd in the event of that war, had no troops at all in his pay there till the last year of the war, and then but one single regiment. On the contrary, Britain did not only maintain sixty thousand land-men in the Spanish war, but the charges of the shipping only employ'd in that service, amounted to eight millions sterling; and that Britain had expended in this war, above its quota, at least nineteen millions of money. That the greater our success had been, the heavier had been the burthen on the part of Britain; and while new dominions were daily conquer'd for the allies, they continually abated their share of the expence. Nor could it be expected those allies should ever be weary of enlarging their territories at the charge of Britain, especially when even the revenues of the conquer'd countries were not applied to the carrying on the war. That tho' Britain had born as great a share in the war as all the confederates besides, she was to reap no advantage by it: on the contrary, the late acquisitions of the Dutch might prove destructive to our trade. The putting Newport, and other places in Flanders into their hands, render'd the British trade thither precarious; and the strength of that country, which Britain had contributed so largely to reduce, might hereafter be employed against Britain itself.

The first general conference on the subject of peace was held between the plenipotentiaries of Britain, France, and the States General at Utrecht, on the 29th of January, new stile, anno 1711-12; and the British ministry not being to be diverted from proceeding in it by any promises Prince EUGENE could make, that the Empire would for the future contribute more to the expences of the war than they had done, the Prince had his audience of leave of her Majesty; when to express the value she had for his personal merit, she presented him with a sword enrich'd with diamonds, of the value of five thousand pounds.

But notwithstanding the Queen of Great Britain was not averse to a treaty of peace, she did not yet slacken the preparations for war: and the Duke of Marlborough, passing the French lines at Arleux and Bac-a-Bacheul, on the fifth of August new stile, invested the town of Bouchain the 12th, which surrender'd to the allies the 13th of September following, the garrison being made prisoners of war. On the Rhine there was little or no action this campaign, any more than in Spain. And in Hungary a treaty of pacification was concluded between the Imperial ministers and the malecontents; whereby the malecontents being pardon'd, agreed to disband their forces, and deliver up the fortresses in their possession, after they had continued in a state of rebellion for nine years together.

CHAP. IV. The Duke of Ormond having the command of the British forces in Flanders, in the year 1712, declar'd to the allies, that there being a near prospect of peace, her Majesty had given him orders not to act offensively: however, at the pressing instances of the allies, she did afterwards consent to the besieging of Quesnoy, which surrender'd the fourth of July; and on the seventh of the same month, the French King voluntarily surrender'd Dunkirk to the British troops. About which time the British plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, and the Duke of Ormond, General of the British troops, proposed a cessation of arms to the allies, which was rejected by them: on the contrary, Prince EUGENE, the Imperial General, with the German and Dutch troops, separated from the Duke of Ormond, inviting the mercenaries in British pay to follow them, which most of them did. And the next day, being the 17th of July, Prince EUGENE laid siege to Landrecy. Hereupon the Duke of Ormond caus'd a cessation of arms between Great Britain and France to be proclaim'd in his camp, as Marshal Villars did in the French camp the same day. After which the Duke of Ormond, with the British forces under his command, marching towards Dunkirk, was denied entrance into Bouchain and Doway by the Dutch garrisons, notwithstanding the British hospital was in Doway: whereupon the Duke bent his march towards Ghent, of which city, as well as Bruges, he took possession the 23d of July, N.S. and detach'd six battalions to re-inforce the English garrison in Dunkirk. On the twenty-fourth of the same month, the allies under Prince EUGENE met with a misfortune, which could not but make them sensible of their rashness in insulting the Duke of Ormond, and separating their forces from those of Britain: for the Earl of Albemarle, being encamp'd with thirteen battalions and thirty squadrons at Denain, to secure the communication of Prince EUGENE's army (which lay before Landrecy) with Marchiennes, where was the grand magazine of the confederates, was attack'd by Marshal Villars, and defeated, and himself made prisoner; Count DRONA, Lieutenant-General and Governor of Mons, was drown'd in the Scheld; Count NASSAU with three thousand officers and soldiers were kill'd and wounded, and as many made prisoners; and a vast quantity of ammunition and provisions, besides twelve pieces of cannon, were taken by the French: and about a week after, Marchiennes itself surrender'd to them, the garrison consisting of between four and five thousand men being made prisoners of war: in the place also was found three hundred thousand weight of powder, an hundred pieces of cannon, three hundred waggons, a vast quantity of bombs, grenades, bullets, corn, meal, bacon, wine, brandy, and all kinds of provision and tools necessary for

A cessation of arms between Great Britain and France.

making two sieges, besides great numbers of horses. CHAP. IV. Upon which misfortune Prince EUGENE thought fit to raise the siege of Landrecy the second of August.

And now the French being in their turn masters of the field, invested Doway on the 14th of August, which surrender'd the 8th of September following, the garrison being made prisoners of war. The same day Quesnoy was invested by the French, and surrender'd the 4th of October, the garrison also being made prisoners of war; which, according to the French account, compleated the number of forty battalions of the allies they had destroy'd or made prisoners, since the defeat at Denain. The Dutch still refusing to come into the cessation of arms, Marshal Villars sat down before Bouchain on the 10th of October, which place surrender'd the 19th, the garrison remaining prisoners at discretion. But I should have remember'd that Portugal was before-hand with all the allies in treating secretly with France: and on the fifth of November a suspension of arms was sign'd for four months between France and Spain on the one side, and Portugal on the other. Brigadier PIERCE also, Commander of the British troops in Catalonia, having notified to Count STAREMBERG, that a cessation of arms had been agreed upon between Great Britain and France, declar'd that he must separate his forces from him; and on the 15th of November the British forces in Catalonia were embark'd for Port Mahon, where the Duke of Argyle at that time commanded. His Grace upon their arrival caus'd the Emperor's colours to be taken down, and the English colours to be hoisted in the several castles and forts in the island of Minorca: and the Emperor's governor in the island refusing to take the oaths to her British Majesty, had leave to retire to Barcelona: but the rest of the magistrates there took an oath of fidelity to the Queen.

The States General, finding the allies in no condition to oppose the arms of France without the assistance of Great Britain, agreed to come into the plan of peace propos'd to them by the Earl of Strafford on the part of Britain, and conclude, and sign the peace jointly, and at the same time with the British ministers. But before the conclusion of the general peace a new treaty of Guaranty for the Protestant succession in Britain, and the Barrier of the States General, was sign'd on the 30th of January, 1712-13. By which treaty it was agreed, that the Dutch should put garrisons in the towns and forts of Furnes, Fort Knocque, Ipres, Menin, the town and citadel of Tournay, Mons, Charleroy, the town and castle of Namur, the castle of Ghent, the ports Le Perle, Philip and Damme, and the fort of St. Donat. The fortifications of all which places, with the garrisons therein, to be maintain'd out of

Barrier treaty.

CHAP. of the revenues arising in the countries about
IV. them; so that the Dutch were to be at no expence in maintaining those garrisons.

And it was further agreed, that Britain, when required by the Dutch, should send ten thousand foot, and twenty men of war to their assistance, at the charge of Britain, to maintain the aforesaid Barrier: and on the other side, the Dutch should send six thousand foot and twenty men of war to the assistance of Britain when required, at the expence of the States, to support the Protestant succession: but if the danger on either side should be great and imminent, either party should assist the other with their whole force.

Treaty for the evacuation of Catalonia.
The Imperial and French ministers on the 14th of March following concluded a treaty for the evacuating Catalonia, Majorca and Ivica by the Imperialists, and for the neutrality of Italy. By the first article whereof it was agreed, that there should be a suspension of arms in Catalonia till the Empress and the Court then residing there, and other persons who were disposed to follow it, whether military or not, Spaniards or others, should with their effects, and the Imperial forces, be entirely departed from Spain and arriv'd in Italy, upon condition they deliver'd up the places possessed by them.

And by the eighth article it was agreed, that as soon as the said evacuation should be begun, there should be granted to all the subjects and inhabitants of Catalonia, and the said Islands, a general amnesty and perpetual oblivion for all that had been done by them during the war; and no trouble should be given on those accounts to the Catalans, or inhabitants of the said isles: but as to the enjoyment of their antient privileges, this was referred to be discuss'd at the treaty for a general peace. And by the eleventh article it is agreed, that there shall be an entire suspension of arms throughout Italy, and the islands of the Mediterranean, respectively possess'd by the parties engaged in war, as in all the territories of his Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, situate as well on this side as on the other side the Alps.

In pursuance of the abovesaid convention for the evacuation of Catalonia, the Empress embarked at Barcelona about the beginning of March 1712-13, and was convoy'd to Vado in Italy by the British fleet.

1713.
The year 1713 was more remarkable for negotiations of peace than warlike enterprizes; for on the 31st of March O. S. or the 11th of April N. S. the respective treaties of peace between Great Britain, Prussia, Portugal, the States General and Savoy on the one part; and the French King on the other, were executed at Utrecht: Count Zinzendorf the Imperial Minister protesting against it, declaring, that he conceived the Emperor and Empire had great injustice done them; for that the Emperor's imperial dignity

was not by the preliminary articles to be acknowledged till after the signing the peace. 2. Because that expression in them, that the Rhine shall serve as a boundary between France and the Empire, is very captious and ambiguous, there being many considerable places and countries belonging to the Empire on the French side the Rhine. 3. Because France insists on the restoration of the Elector of Bavaria, with some other demands of importance. For which reasons the Emperor and Empire determined to continue the war against France alone, till they could obtain better terms.

By the treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, it was stipulated, that the acts of settlement made by the British parliament, for the security of the Protestant succession, should be thereby confirm'd and enforced: that the crowns of France and Spain should remain for ever separate, Dunkirk be demolish'd, the British plantations in America in possession of France be restored, and a just and reasonable satisfaction given to all the allies.

By the treaty with the States General, France consented to yield up the town and dutchy of Luxemburg, the towns of Namur, Charleroy, Menin, Tournay, Furnes, Fort Knocque, Loo, Dixmude, Ipres, and some other places for a barrier to the States; and the Dutch on the other hand, agreed to yield up Lisle, Aire, Bethune, and St. Venant.

By the treaty between France and Savoy, Sicily was yielded to the Duke of Savoy, a sufficient barrier was given him on the side of France; and the crown of Spain was limited to the said Duke on failure of issue of King PHILIP.

The war still continuing between the Empire and France, the French invested Landau on the 12th of June, which held out till the 20th of August, when the garrison surrendered, and were made prisoners of war. On the 30th of September the French laid siege to Friburgh, which they made themselves masters of on the 1st of November, and on the 16th of the same month the castle surrendered: which successes induced the Imperialists the following winter to enter into a treaty with France, which was managed by Prince EUGENE of Savoy, on the one side, and Marshal Villars on the other, at the castle of Rastadt.

Count STAREMBERG having evacuated Catalonia with the Imperial troops on the 9th of July, according to the abovemention'd convention, the Catalans immediately took possession of Barcelona, and declared war against King PHILIP, rejecting the indemnity the Queen of Great Britain had procured for them; and on the 13th of the same month of July, a treaty of peace was signed between Great Britain and Spain; whereby the Queen's title, and the Protestant succession in Britain were agreed to; Gibraltar, Minorca and

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. and Port Mahon yielded to Britain, with the benefit of the Asiento trade, or the furnishing the Spanish dominions in America with negroes; and by it the Catalans were not only indemnified for opposing King PHILIP, but their honours and estates, together with the privileges of the inhabitants of both Castiles were granted them, and the cession of Sicily was confirm'd to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King of that island.

The Catalans continuing deaf to all offers of accommodation, King PHILIP's forces plunder'd and ravaged their country in a terrible manner; whereupon the Catalans declared themselves a free Independant State; granted commissions for raising soldiers in their own name; and took upon them to coin money with the arms of that province stamp'd upon it.

Treaty between the Emperor and France.

At the close of this year, viz. on the 6th of March N. S. 1713-14, a treaty of peace was concluded at Rastadt, between the Emperor and France: whereby it was agreed, that the treaties of Westphalia, Nimeguen, and Ryswick, should be the basis and foundation of the present treaty; and particularly, that the French should restore to the Emperor the town and fortrefs of Old Brisack, the town and fortrefs of Friburgh, the forts of St. Peter, and of the Star; and all other forts in the Black Forest and Brisgau, with the fort of Kehl and its dependancies; the fort of Pile, and others erected in the islands of the Rhine near Strasburgh, were to be demolish'd, the navigation and use of the said river to remain free and open to the subjects of either side, and no new tolls to be laid on goods passing along the said river by either party. The French King also agreed, that the fortifications over against Hunninghen, on the right side the Rhine, and the island therein should be demolish'd; and in general, all the forts, intrenchments, lines, and bridges specified in the treaty of Ryswick, and such as have been erected since, either along the Rhine, or in the Rhine, or elsewhere in the Empire, and its dependancies, which it should not be lawful to re-establish. The French King also agreed to evacuate the castles of Bitsch and Homburgh, and to cause the fortifications thereof to be demolish'd. On the other hand, his Imperial Majesty agreed, that the city of Landau and its dependancies should remain to the most Christian King: that the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne be restored to all their dominions, prerogatives, &c. And the French agreed, that the Emperor should enjoy the Spanish Netherlands, saving the barrier towns there granted to the States General: that the King of Prussia should keep all he was possess'd of in the upper quarter of Guelderland, particularly the town of Guelder, &c. which was confirm'd to that Prince in lieu of his pretensions to the principality of Orange in France.

1714.

The year 1714, was fatal to several great per-

sons, as 1. to CHARLES Duke of Berry, youngest son of the late Dauphin of France, and grand-son to LEWIS XIV. who died at Marli on the 4th of May, in the 28th year of his age. 2. The Princess SOPHIA, Electress and Dutchess dowager of Hanover, who died on the 8th of June N. S. in the 84th year of her age. And 3. ANNE, Queen of Great Britain, who died on the first of August, in the 50th year of her age; being succeeded by GEORGE Elector of Brunswick-Lunenburg, who arrived at London on the 20th of September, and was crown'd the 20th of October following.

Death of the Queen of England &c.

The Duke of Berwick, with an army composed of French and Spanish troops, laid siege to Barcelona on the 12th of July, this year; the citizens defending themselves with great obstinacy till the eleventh of September following, when they retired into the new city, and beat a parley; and on the 12th they surrendred on condition their lives should be spared, and the city should not be plunder'd. As to the Emperor, who encouraged the poor Catalans to stand out to the last extremity, and not accept of any terms, promising to send them reinforcements from time to time, he neither sent them any assistance, or took any notice of them in the treaty of peace between the Emperor and France, or in the treaty between the Empire and France, which was concluded at Baden the 7th of September N. S. and contains nothing material but what was stipulated in the treaty of Rastadt.

Barcelona taken.

Treaty between the Empire and France.

A treaty was also concluded on the sixth of February this year between Spain and Portugal; so that all the nations of Europe were now in peace: but this calm lasted a very little while, for the Turks declared war against the republick of Venice on the 7th of December 1714.

In the year 1715, the Turks made themselves entire masters of the Morea, meeting with very little opposition there: and this swift progress of the Ottoman arms obliged the Emperor to enter into a confederacy with the Venetians for their mutual defence. The peace of Great Britain was also disturb'd this year by a civil war: the Earl of Marr retiring in disgust from court, assembled the friends of the Pretender in Scotland about the middle of August; and proclaim'd him King by the name of JAMES VIII. and Mr. FOSTER, who had accepted the post of General for the Pretender in England, assembled the malecontents in the north of England; and caused the Pretender to be proclaim'd in Northumberland in October following: but being afterwards surrounded by King GEORGE's forces in Preston, General FOSTER and his adherents were most of them made prisoners of war. The same day the Earl of Marr attack'd King GEORGE's troops near Dumblain; but it was a kind of drawn battle, neither side having

1715. The Turks conquer the Morea.

HAP. IV. having great reason to boast of their success. On the 25th of December the Pretender landed in Scotland near Aberdeen, with some few officers and gentlemen; but it was now too late, the Dutch having before sent over five or six thousand men to the assistance of King GEORGE; and the malecontents having no regular troops in their service, the Pretender and the Earl of Marr seeing no probability of success, dispersed their troops, and transported themselves into France. What dishearten'd the malecontents more than any thing, was the death of the French King LEWIS XIV. who died on the first of September N. S. and the Duke of Orleans being declared Regent of France, who betrayed all their counsels to the British court.

HAP. IV. Hostilities having been begun between the German and Ottoman Empires in the beginning of the year 1716, Prince EUGENE on the fifth of August attack'd the Turkish army, consisting of near two hundred thousand men, entrench'd near Carlowitz: and tho' the Turks defended themselves well at the beginning of the action, they were at length routed, and a dreadful slaughter made of them; the Imperialists making themselves masters of all their cannon, tents, baggage and ammunition, the military chest, with five millions of florins coin'd, and the Grand Vizier's pavillion, in which were found jewels and treasure to the value of three hundred thousand florins more; two hundred of his women were also taken, from fourteen to twenty-six years of age. After this victory Prince EUGENE march'd to invest Temeswaer; before which place the trenches were open'd on the first of September, and the town surrendred on the 14th of October following, having been in the possession of the Turks for an hundred and sixty-four years.

HAP. IV. The Imperialists the following year invested the city of Belgrade on the 18th of June 1717; and the Turks coming to the relief of it on the 16th of August, Prince EUGENE of Savoy engaged them, and obtain'd a compleat victory: whereupon the town surrendred two days afterwards; but Prince EUGENE made no further advantage of his victory this year. PHILIP King of Spain having augmented his navy, as well as his land-forces this year, propos'd to himself the making a conquest of Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, and the rest of the Spanish dominions in Italy, which had been dismembred from that crown by the last peace; and accordingly the Marquis de Lede, the Spanish General, made a descent in the island of Sardinia, and reduced that country to the obedience of King PHILIP.

HAP. IV. In the beginning of July the year following, the Marquis de Lede landed in Sicily with sixteen or seventeen thousand men, and was well receiv'd by most of the towns in that island: who set open their gates and voluntarily offer'd to submit

to King PHILIP. Whereupon a confederacy was enter'd into between the Emperor, Britain, and the King of Sicily against Spain; and the Dutch afterwards coming into it, this treaty was call'd the Quadruple Alliance, the chief design whereof, was to confirm the partition of the Spanish monarchy. In pursuance whereof, Sir GEORGE BYNG being sent into the Streights with a squadron of British men of war, fell upon the Spanish fleet near Syracuse in Sicily, and took and destroy'd about sixteen of their ships of war. In the mean time the Emperor having sign'd a treaty of peace, or truce for twenty-four years with the Turks, was at leisure to attend the war with Spain in Sicily.

The French also assembled an army in the beginning of the year 1719, and invaded Spain by land: on the 13th of April they took Port Passage, where they burnt six Spanish men of war, which were almost finish'd, upon the stocks. The French Generals afterwards besieged Fontarabia, which surrendred the sixteenth of June, as did St. Sebastian the first of August following, the whole province of Guipuscoa submitting to the crown of France. On the 29th of August the Lord Cobham with six thousand British troops made a descent near Vigo in Spain, and took the town and castle, but quitted them again the 25th of October. In the mean time the Imperialists, by the assistance of the British fleet, transported an army into Sicily; and having taken the town of Messina, the castle surrendred to them the 19th of October. King PHILIP finding himself thus press'd by a potent confederacy, thought it time to hearken to proposals of accommodation. But I should have remembred, that Spain in order to make a diversion, and distract the allies this summer, sent the Earl of Seaforth with three hundred Spaniards to Scotland, who having join'd four thousand Highlanders on the tenth of June, engaged General WIGHTMAN, but they were defeated, and most of the Spaniards made prisoners.

On the sixth of May 1720, N. S. a convention for a suspension of arms, and for the evacuation of Sicily by the Spaniards, was sign'd by the Imperial and Spanish Generals, and on the next day a convention for the evacuation of Sardinia.

And in the following year the renunciations of the Emperor and King of Spain, of such part of the Spanish Monarchy as each of them were to give up, were executed; by which Sicily was surrendred to the Emperor, and Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King of that island; and thus peace was once more restored to Europe, some few matters only being left to be decided in a congress at Cambray by the ministers of the respective powers concern'd.

The Emperor having no male issue, summon'd a general diet of the states of the kingdom of Hungary

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1719.

1720.

1721.

Peace concluded.

1722.

CHAP. Hungary to meet at Presburgh on the 20th of
 IV. June 1722, where he procured an act to pass for
 settling the succession of the crown of Hungary on
 the female line of the house of Austria: acknow-
 ledging for successors to that crown the Arch-
 duchesses, his Imperial Majesty's daughters, and
 all the females of the house of Austria, with their
 descendants, in failure of male issue, according to
 the order of primogeniture, in the manner esta-
 blish'd in all other kingdoms and territories be-
 longing to his Imperial Majesty, and his most au-
 gust house; determining to remain for ever in-
 dissolubly united with his Imperial Majesty's o-
 ther dominions; so that the same may for ever
 hereafter be govern'd by one head. And it is
 said, the Protestants who are members of the
 states, contributed very much to the resolution
 that was taken for the settling the succession, ha-
 ving had great assurances given them that the af-
 fairs of religion should be settled to their satis-
 faction.

It was look'd upon to be very ominous to the
 Imperial family, that on the 6th of August in
 the evening in the inward court of the palace of the
 Favorita, next to the Emperor's apartment, so
 great a number of grass-hoppers, or rather lo-
 cuets, lodged themselves, that it was the work of
 a whole night and the next day to clear the court
 of them; but the two outer courts of the palace
 had none in them: I do not find however, that
 any great misfortune hath happen'd to the Empe-
 ror since, according to the wise prognostications
 of the superstitious, unless the want of male is-
 sue is to be accounted such.

1723.

The beginning of the year 1723, was fatal to
 the famous town of Buda in Hungary, most part
 of the city being burnt to the ground, and part
 of the walls and fortifications destroy'd by the
 blowing up the magazines on Easter Sunday.

The Dutch
 memorial
 against the
 Ostend com-
 pany.

The Emperor having erected a company of
 merchants at Ostend to trade to the East-Indies,
 the West-Indies, and the coast of Africa by his
 grant, bearing date the day of December 1722,
 the Dutch presented memorial after memorial to
 the Imperial court, in hopes of getting the grant
 retracted; insisting that it was contrary to the
 treaty of Munster, and other treaties, that the in-
 habitants of the Austrian, formerly the Spanish,
 Netherlands should trade to the East-Indies; and
 seem'd to charge the Emperor with ingratitude,
 by encroaching on their trade when they had
 done him so many signal services in the late war,
 conquering whole kingdoms and provinces for him
 at a great expence of blood and treasure.

This year the Emperor publish'd an edict in fa-
 vour of the Hungarian Protestants, allowing them
 the free exercise of their religion, and their an-
 cient privileges. On the 5th of September his
 Imperial Majesty was crown'd King of Bohemia

at Prague, and on the 8th the Empress was crown'd
 Queen; it not being the custom of this country,
 it seems, for the King and Queen to be crown'd
 the same day.

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The famous congress of Cambray, which had
 been so long talk'd of, was open'd the 26th of
 January 1723-4; where the first things agreed
 on, were, that the Emperor should grant the in-
 vestiture of the dutchies of Tuscany, Parma and
 Placentia in Italy, to the Prince Don CARLOS
 Infante of Spain; and that the artillery taken a-
 way by the Spaniards, on their evacuating Sar-
 dinia, should be restored to the King of Sardinia.

Congress of
Cambray.

The Empire remaining in perfect peace, the
 year 1724 affords very little worth relating. The
 congress of Cambray, indeed, continued their con-
 ferences; but seem'd to spend their time more in
 ceremony, or private cabals between particular
 Ministers, than the business they were assembled
 about. The Emperor having determined to con-
 stitute the Archduchess ELIZABETH, his eldest
 sister, governor of the Austrian Netherlands,
 Prince EUGENE of Savoy resign'd that govern-
 ment, and was made Vicar-General of all the
 Austrian dominions in Italy, the highest post the
 Emperor could confer upon him, since the Vice-
 roys of Naples and Sicily, the Governor of the Mi-
 laneze, and all other Imperial Officers and Gene-
 rals in Italy receive their orders from him, and
 give obedience to them as to those of the Em-
 peror himself.

While the Ministers of the several powers of
 Europe assembled at Cambray, were spending their
 time, to all appearance, in matters of ceremony,
 or diversion, the Emperor and Spain enter'd into
 a treaty without the knowledge of the other
 powers, which was concluded at Vienna the 30th
 of April 1725; by which the Emperor acknow-
 ledges King PHILIP King of all the Spanish do-
 minions in his possession, confirms Sardinia to the
 Duke of Savoy, and the Dutchies of Tuscany,
 Parma and Placentia to Don CARLOS Prince of
 Spain, on the death of the present Duke of Tus-
 cany, &c. and King PHILIP agrees to make over
 to Don CARLOS his son, the city of Porto Lon-
 gone, with that part of the island of Elva in his
 possession; and declares, that neither he nor any
 of his successors to the crown of Spain shall ever
 have the guardianship of the Prince who shall pos-
 sess any of those Dutchies; nor shall be in a ca-
 pacity to acquire, retain, or possess the least thing
 in the said Dutchies, or in Italy, or introduce his
 own troops, or foreigners into the said Dutchies
 during the life of the present Princes: but the
 said Prince Don CARLOS may however take
 possession of the Dutchies as they devolve upon
 him. King PHILIP also renounces in favour
 of his Imperial Majesty, all rights and pretensions
 to the Spanish dominions in Italy, Sicily, Flan-
 ders,

1725.
Treaty of
Vienna.

CHAP. IV. ders, and elsewhere in the possession of his Imperial Majesty; but each party to stile himself King of Spain, &c. during his life; the publishing of which treaty put an end to the congress at Cambray.

A treaty of commerce also was sign'd between the Emperor and Spain on the first of May 1725, whereby Spain agrees, that the subjects of the Empire should have the same privileges in point of commerce as the English and Dutch, or the most favour'd nations; and should have the liberty of vending their East-India merchandize brought over by the Ostend company in any part of Spain.

The Emperor also enter'd into an alliance offensive and defensive with Russia and Poland, and other powers were invited to accede to the Vienna treaty. At the same time the Imperial Court seem'd very intent upon promoting commerce; and not only encouraged the Ostend company, but declared Trieste, on the gulph of Venice, a free port. On the other hand, Great Britain, France, and Prussia, concluded a treaty on the third of September 1725; wherein the said powers promise their mutual guaranty to protect and defend all their dominions, countries and cities, as well within as out of Europe, with all their rights and privileges, and particularly those of trade, which the said allies respectively enjoy; and if they cannot obtain justice by fair means, and any of the contracting powers shall be attack'd, or molested in the said particulars, that then the abovesaid powers, within two months after demand, shall furnish the following succours, viz. his Britannick Majesty, three thousand foot, and four thousand horse. His most Christian Majesty eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse. His Prussian Majesty three thousand foot, and two thousand horse. But if the party attack'd, or injured, chuses to be supplied with ships of war, or transports, or money, then the other parties shall furnish him with ships or money in proportion to the expence of the troops above stipulated. And if the abovesaid succours are not sufficient to redress the wrongs of the injured party, the contracting powers then agree to furnish more forces; and in case of necessity, all their forces, and even to declare war against the aggressor. The contracting powers also agree to maintain the treaties of Oliva and Westphalia; and to invite other powers, especially the States General, to accede to the present treaty. And the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia declare they will not furnish their contingents of troops to the Empire against France in case of an offensive war; and if either of them should be compel'd to it, he shall furnish as many forces to assist France. And on the eighth of February following the States General acceded to the said Hanover treaty.

Upon this treaty the Court of Vienna is said to

CHAP. IV. have made some very severe reflections; particularly, that this treaty being made by two Electors and Princes of the Empire with a foreign power against his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, was contrary to those solemn oaths of fidelity, which the Kings of England and Prussia swore openly with a loud voice before the Imperial Throne, and in the presence of almighty God to his Imperial Majesty, and to the Holy Roman Empire at their investiture. That it was an actual separation from the whole Empire, and an union with those who would probably be the declared enemies of it. That by this means the administration of justice, which is put into the hands of his Imperial Majesty according to the capitulation at his election, and the laws of the Empire, are of no force with these contracting parties, but wholly destroy'd; and they have assum'd a power of acting according to their own will and pleasure. The peace of the country also is at an end, by the bringing in of foreign troops, which is not allow'd even to the Emperor himself. And the said contracting powers may at any time seize by force the rights they have, or pretend to have, and secure them by foreign nations against the Majesty of the Emperor, their supreme judge and lord, and against the other States of the Empire.

The Elector of Bavaria, MAXIMILIAN EMANUEL MARY, died this year on the 26th of February, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, leaving his dominions to his eldest son CHARLES ALBERT CAJETAN, the electoral Prince.

In the beginning of the year 1726, we find the British ministers complaining that an English courier was stop'd at Belgrade in his return from Constantinople, and of a report which prevail'd at this time in the court of Vienna, that his British Majesty had not only caused the treaty of Hanover to be communicated to the Ottoman Porte; but that he had also endeavour'd to excite the Turks to enter into a war with the Emperor; intimating that the alliance lately form'd against him, gave the Sultan a favourable opportunity of recovering Temeswaer and Belgrade. To which the Imperial ministers answer'd, That it was true, they had received repeated advices from Constantinople, that the British Ambassador at the Porte, at an audience of the Grand Vizier, had endeavour'd to excite the Turks against his Imperial Majesty; and that all the foreign ministers at Constantinople, with one consent, had spoken of it as a matter both certain and publick; that such informations as these, necessarily oblig'd the Emperor to use some precaution: whereupon orders were sent on the 23d of January to all the Generals and commanding officers on the frontiers of Turkey, to let no body pass without giving notice thereof to the court. And an English courier, or messenger, afterwards arriving at Belgrade, under the

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the character of a Merchant, the Duke of Wirtemberg, governour of Servia, could not avoid detaining him till further orders. The courier finding himself stopped, discover'd the badge of an English Messenger, and deliver'd a letter from the Imperial resident at the Porte, wherein he was so stiled. They leave the world therefore to judge whether the detaining such a person as this in a frontier town, who was returning from such an errand, and who was nevertheless released out of regard to his Britanick Majesty, can afford any room to require satisfaction for a violation of the law of nations, as the British minister stiles it: and if, on the other hand, his Imperial Majesty had not reason to complain of these practices. What foundation the Imperialists had to charge his British Majesty with inciting the Turk against Christendom, I shall not determine; but certain it is, the Imperialists were under some apprehensions of being attack'd by the Porte; and enter'd into an alliance with Muscovy by way of precaution, wherein it was stipulated, that in case his Imperial Majesty's dominions should be invaded by the Turks, Russia should bring forty thousand men into the field to his assistance: and if the Turks should invade Muscovy, the Emperor should declare war against the Turks, and make a diversion on the side of Hungary.

This year issued an Imperial edict, prohibiting the importation of English manufactures into the Imperial dominions, as well as the importation of all India goods, except those imported by the Ostend company. And now things seem'd to tend to a rupture between the allies of Vienna and Hanover; but nothing of this kind has yet happen'd, unless the besieging of Gibraltar by the Spaniards, which still remains block'd up by them; and the sending a squadron of British men of war to America, to prevent the Spanish galleons returning to Europe: and it is hoped that the new congress to be held at Cambray, may remove all misunderstandings between the Princes of Europe. And here I shall conclude the modern history of Germany, all things remaining in the same suspense the present year as they did the last.

CHAP. V.

Treats of the power of the Emperor; of his election and coronation; of the King of the Romans, and Electors; and of the general Diet.

Power of
the Empe-
ror,

THE power of the German Emperors hath not been at all times the same. CHARLEMAGNE, who laid the foundation of this Empire, enjoy'd great part of Germany, Hungary, France and Italy, of which he was absolute mo-

narch; and took the liberty of disposing his dominions to his successor on his death, as many succeeding Emperors did afterwards. But two things much abridged the power of these Emperors, one whereof was the encroachments of the See of Rome, which did not only assume an independency for themselves and the several Princes and States in Italy from the Emperor's jurisdiction, but claim'd a superiority over all the Kings and Princes of the earth, and particularly over the German Emperor, whom they did not look upon as legally advanc'd to the throne without their concurrence; and held that he might be deposed by the Pope, whenever the Holy Father should charge him with heresy, or male-administration. The Imperial power was also very much lessen'd, and almost lost by the many exorbitant grants made by succeeding Emperors to the governours of the several provinces, whom they invested with sovereign power, and made hereditary in their respective governments: whereupon these great officers soon assumed an independency, and even a power of electing their Sovereign: and while the Emperors had scarce any other dominions than those they were thus elected to, they made but an inconsiderable figure in Christendom; but now their hereditary dominions, in which they are absolute, are so much enlarg'd, the German Emperor may be reckon'd one of the most potent Princes in Europe, especially since the See of Rome hath lost much of that influence it had in the days of bigotry and superstition. The Emperor is neither crown'd or confirm'd in his Imperial dignity by the Pope at present: on the contrary, some late Emperors have ventured to seize upon the lands of the Church in Italy, and made the Holy Father sensible it was in their power to crush him, since they have obtain'd the possession of Milan, Naples and Sicily, which almost surround the territories of the Church.

The Emperors, like other Sovereigns, are the fountains of honour in their dominions, and do not only constitute Dukes, Marquisses, Counts, &c. but have frequently taken upon them to create Kings: They have not indeed the power of making peace or war, or of levying taxes, without the consent of the Electors, and other Princes of the Empire; neither can they make laws, or suspend them without the consent of the Diet, or assembly of the Estates: but their hereditary dominions are now so much enlarged, and they have such a number of profitable posts and honours at their disposal, that the Princes of the Empire seem very much devoted to them, and seldom oppose any thing which his Imperial Majesty proposes. Since the late acquisitions in Hungary, the Low Countries, and Italy, the Emperor has made a figure

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The fountain of
honour,

HAP. figure equal almost to his greatest ancestors ; nor
V. is there any power in Europe perhaps a match for
him by land.

The next person to the Emperor is the King of the Romans, who has little authority but what he derives from the Emperor : in the Emperor's absence indeed he usually takes upon him the administration of the government ; and after the Emperor's death, succeeds without any further election. The first occasion of electing a King of the Romans, proceeded from a contrivance of some Emperors to secure the Imperial crown to their own families ; they made use of their authority while they were in possession of the throne, and easily influenced the Electors to chuse a son, a brother, or some other near relation to be King of the Romans, which is now grown so customary, that the Empire seems to be entail'd on the males of the Austrian family, it being much the same thing to elect a King of the Romans, as to chuse an Emperor.

The principal members of the Empire after the King of the Romans, are the nine Electors, of whom the three first are ecclesiastical, viz. the Electors of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne (who are also Arch-Chancellors of the Empire,) the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Bavaria, the Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and the Duke of Brunswick. The number of the Electors till the peace of Munster was only seven ; but when the authority of chusing their Emperors became limited to so small a number, does not appear. After CHARLES the Great, the Empire was hereditary till the reign of HENRY IV. who being charg'd with male-administration, Pope GREGORY VII. excommunicated him, and declaring him unfit to reign, order'd him to be deposed, which his rebel subjects soon put in execution ; and being absolved from their allegiance by his Holiness, they took upon them to elect RODOLPH, Duke of Suabia, for their Emperor, about the year 1106. They also declared that the right of succession should be for ever abolish'd, and the power of chusing Emperors be lodged in the people. The German histories are full of the confusions that happen'd in the Empire on this revolution, and relate, that after some years, the lower rank of the people were deprived of their share in electing their Emperor, and the whole power of election usurped by some few of the great officers of the Imperial court. The right of election is annex'd to their electoral principalities and estates, and as long as there is any male issue in any of the electoral families the power of electing the Emperor cannot be taken from them, but by the ban of the Empire, or a decree of Estates.

Every Elector is sovereign in his dominions ; they make laws, establish courts of justice, coin

money, levy taxes, and make alliances with other CHAP. Princes of the Empire, or foreigners, raise fortifications, and make war or peace under some restrictions ; but they cannot alter the value of money, or lay new tolls or customs in their respective territories without the consent of the Diet ; neither can they enter into such confederacies as tend to the prejudice of the Empire, or are contrary to the fealty they have sworn to the Emperor ; and if they do, the States of the Empire may proceed against and divest them of their inheritances and the privileges of Electors.

Upon the death of the Emperor, (where there is no King of the Romans already elected) the Election of an Emperor. the Elector of Mentz, as High Chancellor of the Empire, and Dean of the electoral college, gives notice to the other Electors, that they appear at Francfort within the space of a month, to elect a new Emperor, who is generally agreed on before they come to the place of election. A day being appointed however, rather to publish than make election, they come in the morning to the town-house in their ordinary dress, and without any ceremony ; here they put on their electoral habits, the three ecclesiastical Electors wearing scarlet robes with caps lined with ermine ; and the secular Electors robes of crimson velvet lined also with ermine. At the town-house they take horse and march to St. BARTHOLOMEW's church, but without observing any order, only they are each of them attended with their respective hereditary Marshals, carrying a sword in a scabbard before each of them ; but the deputies of the absent Electors have not this honour paid them. When the Electors come to the church, they alight at the gate, and go to their respective seats in the choir, being follow'd by several Princes and Counts of the Empire, the several sword-bearers standing before the respective Electors with their swords drawn, and laid on their shoulders. Divine service beginning, at the singing the hymn of Veni Creator, the Protestant Electors withdraw till mass is over, after which they return and take the following oath with the rest at the altar, viz. That without regard to any solicitations, promises, or rewards, they will elect such a person for Emperor as they believe in their consciences is fit to govern the world. The qualifications required in the Emperor to be elected are, that he be a Christian Prince of German extraction, not under twenty-eight years of age, and capable of sustaining the character of his Imperial Majesty. The hymn being sung once again, they go to the place appointed for the election, being a small vaulted gallery, which goes out of the choir, and the Emperor is chosen by a majority of voices, of which the person elected may be one : then they come out, and place the Emperor elect upon the altar, if he be present, where

CHAP. where the Archbishop of Mentz recommends to
 V. him the interests of the Empire, and presents
 him with the capitulation or conditions on which
 he is chosen, to sign; after which the election is
 publish'd, and the new Emperor proclaim'd.

Coronation.

At the Coronation the Electors, or their Ambassadors, attend the Emperor from his palace to the church in their robes in the following order; the Elector Palatine with the crown, the Elector of Bavaria with the globe, and the Elector of Brandenburg with the scepter, march first abreast; the Elector of Saxony carries the sword, and the Elector of Hanover the standard. (As to the other secular Elector, the King of Bohemia, he has been the person elected for several generations, being the eldest son of the deceas'd Emperor.) At the door of the church the Emperor is receiv'd by the three ecclesiastical Electors in their robes, who attend him to the altar; and the Archbishop who officiates, anoints his head, and between his shoulders, his neck, breast, and right arm; then he is brought to another altar and crowned, being cloathed with the antient Imperial robes, and afterwards conducted to the throne, where the Archbishop bids him receive and keep the pledge which was design'd for him by providence. Then Te Deum is sung, and the trumpets and musick proclaim the general joy.

General
 Diet.

When a general diet, or an assembly of the States of the Empire is to be held, the Emperor issues out his summons to the several Princes and other members of the Diet, acquainting them with the time and place of their sitting; and they are bound by their allegiance to appear at the day appointed, either in person or by proxy. More than half of the assembly usually consists of such substitutes as have no voices of their own, but come to vote for their masters; which is one of the principal occasions of the slow proceedings of their Diets: for it often happens, that the persons deputed have not full instructions, and are forc'd to send to their masters for new instructions before they will venture to give their voices. Sometimes the Emperor requires them by the summons to repair in person to the place appointed, on account of the importance of the matters to be debated: whereupon if they do not appear, they either send in no deputies at all, or make their Ambassadors plenipotentiaries, giving them authority to vote and act as if they themselves were actually present. Ratisbon is now become the usual place for the meeting of the Diet; but it has been held at Mentz, Augsburgh, and other cities; the Emperors seem only restrain'd not to hold it without the bounds of the Empire.

When any of the members of the assembly, or their Ambassadors, arrive at the place appointed, they first procure an audience of the Emperor, to whom they produce their summons, and thank

his Imperial Majesty for calling the Diet, promising their utmost endeavours to promote the general good of the Empire at the following session; and the Ambassadors are obliged to give the reasons of their master's absence. After this they acquaint the marshal of the Empire with their arrival, who provides every man quarters suitable to his quality, and registers their names. They also give in their names at the Chancellor's office, who is the Archbishop of Mentz, to be recorded with their credentials.

The Emperor alone proposes what is to be debated in the Diet: the members can introduce nothing. His Imperial Majesty also can adjourn any debate from time to time. The point of precedency among the Electors has been long since settled by the Golden Bull: but the other Princes and representatives of cities have not agreed upon the matter to this day; insomuch that it occasions perpetual quarrels, and the Diet wou'd sometimes break up in confusion, if some of them did not for peace-sake yield to the rest, entering a protest only that this single instance should not be made a precedent.

Among the Electors, the Elector of Mentz takes the post of honour, sitting in the middle, with the other two spiritual Electors, Cologne and Treves, on each side of him, who take the right hand by turns: next to them are the Dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, and Hanover on the left; and the King of Bohemia, the Electors Palatine and Brandenburg on the right. Below these sit the ecclesiastical Princes on the right, and the secular Princes on the left, and after them the Deputies of the towns.

On the spiritual bench antiently sat the Archduke of Austria and the Duke of Burgundy, though secular Princes, in regard to their eminence in the Empire. The Lutheran Prelates were formerly excluded this assembly; but by the Westphalian treaty they obtain'd seats in the Diet; not among the Roman Prelates or secular Princes, but between the one and the other. And since the archbishoprick of Magdeburg is turn'd into a dukedom, and the bishopricks of Lubec and Osnabrug into secular principalities, all the reformed Princes, except the Electors, sit on the secular bench which is appointed for the Princes, Counts, and Barons of the Empire, who have voices in the Diet.

The ecclesiastical and secular Princes of the Empire, and all Prelates who have princely dignities annex'd to their functions, with the Master of the Teutonic order, have each of them single voices; but the rest who can claim no temporal principality, give their voices by companies, of which kind are the two benches of Suabia and the Rhine. Formerly the Counts and Barons of the Empire had but two voices, and were therefore divided

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CHAP. V. divided into two benches, as the prelates are now. Afterwards, at a Diet held in the year 1641, the Counts of Franconia had a voice allowed them by themselves; and in the year 1654, a vote was given to the Counts of Saxony and Westphalia; so that at present there are four benches of Counts, viz. those of Suabia, Wetteraw, Franconia, and Westphalia, who have votes in the general Diet.

The representatives, or deputies of the Imperial cities, make the third and last rank of members in the Diet; but when they first obtain'd this privilege is very uncertain. Their deputies at present are divided into two benches; the one call'd the bench of the Rhine, and the other the Suabian bench. On the first sit the representatives of Lubeck, the free cities upon the Rhine, in Wetteraw, Alsace, Saxony, and Thuringia; and on the other, the representatives of the free cities in Suabia and Franconia. The representatives of the city where the diet is held sit at a table by themselves, and take an account of the voices of the other deputies, which are register'd by the two registers of Ulm and Spire; one of them representing the cities in the circle of the Rhine, and the other the cities of the circle of Suabia.

It is generally said, that if we divide the time of any session of the Diet into four parts, one is spent in disputes about precedency; a second and better in drinking-matches; a third in disputes about their privileges, with the Emperor; and scarce a fourth upon the business proposed to them from the throne, which usually relates to peace and war, the making or reviving laws, the regulating the coin, raising taxes, &c.

CHAP. VI.

Treats of the courts of justice, and laws of the Empire.

ANTIENTLY, the Emperor assisted by the bishops and great officers of the crown decided all ecclesiastical causes in the Empire, but the secular princes receiv'd justice only in the general Diets: but as law-suits multiplied, and it appear'd impracticable for the Emperor to hear every cause, and the suiters underwent great hardships in following the court from one part of Germany to another, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN I. settled a court of judicature at Worms, which was remov'd to Francfort, and afterwards to Spire; from whence it cannot be remov'd but by the consent of all the States. The assessors appointed as judges of this court, were at first but sixteen, but have since been increas'd to fifty. The Emperor names the supreme judge, and four of the principal officers: every Elector names one assessor, and the rest are appointed by the several circles

or benches in the Diet; and as those who appoint the assessors, are some of them of the church of Rome, and others of them Protestants; this court is compos'd of both, but the greater number of the assessors are of the Roman communion. There lies no appeal from this court; but the members of it, however, may be called to an account for any unjust proceedings. An appeal lies hither from all inferior and provincial courts; but this is seldom done, on account of the slowness of their proceedings, some causes being still depending here which were commenc'd many years ago.

There is another high court of justice in the Emperor's palace, wherever he resides, call'd *Der Reichs Hoffrat*, or the Dutch King's-Bench; which I take to be the same with that generally call'd the Aulick Council. Here the Emperor himself is supreme judge, being assisted by certain assessors, both Popish and Protestant; but the Emperor's place is usually supplied by a president. Whether this or the court of Spire has the greater authority is a mighty dispute I perceive among some; but as they have each of them cognizance of the same kind of causes, and there is no appeal from one court to the other, they seem to be pretty much upon the level. As to the inferior and provincial courts, these will be taken notice of in the description of the respective provinces and great towns where they are held.

The Civil Law is generally observ'd in all courts of the Empire, and to this are added some decrees, to which they pay an equal regard: as first, the Golden Bull, a small parchment book, containing thirty chapters, and about twenty-four leaves, publish'd by CHARLES IV, with the approbation of the greatest part of the Princes, Counts, Barons, and other States of the Empire; and contains all the fundamental laws relating to the time, place and persons requisite to the due election of the Emperor, the number and privileges of the Electors, the order they are to observe in all publick solemnities, and the appointing Vicars in the time of an interregnum; the seal annex'd to which decree being of gold, the instrument obtain'd the name of the Golden Bull, or Edict, which was held to be irrevocable. But notwithstanding it is appointed by this Bull, that the Electors should not exceed seven, we find they are now multiplied to nine. 2. The Capitulation *Capitulatio Cæsarea*, being a collection of forty or fifty articles between the Electors and the Emperor at his coronation, to the observation whereof his Imperial Majesty obliges himself by his oath, is another considerable part of the municipal laws of the Empire: by this he promises to maintain the privileges of the Electors, Princes, and other subjects of the Empire: that he will not alienate or diminish the revenues of the crown, or bring foreign troops into the Empire without the consent of the Electors, &c.

CHAP. &c. That no foreigner shall be admitted to any publick employment; but all places at court shall be fill'd with native Germans of some noble family.

Acts of the Diet.

Sanctio Pragmatica.

3. The third kind of laws the Germans are govern'd by, are the acts of their general Diets, which seem to differ from our acts of parliament only in this, namely, that the concurrence of the citizens and burgesſes is not necessary to the establishing an act, tho' they are allow'd to give their opinions of the expediency of what is about to be enacted. 4. The Sanctio Pragmatica, which principally regards the preservation of the peace of the Empire: wherein 'tis decreed, That if any Prince, or other member of the Empire, shall endeavour by open hostility to disturb the publick peace of the whole body, he shall be cut off from the other members, and deem'd an out-law. As to the laws of the particular provinces, these will be taken notice of, as we pass through them.

CHAP. VII.

Treats of the modern religion, and ecclesiastical government of Germany.

Conversion of the Germans.

SOME German writers pretend, that Germany was converted to the Christian religion by the Apostles, but it is generally held that Christianity was not introduc'd here 'till the second century, and then only in those parts of it which were subject to the Romans.

In the eighth century several missionaries were sent over from England, who converted that part of the country which lies between the Rhine and the Weser: afterwards CHARLES the Great, conquering the pagan Saxons, established the Christian religion amongst them; and the Bohemians and Moravians were not converted till some years after.

Reformation.

Luther.

About the year 1517 happen'd a reformation of religion in this country, in which MARTIN LUTHER was most instrumental. For the Archbishop of Mentz not being able to pay the large sums the Pope expected from him, procur'd leave of his Holiness to sell his pardons and indulgencies in all the great towns of Germany; and deputed one Friar TEKEL, his agent, to publish every where a pardon for all manner of sins, past, present, and to come, to those who would purchase them. LUTHER hearing of this, protested against the proceeding; and disputed openly at Wittemberg and Leipſick, against those who asserted the Pope's power of granting pardons and indulgencies, notwithstanding he was threatn'd with excommunication, and being condemn'd for a heretick: but the Elector of Saxony approving of his doctrines, and supporting him, he was the more encouraged to propagate them in other parts of Germany, where the Dukes of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Wirtem-

burgh, Mecklenburgh, Pomerania, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and most of the Imperial cities became his disciples: and these drew up a protestation, containing the points wherein they differ'd from the church of Rome, and presented it to the Imperial chamber at Spire, anno 1529; whereupon they were called Protestants. The following year, they deliver'd in a confession at Augsburg, from thence called the Augsburg confession; and refusing to recede from the opinions they profess'd therein, the Emperor CHARLES V. endeavour'd to reduce them by force. But after a long war, with various success, he was content to grant them a toleration at Passau, in the year 1552; which was afterwards confirm'd to them at Augsburg, anno 1555. About two years after LUTHER had began the reformation in Germany, viz. in the year 1519, ZUINGLIUS, a canon of the church of Zurich in Switzerland, began also to oppose the church of Rome, declaring against the mass, images, the invocation of saints, &c. and made such numbers of disciples, that the mass was abolish'd in the year 1526, by the senate at Zurich, as it was two years after at Bern. But the differences between these two reformers, in relation to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (the Lutherans holding consubstantiation, and the Zuinglians denying the elements to be any more than bare signs of Christ's body and blood) was a great hinderance to the progress of the reformation. LUTHER and ZUINGLIUS met to try if they could reconcile their doctrines; but to no purpose: the breach grew wider between them, and their respective disciples from thenceforward became mortal enemies to one another. The famous CALVIN succeeded ZUINGLIUS at Zurich; adding several new opinions to the doctrines preach'd by his predecessor, such as predestination, free-will, and final perseverance, which made the two sects irreconcilable: and it was observ'd, that CALVIN's doctrines spread further and faster than those of LUTHER; especially in France, Scotland, the Netherlands, and some parts of Germany: while the kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and other parts of Germany adhered to LUTHER's doctrine. And the Lutherans, to show their insuperable aversion to the Calvinists, in the great church at Leipſick, have drawn the pictures of the Devil, IGNATIUS LOYOLA, and JOHN CALVIN, and hung them up in one frame, with this inscription, The three great enemies of Christ, and of the Christian religion. Nor are the Calvinists at all behind hand with them in reproachful and reviling expressions. At present 'tis computed, that the Calvinists get ground of the Lutherans in Germany, being supported by the Court of Prussia, which is zealously affected to CALVIN; and the States General encourage no other doc-

trines

CHAP. VII. trines but CALVIN's, tho' they tolerate all religions. In France indeed, neither the one or the other can be profess'd openly. But to return to Germany: much the greatest part of this Empire still adhere to the Popish religion. However, the doctrines of the reformers have produced this effect, that many bishopricks have been converted into secular principalities, and a new form of church-government set up in many places instead of the episcopal.

Ecclesiastical government.

Bishops.

Those bishops who are still of the Roman communion exercise a greater authority in their dioceses than any prelates in Europe. They are most of them temporal Princes, and have as absolute a dominion over their subjects, spiritual and temporal, as the secular Electors have of the laity in their territories. Besides the three ecclesiastical Electors, there were formerly five Archbishops, and thirty Bishops, who had voices in the Diet of the Empire: but the archbishopricks of Magdeburg, Bremen and Riga, with the bishopricks of Halberstadt, Minden, and Verden, have since the reformation been turn'd into secular principalities: Those of Metz, Toul, Verdun, Befançon, and Strasburgh, have been cut off from the Empire, and united to France or Lorrain: and those of Valesia, Lofanna, and Coire, have been abolish'd by the Switzers. So that except the ecclesiastical Electors, there is in the college of the Princes of the Empire only the Archbishop of Saltzburg, and seventeen or eighteen Bishops, who have votes. The loss of these bishopricks, 'tis observ'd, is a great disadvantage to the younger brothers of great houses, who used to get a handsome maintenance by being preferr'd to them: whereas they enjoy now little more than the title of their elder brother, and are not allow'd any part of the inheritance of their ancestors; the court or the army is their only refuge at present. The bishoprick of Lubeck is still an ecclesiastical preferment, though it be in the hands of the Lutherans, and is in the gift of the Dukes of Sleswick and Holstein. The Archbishop of Saltzburg is the first German Prelate, being born legate of the See of Rome, and gives place to none but the Electors in the publick Diets. The other Roman Bishops, who have still a voice in the Diets of the Empire, are Bamberg, Wirtzburg, Wormes, Spire, Eichstedt, Augsburg, Constance, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Munster, Osnabrug, Passau, Frisingen, Liege, Trent, Brix, and Bazil; of which Osnabrug belongs to the Lutheran Princes by turns, being lately possess'd by his British Majesty's uncle, the Duke of York. The late Dukes of Hanover also possess'd themselves of Hildesheim, but it was restor'd to the Elector of Cologne, to whom it belong'd, by the treaty of Brunswick, anno 1653. Vienna is also a bishoprick, subject to the Archbishop of Saltzburg.

CHAP. VII. The Emperor antiently had the election and investiture of all the Bishops in his dominions; but this afterwards became the subject of much contention between the Pope and his Imperial Majesty; till the council of Trent gave the sole power of conferring dignities and prelacies to the Pope; not only in Germany, but in all parts of Christendom; and HENRY V. was compell'd to yield the investiture, &c. to the Pope, and divest himself of the right which his ancestors enjoy'd.

There are other ecclesiastical Princes, besides Bishops, who have voices in the Diets of the Empire; the first of whom is the Great Master of the Teutonick order, the Abbots of Fulda, Hirsesfield, Murback, Kempten, Corbray, Prum, Stabel, Ludors, the Grand Prior of Malta, the Provosts of Elvang, and Beresfolaguden; these sit below the Bishops. There are also three and twenty other Prelates, and fourteen Abbesses, who are plac'd below the secular Princes; but these have no voices in a full body any more than the Counts. The Abbesses send their representatives to the Diets of the Empire, being excus'd a personal appearance, upon account of their sex. The three and twenty inferior Prelates have either the title of Provost, Abbot, or Bailiff, of some particular place, and the revenues annex'd to their dignities are frequently equal to those of Princes.

The Protestants in the German Empire, whether Lutherans or Calvinists, acknowledge the supremacy of the Prince under whom they live, who is appeal'd to by unanimous consent, as supreme judge in spiritual as well as temporal causes; but the church-discipline of the Calvinists and Lutherans is very different: the Calvinists have neither bishops, or superintendants; whereas the Lutherans have their general and particular superintendants; the general superintendants answering to our archbishops, and the particular superintendants to bishops; and in the dominions of every prince is held a consistory, which answers to our convocation. This assembly have the power of degrading and punishing offenders, and of making rules or canons, for the better government of the clergy. The superintendants visit their dioceses once a year, and make a strict enquiry into the doctrine and manners of all the clergy under their care. There are some Lutheran Princes that have the title of Bishops, who are as absolute in their dioceses as secular monarchs in their temporal dominions; and have an unlimited command over both clergy and laity. The countries in Germany where the Lutheran opinions chiefly prevail, are those of Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Lunenburgh, Holstein, Mecklenburgh, Wirttemburgh, Darmstat, Dourlach, Lawenburgh, and East-Friezland. But there are great numbers of Calvinists among them, which sect seems to gain ground of the Lutherans.

Treats of the several degrees of nobility and gentry in Germany; and of the Imperial cities and Hans towns.

The original
of Dukes.

THE antient Germans, according to Cæsar, had their *Duces*, or leaders in time of war, by them called *Heertzogen*, who commanded as absolutely as our modern Generals, having the power of life and death. And thus we see it was in most of the countries we have passed through; *Dux*, or Captain, appears to have been the first title that sovereign Princes took upon them, especially in the north of Europe: but some writers seem very positive that these German leaders, or *Heertzogen*, constantly laid down their employments, and submitted to a private life so soon as the service they were chosen for was accomplish'd; for, say they, the Germans had scarce any standing magistracy in time of peace; but when any man had a controversy with his neighbour, they chose one out of the villages they lived in to decide the matter in dispute: and these temporary judges were called *Graffen*, or *Graven* *Graffin*, in the old Saxon language, signifying a Judge; and *Die Graffen*, a grey-headed Elder of the people, to whose age and experience they paid an uncommon regard.

But the Germans were a very happy people, if they never pitch'd upon a General who was unwilling to return to his former private state, especially if he had been any time in his command. If some of them did submit to a private life, it is as much as can be expected; for men were surely capable of ambition, and fond of raising their families above the common level in those days, as well as these; and indeed, ever since the world began: and consequently some of these Generals must have endeavour'd to obtain the dominion of the people they commanded, either by their consent, or otherwise; and that in fact it was so, may very well be presum'd from this, that the first Princes had the name of *Dux* or Captain conferr'd upon them; even in scripture we find the Prince stil'd the Leader, or Captain of his people. Again, if the Germans had no other civil magistrates than those of their own chusing out of the old men of every village, and those but to serve a present turn; is it to be suppos'd that any offender should voluntarily submit to the sentence pass'd upon him, especially where it extended to life or limb, where there was no power to enforce the execution of it? or, if there were no sanguinary punishments in those days, who would contentedly part with his lands or goods to make reparation for an injury, if he could avoid it? This must have been a golden age indeed,

when either there were no injuries done, or there needed no compulsion to oblige an offender to make satisfaction. But these doctrines are advanced chiefly for the sake of a people who look upon all government to be unjust and tyrannical, which is not deriv'd from the multitude, and may not be subverted by them at pleasure. But to return to Germany; whatever authority the antient Dukes and *Graves* had among the Germans, the Dukes and Counts afterwards appointed by the Romans, when they had the possession of part of this country, were invested with a power not much inferior to that of sovereign princes; but the Romans being masters of little to the eastward of the Rhine, these parts retain'd their antient form of government until the Franks subdued them; who, in imitation of the Romans, reduc'd all Germany into provinces, over which they placed so many Dukes, whom they intrusted both with the civil and military power. To these Dukes, according to Dr. NICHOLSON, they sometimes added assistants or deputies, who from their office were call'd Counts or *Comites*. The Duke was generally of some noble family; and upon his death, if there was no material objection against it, his son was appointed to succeed him; from whence these Dukes at length came to insist on a right of succeeding their ancestors, and refused to pay homage to the German Emperors, every Duke taking upon him to exercise regal power in his province; from whence there has sprung up so many independent Princes in this Empire.

Of Counts there are at present various kinds, as, 1. The *Schlecht Graven*, or simple Count, so stiled from some small castle or territory, of which they are lords. 2. Counts Palatine, called *Pfaltz Graven*, or *Palsgrave*, are such as have a certain eminence in their dignity from the relation they bear to the Emperor's court or palace; for *Palatinus* signifies an officer of the household: and this title is either originally feudal, and annexed to the name of some territory with such *Jura Imperii & Majestatis*, as other Princes of the Empire want, as in the title of the Counts Palatine of the Rhine; or merely personal, without the addition of any particular territory appropriated to him that hath the dignity. Of the first kind, was that great officer in the kingdom of the Franks (long before it was converted into an Empire) called *Comes Palatii*, or Count Palatine, who was vicegerent to the King, as the *Præfetti Prætorio* were to the old Roman Emperors: and the reason the title of Palatine was conferr'd on the governours of provinces remote from the court seems to be, that these governours were invested with all the royalties, and *Jura Imperii* in their respective provinces, as the Counts Palatine enjoy'd at court; being so many viceroys in their particular territories. 3. Counts of the Empire, which

Marquisses.

Barons.

Knights.

Gentlemen.

Imperial
City.

which were originally so made by patent, as the Lord ARUNDEL of Wardour was in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH by the Emperor RODOLPH II. in consideration of his services, whereby he obtain'd a seat in the Imperial Diets, the privileges of purchasing in the Empire, and to be exempt from all judicatures, but that of the Imperial chamber. 4. Marcgraves, or Marquisses, Counts of the frontiers; so stiled from the word Marken, or marches, as we stile them in England, which signifies the utmost marks or limits of the Empire, or Kingdom. 5. Landtgraves, or Counts of provinces, who have the supreme government of some particular district. And, 6. Burgraves, or Counts of great towns or fortresses; Burg in the High-Dutch signifying a castle or fort.

The next degree of nobility to these Counts or Earls is that of Freyhern, or Barons. The word Freyhern signifies Free Lords, such as are not tenants, or hold of any superiour lord: and though sometimes it signifies no more than Laird in Scotland, or Lord of a manor; yet usually this title is given only to such as hold considerable territories and jurisdictions of the Emperor; and some German lawyers and heralds maintain, that a Baron or Freyhern, differ only from a Grave or Count in name and title, but is the same thing in dignity and jurisdiction. BESOLDUS, a German writer, says, a Baron is equal to a Count, only the former is ceremoniously invested into his territories, and the other is not.

The only Knights of the Empire, besides those of the Teutonic Order, (of whom mention has been made already, and who are at this day of very little repute) are the dubb'd Knights, whom the Emperor, like other Princes, creates by striking them lightly on the shoulders with a naked sword, and saying to each of them, *Ego Miles Dei & Sancti Stephani*. As for the title of *Armiger*, or Esquire, it is not known in the Empire. A Gentleman in Germany is called *Edel lute*, and signifies such as from the blood of their ancestors, the favour of their prince, or their own merit are raised above the multitude. Some of these Gentlemen in Franconia, Suabia, and upon the Rhine, are free from taxes, and subject to no other courts but the Emperor's; and have the title of Free Gentlemen, or *Ordo Equestris*. I have now pass'd through all the degrees of nobility and honours in the Empire; and shall only observe further, that tho' none but the eldest son of a nobleman can inherit his estate and lands, yet all the children are entitled alike to his honour, which occasions a very necessitous nobility.

As the Princes of the Empire took advantage of the necessities, or indulgence of the German Emperors, to erect the governments they held in the capacity of Viceroys, or Governours, into independent principalities; so did the cities now called

Free and Imperial. The Emperors, frequently wanting supplies of money to carry on their wars, or for other occasions, borrowed large sums of the wealthy trading towns, and paid them again in munificent grants and privileges; making them Free States, and independent of the governours of the provinces where they stood. Accordingly, these cities exercise all kinds of sovereign power; they make laws, constitute courts of justice, coin money, raise forces, and enter into alliances and confederacies for their defence. They have also their seats in the Diet, as has been observ'd already, only acknowledging the Emperor for their supreme Lord, and contributing their share towards the common defence of their country. I shall not enumerate the Imperial cities here, because particular notice will be taken of them hereafter in the description of the several provinces, or circles of the Empire where they stand: but proceed now to enquire how those cities which have obtain'd the name of Hans Towns, came to be distinguish'd from the rest.

The most general opinion is, that the word *Hanse*, or *Anse*, for 'tis written both ways, is deriv'd from the Dutch *Am-see*, which signifies near to, or situate on the sea shore, as the first Hans Towns were, lying along the southern coasts of the Baltick, from the gulf of Finland to Lubeck, and from thence to the mouth of the Rhine; which towns, some time between the years twelve and thirteen hundred, enter'd into a strict alliance for the advancement of their trade and mutual defence; and for near two hundred years ingross'd most of the trade of Europe. These cities were about fifty in number, and divided into four circles, distinguish'd by the name of their principal cities; namely, Lubeck, Collen, Brunswick and Dantzick. In each of these four cities was held an high-court of justice, to determine such causes as happen'd within its proper circle; but Lubeck was the capital of all the Hans Towns; on which account all the other cities make use of the seal of Lubeck in all their publick instruments; and this city had an advocate at the Imperial Chamber of Spire to take care of the interest of the Hans Towns; and had a power of summoning all the members of the Hanseatick Body to meet there in cases which concern'd their common interest: and these associated towns became at length so considerable, as to obtain great privileges from many Princes in Europe. The port-towns they chiefly resorted to abroad were London, Narva, Bruges, and Bergen in Norway. In London the place where their ware-houses stood was called the Steelyard, because that was the chief merchandize they dealt in. These merchants did not only apply themselves to trade, but when they became powerful, interested themselves in most of the controversies, which happen'd between the northern

Powers,

CHAP. Powers, and became umpires of their differences, IX. their fleet being superiour to that of any Prince in that part of the world: and thus they continued to flourish for about two hundred years, till the rest of the nations of Europe applied themselves more to navigation, and to import and export merchandize in their own bottoms; and then this society began to decline, and is at present dissolv'd: but there are however several of the Hans Towns still considerable for their trade, such as Dantzick, Lubeck, and Hamburgh, as may be observed in the description of those places.

A U S T R I A.

CHAP. IX.

Contains a description of the circle of Austria, with the provinces included in it.

Austria.
Bounds and
extent of
Austria.

WITHIN the circle of Austria are contain'd not only the archdukedom of Austria, but the dutchies of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola; the counties of Goreitz, Cilley, and Tyrol; and the bishopricks of Brixen and Trent, which territories are bounded by Bohemia and Moravia on the north; by the kingdom of Hungary on the east; by the dominions of the republick of Venice towards the south; and by Bavaria towards the west; and are in length from east to west near three hundred miles, and about two hundred from north to south. It receiv'd the name of Austria, or Ostria, on account of its eastern situation, with regard to other parts of the Empire, and was antiently call'd Pannonia Superior. After the Romans quitted it, the Boiarii possess'd themselves of the country, and it became part of the great dukedom of Bavaria. The Emperor OTTO first erected it into a separate marquisate; and the Emperor RODOLPH I. made his son ALBERT the first Arch-duke of Austria, a title which was never given to any other principality, as I can learn. From the time Austria was erected into an archdutchy, it increas'd in grandeur every day; for not only the countries of Carinthia, Styria, Tyrol, and Alsatia were added to it, but by the marriage of MAXIMILIAN of Austria, with MARY of Burgundy, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, with the Franche Comte were added to his dominions: and by the marriage of PHILIP, son of the said MAXIMILIAN, with JANE of Spain, great part of Spain, with Naples, Sicily, and the Spanish dominions in America, devolv'd on the Austrian family.

Division.

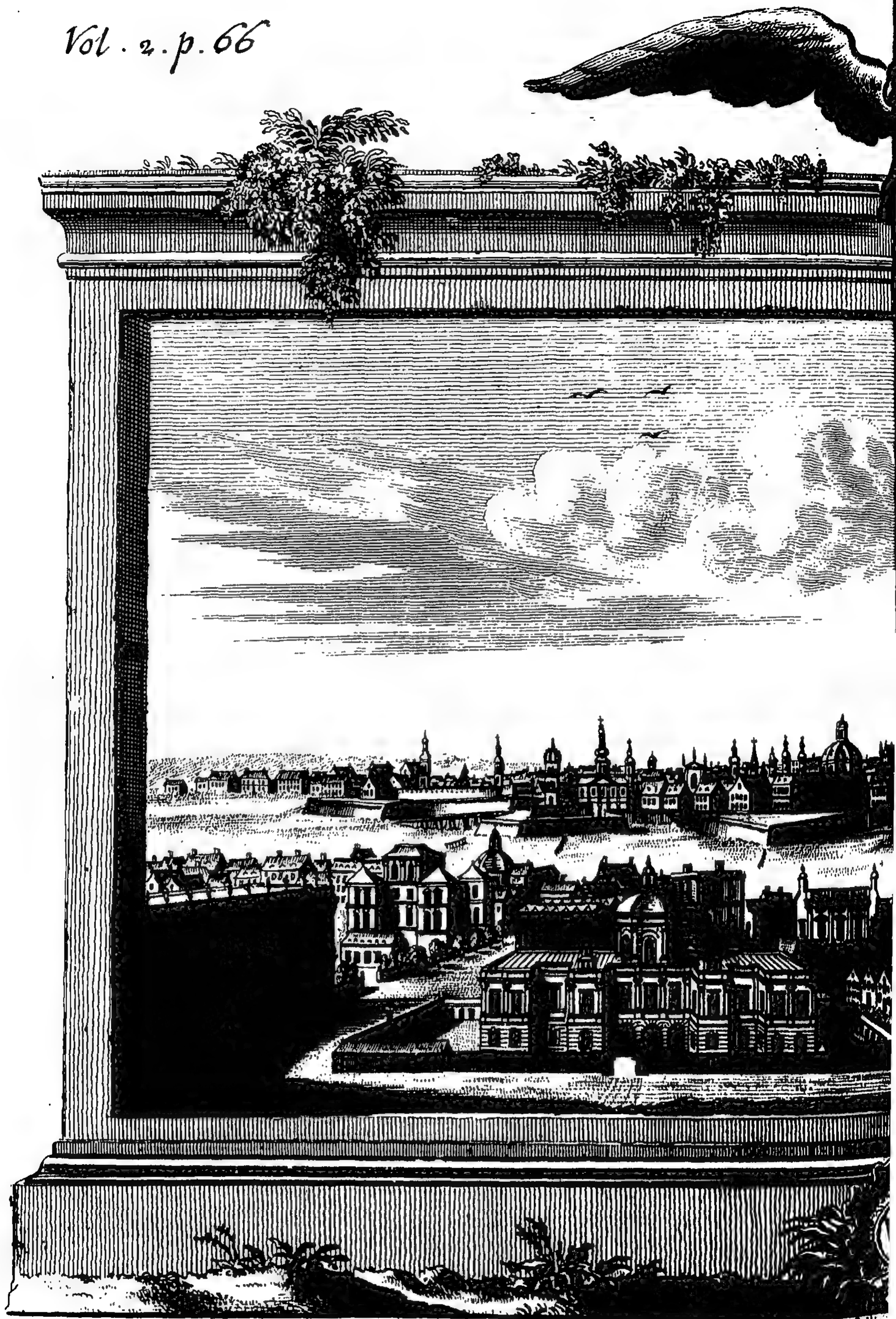
Towns in
Lower Au-
stria.

Austria Proper is divided into the Upper and Lower Austria. The Lower Austria is so call'd from being situated lower down the Danube than

the other, and is separated from the Higher by the river Ens, which falls into the Danube near a city of the same name. CHA IX. Austri Vienna.

The chief towns in Lower Austria, are, 1. Vienna, or Wien, the capital of the province, and the metropolis of the Empire, situate on the south side of the Danube, on a branch of that river, which here divides itself into many streams, forming several small islands. The river Wien, which gives its name to the place, flows on the east part of the city, falling into the Danube a little below it. Vienna lies in the latitude of forty-eight degrees twenty minutes, sixteen degrees odd minutes to the eastward of London. The city itself within the walls is not three English miles in circumference. It is divided by twelve bastions, ten whereof are towards the land, and two on the north-side towards the river, and has held out several sieges against the Turks; the last of which was in the year 1683, when the place was reduced to extremity, and reliev'd in a very critical hour by JOHN SOBIESKI, King of Poland. This town is fortified after the modern way; but there are many stronger in the Emperor's dominions, the brave defence it has several times made against the numerous forces of the Turks, may rather be ascribed to the number and goodness of the German troops in the town, and the vigilance of their Generals, both within and without, than to the fineness of the fortification; but probably it will not endure a siege these many years again, now the Germans have extended their frontiers so far beyond it, and have such towns as Buda and Belgrade between them and the enemy.

The streets of the town are rather narrow than wide, and the houses built of stone, usually five or six stories high, and flat roofed, and they have three or four cellars one under another. The principal publick buildings taken notice of by travellers are, 1. The Imperial palace, consisting of two magnificent courts, and a third which is less, being the lodgings of the pages, the whole very richly furnished. The churches and convents of the Carmelites, Franciscans, Benedictines, and the church of the Austin friars, are much admired, the model of the last being taken from that of the holy house at Loretto. The Jesuits colleges particularly are very fine here, as in all other popish countries; and before one of them stands a column of copper upon a pedestal of white stone, with the blessed Virgin on the top of it. On the pillar are several inscriptions, declaring that Austria is dedicated to her patronage by his Imperial Majesty. But among others, here is a convent of Scots, for hither it seems those of that nation used to resort in their pilgrimages to Jerusalem; and one of their saints being murder'd in this country, obtain'd the honour of martyrdom. The church of St. Peter is much esteem'd on account of its antiquity, but the





H A P. the Cathedral of St. Stephen is held to be the most beautiful and magnificent of any in the city, the IX. steeple whereof is 465 foot in height. The church looks dark and gloomy, occasion'd by the painted glass in the windows; but this some think makes it appear more venerable and proper to inspire devotion. In this church are several noble monuments of Princes and great men, and near one of the doors they shew a stone in the wall, which they relate is one of those with which St. STEPHEN was stoned to death, which is worn very smooth by the superstitious people's touching and stroaking it.

The university of this city is inferiour to few, either on account of its antiquity, the number of its students, or their accommodations and privileges. ALBERTUS the third founded it about four hundred years ago, distinguishing the students into four divisions; 1. That of Austria; 2. that of the Rhine; 3. the class of Hungarians; and 4. the Saxons. And under one or other of these he comprehended all nations; particularly England, Scotland, and Ireland are said to belong to this of Saxony. And it is observed that there are at this day a very great variety of nations in this university, as there are among the inhabitants of the town, where you see Greeks, Transilvanians, Sclavonians, Turks, Tartars, Hungarians, Croats, Germans, Polanders, Spaniards, French and Italians in their respective habits: and surely to reside in a city which is in a manner the rendezvous of all people, must be no inconsiderable advantage to an inquisitive traveller, who desires to be acquainted with the state of the world.

The Imperial library at Vienna is in high esteem, which contains upwards of fourscore thousand volumes, it is said; and among the rest, their manuscripts in Hebrew, Syriack, Arabick, Turkish, Armenian, Coptick, and Chinese, are not to be parallel'd in the world: particularly there is a fair Greek manuscript of the New Testament, written fifteen hundred years ago, in gold letters upon purple. Here are also many thousand of Greek, Roman and Gothick coins and medals; besides which, the Emperor has a collection of numberless curiosities in art and nature, the catalogue whereof makes a large folio, to which therefore I must refer my reader. The suburbs of Vienna, like those of London and other great towns, are larger than the city itself; particularly there is a large suburb called Leopoldstat, divided from it by a little plain, and the river Danube, where stand the houses of the nobility and persons of quality magnificently built. When the city was founded is very uncertain, but the Romans had a fortress here, or very near the place where the city now stands, call'd Vindomina, or Vindobona; and that which inclines people to think Vienna stands

on the same spot of ground, are the many Roman CHAP. antiquities which are found hereabouts. The city IX. did not make any figure till about the year 1192, Austria. when it was enlarged and surrounded with a wall by the Marquis of Austria, which it is said he was enabled to do by the money he received for the ransom of King RICHARD I. of England; whom he surprized, and made prisoner in his return from the Holy Land.

The country about Vienna is very fruitful, and the city is also well supply'd by the Danube; wine of thirty sorts imported from Hungary and Italy, or of the growth of Germany, may be drunk here; and they have besides, a good sort of beer: sheep and oxen they receive from Hungary and the frontiers of Turkey for the supply of the city; Austria it self is not very well stock'd with cattle. They have not only salt enough for their own use, but the Emperor draws a good revenue from the salt-works of Halstadt in Austria. The flesh of wild boars is esteem'd a delicious dish here, their fat being equal to that of our venison; and the hunting this animal is one of their chief recreations. They have also hares, partridges, pheasants, and other game in their fields and forests, some of which we are unacquainted with here. As to fish, the Danube furnishes them in great plenty with the best, such as carp, tench, trouts, jacks, eels, lampreys and crevisses, and there is a fish call'd Scheiden, prefer'd to Salmon. Their larger fish are call'd Haulsons, being about twenty foot long, and not unlike a sturgeon in their taste, supposed to come up from the Black Sea. From Venice they are furnish'd with oysters, with salted and pickled fish and trouts, as well as with oranges, lemons, and other fruits.

The inhabitants of Vienna live luxuriously, and are pretty much addicted to feasting and carousing, dancing and fencing are their ordinary recreation within doors; and in the winter, when the several branches of the Danube are frozen over, and the ground cover'd with snow, the ladies take their recreation in sledges of different shapes, such as griffins, tygers, swans, scollop-shells, &c. Here the lady sits dress'd in velvet lined with rich furs, and adorn'd with faces and jewels, having on her head a velvet cap; and the sledge is drawn by one horse, set off with plumes of feathers, ribbands, and bells: and as this diversion is taken chiefly in the night-time, foot-men ride before the sledge with torches, and a gentleman sitting on the sledge behind, guides the horse. The winters are much severer at Vienna than at London; tho' the latitude of London is three or four degrees further north; but then the weather is more constant and severe there: and they cloath themselves so well with furs and warm caps in the day-time, and cover themselves with

CHAP. feather-beds in the night, that they are not very
IX. sensible of the difference, especially having such
Austria. plenty of good wine in their cellars. But it is
time to take leave of Vienna; I shall only ob-
serve further, that there are magazines of naval
stores, and ships of war fitted out frequently to
serve upon the Danube against the Turks, which
makes it sometimes have the face of a sea-port,
tho' it lies at so great a distance from the ocean.

Baden.

2. Baden, a town in Lower Austria, so called
from the natural baths which rise here, is situate
in a plain about eighteen miles to the southward
of Vienna; it is a neat little city surrounded by
a wall, and much resorted to on account of its
waters, which the German physicians are of opi-
nion, will cure most distempers incident to the
head, as head-aches, dimness of sight, deafness,
&c. and it is recommended also as a remedy for
the gout, if drank in time, as well as for the
dropsy, and other chronical distempers.

Haynburg.

3. Haynburg, or Haimburg, situate on the ut-
most limits of Austria towards Hungary, south of
the Danube, and about thirty miles to the east-
ward of Vienna, antiently the metropolis of Au-
stria, and the seat of the Duke, when it had a
flourishing trade; but by the removal of the court,
and the incursions of the Hungarian malecontents,
is now reduced to a declining condition; but still
they have plenty of corn and wine, which they
transport to other countries. 4. Tuln, an antient
town, about twenty miles to the westward of
Vienna, situate on a little river of the same name,
which falls into the Danube five miles below it.
It is said to stand in a healthful plentiful coun-
try; but travellers relate that it is very ill ac-
commodated with provision notwithstanding. 5.

Kremsb.

Kremsb, *Cremesia*, situate on the river Kremsb,
on the north side of the Danube, forty miles west
of Vienna, a large well-built town, and has a
good trade, particularly at the two annual fairs,
which last fourteen days each, when their streets
are crowded with merchants from all parts of Ger-
many, Hungary, and Poland.

Towns in
Upper Au-
stria.
Lintz.

The chief towns in Upper Austria are, 1. Lintz,
or Lyncia, the capital of the province, lying on
the south side of the Danube, an hundred miles
east of Vienna, a place the most pleasantly situ-
ated in the Emperor's dominions. His Imperial
Majesty hath a palace here, as have most of the
Austrian nobility, on the north side of the ri-
ver, which suburb is join'd to the city by a
bridge: here the nobility usually spend their sum-
mer, and hither the Emperor retired during the
last siege of Vienna. The town is well built of
stone, and has a spacious market-place. As to
publick buildings, the Emperor's palace, the
church, and a monastery of Capuchins, are all
that travellers take notice of; and of these they
do not think it worth while to be particular.

2. Ens, or Ensum, situate on a river of the same CHAP.
name, which falls into the Danube two miles be- IX.
low it, and is about fourscore miles to the west- Austria.
ward of Vienna. It is supposed to be built in the Ens.
place where Laureacum stood, some time the seat
of the Roman Emperors; it was formerly go-
vern'd by its own Count, till the Emperor Ro-
DOLPH I. purchased it, and annex'd it to the
dutchy of Austria. There are several other great
towns in Upper and Lower Austria, such as Stain,
Everding, Freistadt, Steyr and Wells, whose si-
tuation will be found in the map annex'd to this
volume; and since travellers have not thought fit
to give us any farther description of them, it may
be sufficient to name them.

STYRIA and CILLEY.

THE dutchy of Styria, or Steymarck, in Styria, the
which I include the county of Cilley, is bounds and
bounded by Austria on the north; by extent.
Hungary and Slavonia on the east; by Carin-
thia and Carniola on the south; and by Saltsburg
on the west; extending in length an hundred
miles from east to west; and in breadth in some
places eighty, and in others not forty miles from
north to south. Styria is divided into the Upper
and Lower Styria, in regard to the course of the
river Muer.

In the Lower Styria the chief towns are, 1. Gratz,
Gratz, the capital of the Dukedom, situate on
the banks of the river Muer, in a pleasant fruitful
country, fourscore miles south of Vienna. It is a
well-built city, regularly fortified, and defended
by a castle which stands on a high hill, and is the
Arch-duke's palace. 2. Rakersburg, a strong Rakersburg
fortress on the banks of the Muer, twenty-eight
miles to the eastward of Gratz. 3. Pettaw, Pettaw.
Petovium, situate on the river Drave, thirty miles
south-east of Gratz. It was antiently a Roman
city, and at present is a Bishop's See under the
Archbishop of Saltsburg, but very much upon the
decline. 4. Marksburg, situate on the Drave, Marksburg
twenty miles west of Pettaw, formerly the ca-
pital of a country, till purchased by the Austrian
family.

In the Earldom of Cilley, which lies south of Cilley.
the river Drave, extending to the banks of the
Save, the chief town is Cilley, or Celia, an old
town of tolerable strength, once the capital of a
territory govern'd by its own Earls, but now un-
der the dominion of the house of Austria, and
united to Styria; it is situate on the river Soana,
which a little below discharges itself into the Save.
It is supposed to have been a place of some con-
sideration formerly, on account of the Roman an-
tiquities which are daily found there.

In

H A P. In the Upper Styria the chief towns are, 1. Judenburg, situate in a pleasant fruitful country, on the river Muer, fifty miles west of Gratz, a fair well-built town, in which is a palace belonging to the Dukes of Styria. 2. Isenartz, so called from its mines and forges of Iron, said by a Styrian writer to afford steel enough for all Germany; but the mines are really very considerable, and were discover'd in the year 712, having been wrought in ever since without any sensible decay. The town is situate on the little river Saltza, about twenty four miles to the north-east of Judenburg. The other towns mention'd in Upper Styria by Geographers, are Lewben, Rotenman, Bruck, Seckaw and Knittelfeld; but they do not seem to think them worth a particular description.

IX. In the Lower Styria there is plenty of corn, wine, fruits, fish and venison: the Upper Styria is more mountainous, where the natives feed large flocks of sheep, which afford good wool. Their valleys are rich, and flock'd with herds of black cattle, and the air much more healthful than in the Lower Styria, where the Hungarian fever and pestilence are too common. There are no vineyards in this part of the country, but they import the little wine they use from abroad. Their usual drink is poor small beer, and at the tables of the quality they have a sharp thin wine brought out of the Lower Styria. The natives of this country are frequently troubled with a Struma, or swelling on their throats or chins to a monstrous degree. **ORTELIUS** relates, that as he travelled from Vienna to Venice, he met one who had such a swelling on his chin, that from his ears down to his breast was as broad as his shoulders; and their poor women are usually troubled with these excrescences to that degree, that they are forced to throw them over their shoulders when they suckle their children. This epidemical distemper is supposed to proceed from the snow water they drink, which falls from the mountains; for the nobility and better sort of people, who drink wine and other strong liquors, are seldom troubled with it.

C A R I N T H I A.

THE dukedom of Carinthia is bounded by Styria and Salzburg on the north; by Styria on the east; by Carniola on the south; and by Tyrol on the west; extending an hundred miles in length from east to west, and about thirty from north to south. The country is mountainous and barren, and the air cold, but plentifully water'd with lakes and rivers; the river Drave particularly runs cross this province, receiving many other lesser streams into it. The chief towns are St. Veit, Villach, Clagenfurt,

Gurck, Lavanmund, St. Andrews, and Freysac. **CH A P.** St. Veit, the chief town, (so call'd from a Saint of that name, who is said to have preach'd the Carin-gospel here during the persecution of Dioclesian,) stands at the confluence of the two rivers, Wilitz and Glac, in a fruitful vale, eight miles south-west of Gratz, and as many south of Ens. It was antiently a Bishop's See, but now only venerable for its antiquity. Not far from it may be seen the ruins of the antient city of Saal, destroyed by **ARTILA** the Hun. 2. Gurk, a Bishop's See situate on a river of the same name, eight miles north of St. Veit. 3. Lavanmund, situate on the river Lavant, in a pleasant valley, ten miles east of Styria, is a small city, and a Bishop's See, subject to the Archbishop of Salzburg. 4. Clagenfurt esteem'd the prettiest town in Carinthia, being of a square form, and surrounded by a wall, adorn'd with a handsome piazza, and a fountain in the centre of it, and is distant about ten miles from St. Veit.

C A R N I O L A and W I N D E S M A R C H.

THE dutchy of Carniola with Windesmark, or the marquise of Windes, is bounded on the north by Carinthia and Cilley; on the east by Croatia; and by a ridge of mountains which separate it from the territories of Venice on the south; extending an hundred and ten miles from east to west, and about forty from north to south.

This province is divided into the Upper and Lower Carniola, the Windesmark, and the county of Goritia. The chief towns of Upper Carniola are Laubach, Crainburg and Bischoffslack. In the Lower are Oberlaubach and Zirknitz. In Windesmark the chief towns are Metling and Rudolphsworth. And the chief town of Goritia is of the same name.

1. Laubach, or Laybach, the capital of Carniola, is situate on the banks of a little river of the same name, which discharges it self into the Save ten miles lower, and lies thirty miles to the northward of Trieste. It is a Bishop's See, well built and populous, and defended by a castle. 2. Crainburg, Crainburg situate on the Save, twenty miles north-west of Laubach. 3. Lack, or Bischoffslack, a well-built town, ten miles south of Crainburg. 4. Zirknitz, a town in it self not considerable, but for the lake to which it communicates its name, from hence call'd the Zirknitzer-sea, or Lacus Circoniensis, which is about sixteen German miles in length, and eight in breadth, encompassed on all sides with mountains. In the month of June annually, this lake retires under ground, through

CHAP. a great many large holes at the bottom of it, and
IX. returns again in September with great violence,
Carniola spouting and throwing up its waters through the
andWin- holes and cracks in the earth to the height of a
dismarch pike, till it has cover'd the whole space it left.

When the water retreats, the earth is suddenly
cover'd with grass, yielding pasture for cattle and
wild beasts, which feed on it, and return to the
forest again when the water begins to rise. At
the retiring of the waters there are found great
quantities of fish, as carp, tench, eels, &c. which
the country people take with their hands in the
mud, and yet the lake is as well stock'd with fish
the succeeding year as it was before. The natives
can give no account that this water ever fail'd to
rise or fall annually as above related; neither do
any of them pretend to give any account of the
occasion or original of it. 5. Oberlaubach, a
town about sixteen miles to the westward of Lau-
bach, considerable for its trade in Italian goods,
which from hence are dispersed all over Germa-
ny. 6. Metling, the chief town in Windesmark,
situate on the frontiers of Croatia, thirty-five miles
south-east of Cilley, and twenty-five east of the
lake of Zirknitz, remarkable for nothing but its
having been plunder'd several times by the Turks.
7. Rudolphworth, or Newstat, situate on the ri-
ver Gurk, twelve miles north-west of Metling, an
ancient town honour'd with great privileges, and
famous for the best wine in the country.

Oberlau-
bach.

Metling.

Newstat.

Goritia.

Goritz.

Trieste a
Sea-port.

Goritia is a small district, part of Friuli, but
subject to the Emperor, which occasions its being
introduced here, for the rest of Friuli is under
the Venetians, and will be described in another
place. The chief town of Goritia is Goritz, or
Gortz, situate on the river Lizono, twenty miles
from the gulph of Venice, and fifty westward of
Laubach, conjectured to be the Roman Noricia.
It was taken by the Venetians in 1608, and re-
cover'd by the Emperor the year after, in whose
possession it now remains.

The Emperor also having made himself master
of Trieste in the province of Karstia, or as some
say, Friuli, this town also must be taken notice
of here. Trieste lies at the bottom of a bay in
the gulph of Venice, to which it gives name. It
is a small town, but has the honour of being a
Bishop's See, under the Patriarch of Aquileia. The
Emperor is much set upon making it a free port,
and turning the trade of the Levant that way,
which would be a vast detriment to the Venetians;
but he does not seem to have succeeded at all in
these schemes yet. The harbour is large but very
unsafe, and perhaps may cost a great deal of time
and labour before it is fit to receive vessels of any
burthen. The Emperor took this place from the
Venetians in the year 1507, which he hath pos-
sess'd ever since.

St. Viet, a
Sea-port.

I must here also take notice of St. Viet am

Flaum, tho' it be situate in Istria, a province of CHAP.
the Venetians, and accounted part of Italy, be- IX.
cause it is at present subject to the house of Au- Carniola
stria, and united to their German dominions. St. andWin-
Viet is situate at the mouth of the river Flaum, dis-
march, which discharges it self into the gulph of Venice,
and stands thirty miles south-west of Metling. It
is a place of some strength; being surrounded by
a wall and ditch, and defended by a castle: and
this is another port whereby the Imperialists pro-
pose the establishing a trade with the countries in
the Mediterranean.

The country of Carniola is mountainous, but Face of the
agreeably diversified by a mixture of large plea- country of
sant valleys, affording plenty of corn and wine; Carniola,
it is well watered by abundance of good rivers,
particularly the Save, the Layback, and the Gurck.
The Save rises in the west, and runs the whole
length of the province. The antient inhabitants
are held to be the Carni, a Scythian nation, who
were subdued by the Romans under Augustus.
The Marquises of Bavaria afterwards became
masters of this country, being stiled Margraves of
Crainburg; and having passed through several o-
ther hands, it came to OTTAKER King of Bo-
hemia, who being kill'd in a war against the Em-
peror RODOLPH I. the Emperor seiz'd on his
territories, and gave them to MAINHART Duke
of Carinthia, and Count of Tyrol; upon the
death of which Prince, the Emperor LODOWICK
the fourth, made Carniola a dukedom, and con-
fer'd it on the Dukes of Austria Hapsburg, from
whom the present Emperor derives his right, and
stiles himself Duke of Carniola.

The present inhabitants of Carniola are a mix- Inhabitants
ture of Germans, Italians and Slavonians; they
generally speak the High-dutch in towns, except
Laubach, where the Italian prevails, but neither
of them is spoken with any purity; and in the
villages the peasants speak a kind of Slavonian,
or Wendish; but their acts of state, law pro-
ceedings, and instruments are all in the High-
Dutch, or German tongue.

As for the country of Windesmark, it is
mountainous and barren, inhabited by the de-
scendants of the antient Veneti, the most con-
siderable branch of the Slavonian nation, who
still speak pure Slavonian, without any mixture
of the German Language.

TYROL and BRIXEN.

TYROL, supposed to be the antient Rhæ- Tyrol
tia Superior, is bounded by Bavaria and bounds and
part of Suabia to the north; by Carin- extent.
thia and Friuli towards the east; by the Grisons
and Trent towards the south; and by Switzerland
on

HAP. on the west : extending about an hundred and
IX. twenty miles in length from east to west, and
Tyrol sixty from north to south. The chief rivers are
and the Eiseck, the Inn, and the Etsch or Adige,
ixen. which last river rises in this province, and flows
rel. through the territories of Venice.

The county of Tyrol is usually subdivided into Tyrol Proper, the bishoprick of Brixen, and the districts of Meran, Pludentz, Bregentz, Feldkirk and Montfort. The chief towns in Tyrol Proper are, 1. Inspruck, the metropolis and usual residence of the ancient Counts of Tyrol, and of the present governour; situated in a pleasant valley, on the banks of the river Inn, from whence it takes its name; being seventy miles north of Trent, and about eighty south-west of Salzburg; in forty-seven degrees odd minutes north latitude, and eleven degrees odd minutes of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London. The town is generally well built, especially the suburbs, which are separated from the city by a river. The cathedral is a magnificent fabrick of hewn stone, built by the Emperor FERDINAND I. on the top whereof stands a vast portraiture of this Emperor in alabaster, guarded by twenty-eight brazen statues of other great Heroes and Princesses, all of larger dimensions than the life, and make a majestick appearance. The palace is a beautiful structure, and the gardens adjoining admirably fine; and as it is the humour of the German Princes, more than any other nation, to make great collections of rarities both in art and nature, here a curious traveller may meet with a most agreeable entertainment. Among other things, here are a vast collection of agats, crystal, coral, jaspers, hyacinth, turcois stones, lumps of virgin gold and silver as dug out of the mines in Germany, ancient coins and medals, and the arms of the house of Austria exactly represented in a coat of diamonds and rubies, &c. About a mile from the town stands the strong pleasant fort of Ombras, built for the Archduke to retire to in the heat of summer, where there is another collection of rarities so large, that they are the subject of a bulky book.

Near the city of Inspruck stands the famous monastery of Wiltheim, or Wilden, founded according to their legends by a gigantick Prince named HAYMON, twelve or thirteen foot high, who kill'd a mighty dragon that infested the country. A story of equal credit with a thousand others of the like nature. 2. Hall, call'd Im'thall, to distinguish it from Hall in Saxony, &c. has its name from the salt-works here, and is situate on the river Inn, ten miles north-east of Inspruck. 3. Tyrol, an ancient castle, which gave name to the whole country, but is of no consequence at present.

Brixen, the chief town of the bishoprick of

that name, is situate on the river Eysach, about CHAP. thirty miles south-east of Inspruck. The Bishop IX. is a Count of the Empire, and invested with the Tyrol temporal jurisdiction, but there lies an appeal from and hence to the court of Tyrol. The city is small Brixen. and not very populous, yet is pretty much resorted to on account of the mineral waters near it. The diocese of this bishop extends about forty miles in length, and thirty in breadth.

The little districts of Meran, Pludentz, Bregentz, Montfort and Feldkirk, have each of them a town, the head of the district of the same name; but travellers have not thought them worth a particular description.

T R E N T.

THE territory of Trent is sometimes esteem'd part of Italy; but the Bishop being a Prince of the Empire, it is by the Germans accounted part of the circle of Austria. The country is situate among the Alps, having Tyrol on the north; the territories of the state of Venice on the east and south; and the country of the Grisons on the west, and extends seventy miles in length from east to west, and fifty from north to south, the river Adige running quite cross it, and receiving several other small rivers into it which fall from the mountains on each side. The chief towns are, 1. Trent, *Tridentium*, situate in a pleasant valley, on the banks of the river Adige, but encompass'd with high mountains on every side, and is supposed to have acquired the antient name of *Tridentium*, (from whence the modern name of Trent is derived) from three sharp piqued hills which hang over the city. It stands about seventy miles south of Inspruck: and being thus surrounded with mountains, the town is excessive hot in summer by the reflection of the sun from the neighbouring rocks; and the cold in winter is said to be equally intolerable, tho' the town lies in the latitude of forty-six degrees. It is a small city, surrounded by a single wall, but pretty well built of a kind of red and white marble, such as the rock is whereon it stands. The bridge over the Adige, and the Bishop's palace are much admired for their structure by the natives, but have nothing extraordinary in them. The cathedral church, dedicated to St. Vigel, is reckon'd a good piece of architecture; and the Chapter who elect the Bishop consist of noblemen; the Bishop is suffragan to the Patriarch of Aquileia, and a Prince of the Empire, as has been observed already. But this city is most remarkable for the council held here with some intermissions from the year 1545, to the year 1563; where the Pope procured the doctrines taught by the Roman

CHAP. man church to be establish'd, and his usurpations, IX.
Trent. both over the clergy and laity, confirm'd: but
as for any reformation in the church, which was
the pretence of assembling the council, little or
nothing was done on this head. 2. The second
town in the Bishoprick of Trent is Posen, or Bol-
zano, situate on the Adige, twenty-five miles
north of Trent: a place of good trade, where
the German and Italian merchants traffick and
exchange their merchandize, especially at the four
fairs which are held here every year, on account
whereof great privileges have been granted to the
place. 3. Noveredo, a little city, famous for its
trade in silk. As to the country of Trent in ge-
neral, it produces good wine and oil, cattle and
fruits. Their wine is well tasted and strong; but
they have very little corn or grain of any kind.

Observa-
tions on the
circle of
Austria.

Having taken a view of the sub-divisions of
the circle of Austria, or of the several countries
which are at this day deem'd part of it, I shall
conclude with some general observations in relation
to this circle: and here we find, that tho' Austria
be enumerated among the circles of the Empire,
it is subject only to its own prince, and does not
come within any of the rules and orders by which
the other circles are govern'd. The general laws
of the Empire, or acts of the Diet, do not affect
Austria, neither is it obliged to contribute to any
charge for the defence of the Empire: for the
Emperors of this house foreseeing that their male
line might fail, or at least another family might
be elected to the Imperial dignity, were continu-
ally heaping new privileges and favours on this
and their other hereditary countries, that if they
should ever come to be separated from the Empire,
they might be formed into a great body, and be
able to subsist independently of any other power.

The Emperor CHARLES V. particularly by his
grant, reciting, that all men naturally desired the
prosperity of their own house, decreed that Au-
stria should be a perpetual fee of his family, which
no future Emperor should deprive them of: That
the Duke of Austria for the time being, should be
the first and most intimate counsellor to the Em-
peror, without whose knowledge no matters of
state should be transacted in the Empire: That
the dominions of Austria should be exempted
from all contributions to the Empire: That the
Emperor nevertheless should assist Austria against
its enemies: That the Archduke should not be
obliged to go out of the bounds of his dominions
to receive the investiture of them, but it should
be offer'd him in his own territories gratis: He
should be at liberty to come to the Diet or not:
And the Emperor should have no power to inter-
meddle in his dominions, or dispose of any fees
there: Nor should the subjects of Austria be
drawn from home to answer in the courts of the
Empire. That from the sentence of the Arch-

duke there should lie no appeal: and he might tax
his subjects at pleasure. That he might create
Earls, Barons and Gentlemen. And lastly, in
case the male line of his house fail'd, his domini-
ons should go to the females, according to their
seniority; and if there should be no females, the
last possessor might dispose of them by will. Suc-
ceeding Emperors have order'd that their heredi-
tary dominions should never be dismember'd or
disunited, but should always be subject to one
head, and descend as the dominions of Austria
descend. Thus the hereditary countries belonging
to the house of Austria will be a noble dominion
of themselves, if another family should happen to
be advanced to the Empire. On the contrary, it
will be very difficult for any Prince who shall be
elected Emperor, when the hereditary dominions
are separated from the Empire, to maintain that
grandeur and superiority over the rest of the Prin-
ces of Europe, and the German Princes in par-
ticular, which the Emperors have hitherto done.
Insomuch that some apprehend if this should ever
happen to be the case, the union that has hither-
to subsisted amongst the Princes and States of Ger-
many would be dissolved, and every Power there
would endeavour to render it self entirely indepen-
dent.

B A V A R I A.

CHAP. X.

Treats of the Circle of Bavaria.

THE Circle of Bavaria does not only con-
tain the proper dominions of the Duke of
that name, but also the territories of the
Archbishop of Saltsburg, and those of the Bishops
of Passau, Ratisbon, Freisinghen, and the lands
of several abbeys and convents which have little
or no dependance on him. This country, according
to Dr. NICHOLSON, includes great part of the
antient Rhætia, Vindelicia and Noricum, and ac-
quired the name of Bavaria, or rather Boiaria,
from the Boij, a Gallick Nation who settled them-
selves here, as has been mentioned already. The
modern Bavaria is bounded by Franconia, Voit-
land and Bohemia on the north; by Bohemia and
Austria towards the East; by Carinthia, Brixen
and Tyrol towards the south; and by Suabia on
the west; extending about two hundred miles
from north to south, and an hundred and twenty
from east to west.

The Circle of Bavaria is usually divided into
three parts, namely, 1. The Upper. 2. The
Lower Bavaria. And 3. The Upper Palatinate.
The Upper Bavaria lies between the country of
Tyrol and the Danube, and is generally a moun-
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tainous barren soil, the chief towns whereof are Munich, Freising, Ingolstat, Donawert, Rain, Landsperg, Oettingen, Tegernsee, Scheyren, Waserburg, Hay, Muldorf, Burkhausen, Branaw and Scharding.

The Lower Bavaria stretches along the Danube to the confines of Austria, and is as fruitful a province as most in the Empire; the chief towns whereof are Ratibon, Straubingen, Landshut, Passau, Mospurg and Abach.

The Upper Palatinate of Bavaria, or Nortgow, so called from its northern situation in respect of the Elector's other dominions, is bounded by Voithland on the north; by Bohemia and Austria towards the east; on the south by the Danube, which separates it from the duchy of Bavaria; and on the west by Suabia and part of Franconia. This is generally a rocky uneven country, tho' in some places there are valleys which afford good corn and pasture. They have also a pretty good share of vineyards, but their wine has a sharp unpleasant taste. Their greatest riches lie in the bowels of the earth, in their mines of copper, silver and other metals, especially iron, of which they forge and vend a great deal. This Palatinate was taken from the Elector Palatine, together with his other territories, upon his assuming the title of King of Bohemia, in opposition to the Emperor, about the year 1620, and transferred to the Duke of Bavaria with the title of Elector; and tho' the rest of the Elector Palatine's dominions were restored to his posterity with an eighth Electorate by the treaty of Munster, yet this part call'd the Upper Palatinate, with the Electoral dignity, was confirm'd to the Bavarian family, which they remain possess'd of to this day. The chief towns in the Upper Palatinate of Bavaria, are Amberg, Sulzbach, Cham, Waldsassen, Castel, Newburg, Luchtenburg and Averbach, the most considerable whereof will be particularly described hereafter.

The chief rivers of Bavaria are, 1. The Danube. 2. The Lech. 3. The Inn. 4. The Amber. 5. The Iller. 6. The Saltz. 7. The Nab. And 8. the Isar; few countries being better water'd with navigable rivers. The chief towns are, 1. Munich, or Munchen, the capital of Bavaria, pleasantly situated on the river Isar, in the latitude of 48 degrees odd minutes, sixty miles north of Inspruck, and an hundred west of Lintz in Austria. The town is large and well built, and the streets so broad, that there are canals in many of them filled by the branches of the river Isar, which here divides it self into several channels. It is the opinion of some travellers, that this is the fairest, though not the largest city in Germany. The splendour and beauty of its buildings, both publick and private, says Mr. RAY, especially the Electoral palace, which may com-

pare with any in Europe, and the magnificence of their churches and convents are such, that it surpasses any thing in Germany for its bigness. It is wall'd round and fortified after the modern way, but not capable of maintaining a long siege, for we find the Electress of Bavaria thought it prudence to surrender this capital in the late war, rather than hazard a siege. Nor is it a town of any considerable trade, but what is occasion'd by their Princes residence amongst them. *Misson* observes, that the outside of the Electoral palace is not answerable to the internal beauty, tho' many of the apartments too are irregular; for this vast structure being built by several persons at different times, the fabrick differs according to the fancy of the persons who had the management of it. The great hall of the Emperor's apartment is an hundred and eighteen feet long, and fifty two broad. This, says my author, is a truly magnificent apartment, especially in respect of its curious pictures, which are all history-pieces, the sacred on one side, and the prophane on the other, every history having a Latin inscription in verse under it, the following distich being annex'd to that of *SUSANNAH*, viz.

*Casti Susanna placet, Lucretia cede Susannæ;
Tu post, illa mori maluit, ante scelus.*

In the little chapel belonging to the apartment of the Electress, you see nothing but gold, pearls and jewels, and among the reliques there is a piece of gold mohair, which, as tradition informs us, was a piece of the Virgin *MARY*'s gown. The parlour of perspectives, says the same traveller, is extremely fine; but the hall of antiquities exceeds all the rest, for we numbred an hundred and ninety-two busts, and four hundred other pieces, all esteem'd for their exquisite workmanship and antiquity. The furniture of the palace is rich beyond imagination, and in the treasury there were whole services of gold plate, an incredible number of pearls, diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones; but the late Elector in his great necessities during the last war, was obliged to part with some of this treasure to support himself, and a great deal more was seized by the Imperialists when they were in possession of Munich; but these were stipulated to be restored by the last treaty, if such a thing was possible. The whole palace is lined or incrusted with marble, or a cement so like it that it is not to be distinguish'd from it; and *Misson* relates that there are subterraneous passages from the palace to most of the churches and convents in the city: but in this he was probably imposed upon, we may take it for granted he never saw them. 2. Ingolstat, situate on the north shore of the Danube, in a plain fruitful country, forty miles to the northward of Munich, and thirty west from Ratibon. It is esteem'd a town of good strength, and well built, the streets broad

CHAP. IX. man church to be establish'd, and his usurpations, both over the clergy and laity, confirm'd: but as for any reformation in the church, which was the pretence of assembling the council, little or nothing was done on this head. 2. The second town in the Bishoprick of Trent is Posen, or Bolzano, situate on the Adige, twenty-five miles north of Trent: a place of good trade, where the German and Italian merchants traffick and exchange their merchandize, especially at the four fairs which are held here every year, on account whereof great privileges have been granted to the place. 3. Noveredo, a little city, famous for its trade in silk. As to the country of Trent in general, it produces good wine and oil, cattle and fruits. Their wine is well tasted and strong; but they have very little corn or grain of any kind.

Observations on the circle of Austria.

Having taken a view of the sub-divisions of the circle of Austria, or of the several countries which are at this day deem'd part of it, I shall conclude with some general observations in relation to this circle: and here we find, that tho' Austria be enumerated among the circles of the Empire, it is subject only to its own prince, and does not come within any of the rules and orders by which the other circles are govern'd. The general laws of the Empire, or acts of the Diet, do not affect Austria, neither is it obliged to contribute to any charge for the defence of the Empire: for the Emperors of this house foreseeing that their male line might fail, or at least another family might be elected to the Imperial dignity, were continually heaping new privileges and favours on this and their other hereditary countries, that if they should ever come to be separated from the Empire, they might be formed into a great body, and be able to subsist independently of any other power.

The Emperor CHARLES V. particularly by his grant, reciting, that all men naturally desired the prosperity of their own house, decreed that Austria should be a perpetual fee of his family, which no future Emperor should deprive them of: That the Duke of Austria for the time being, should be the first and most intimate counsellor to the Emperor, without whose knowledge no matters of state should be transacted in the Empire: That the dominions of Austria should be exempted from all contributions to the Empire: That the Emperor nevertheless should assist Austria against its enemies: That the Archduke should not be obliged to go out of the bounds of his dominions to receive the investiture of them, but it should be offer'd him in his own territories gratis: He should be at liberty to come to the Diet or not: And the Emperor should have no power to intermeddle in his dominions, or dispose of any fees there: Nor should the subjects of Austria be drawn from home to answer in the courts of the Empire. That from the sentence of the Arch-

duke there should lie no appeal: and he might tax his subjects at pleasure. That he might create Earls, Barons and Gentlemen. And lastly, in case the male line of his house fail'd, his dominions should go to the females, according to their seniority; and if there should be no females, the last possessor might dispose of them by will. Succeeding Emperors have order'd that their hereditary dominions should never be dismember'd or disunited, but should always be subject to one head, and descend as the dominions of Austria descend. Thus the hereditary countries belonging to the house of Austria will be a noble dominion of themselves, if another family should happen to be advanced to the Empire. On the contrary, it will be very difficult for any Prince who shall be elected Emperor, when the hereditary dominions are separated from the Empire, to maintain that grandeur and superiority over the rest of the Princes of Europe, and the German Princes in particular, which the Emperors have hitherto done. Insomuch that some apprehend if this should ever happen to be the case, the union that has hitherto subsisted amongst the Princes and States of Germany would be dissolved, and every Power there would endeavour to render it self entirely independent.

B A V A R I A.

CHAP. X.

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Bavaria

Upper

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CHAP. broad and strait, but poor and ill inhabited. In the great church is an image of the Virgin MARY of beaten gold, which with the workmanship, jewels and other ornaments, is said to have cost fifty thousand crowns: before it kneels a French King of the same metal, but not so large, cloathed in a long purple robe, enamel'd with yellow flower de lices, and near to it stands another small image of gold, adorn'd with precious stones, and richly enamel'd, representing St. MICHAEL with a pair of scales in his hand. In this city the famous Cardinal BELLARMINE, and PETRUS APPIANUS had their education.

Donawert.

3. Donawert, or Thonawert, twenty-five miles west of Ingoldstat, and twenty-four north of Augsburg, which takes its name from the river Donaw, or Danube, whereon it stands, is of it self a place of no great strength; but the fortrefs of Schellenberg near it had like to have put a stop to the progress of the allies in the year 1704, when the Duke of Marlborough attack'd it with the flower of the confederate army; but it was at length forced by the resolution of the troops, and superiority of their numbers, and the Elector of Bavaria obliged to retire under the cannon of Augsburg. Donawert is a great thorough-fair, both by land and water, and the entertainment of travellers seems to be the most beneficial employment of the inhabitants. It was once an imperial city, and comprehended in the circle of Suabia; but upon declaring for the protestant Princes, was proscribed by the Emperor FERDINAND II. anno. 1634, and brought under the dominion of the Elector of Bavaria, who was the Emperor's General in that war.

Amberg.

4. Amberg, the capital of the Upper or Bavarian Palatinate, situate on the banks of the river Vils, thirty miles to the northward of Ratisbon, esteem'd a place of considerable strength, and endowed with large privileges by the Emperor RODOLPH. It was anciently subject to the Dukes of Suabia, but by the last Prince of that race transferred to the house of Bavaria. The iron and other minerals which are dug out of the neighbouring mountains, employ the inhabitants in forging and converting it into utensils, which they vend in other parts of Germany.

Newmark.

5. Newmark, once an Imperial city, but now subject to the Duke of Bavaria, stands on the banks of the river Sultz, thirty miles north of Ingoldstat. The trade of the place consists chiefly in iron-work. The country about it is called the territory of Newmark.

Sultzbach.

6. Sultzbach, a small city, situate on a hill, five miles northwest of Amberg, where a Prince of the house of Newburg has a palace, and stiles himself Duke of Newburg, Bavaria, &c.

Ratisbon.

7. Ratisbon, or Regensburg, situate in forty nine degrees north latitude, at the confluence of the Danube and the Regen, about sixty miles to the northward of

Munich, and as many west of Passau. It is the only free Imperial city within the limits of the Elector's dominions; large, populous, well built and pleasantly situated, fortified with a double wall; but yet seems to be a place of no great strength, or it would not so easily have submitted to the Elector of Bavaria as it did in the last war, when the Diet was assembled there, without striking a stroke. The place where the Diet meet is a large upper room hung with tapestry; the Imperial throne and seats richly cover'd with gold and silver tissues, velvet, &c. suitable to the dignity of the illustrious members. The cathedral is not admired for its beauty, or any other excellence; but the convent of St. EMERAM is said to be worth the viewing: and the stone bridge cross the Danube is no mean structure, consisting of fifteen large arches supported by square pillars, and is one thousand and ninety-one feet in length, and three and twenty broad, having three handsome towers built upon it. This city is govern'd by its own magistrates, and is not subject to the Duke of Bavaria. The Lutheran is the establish'd religion, only the Bishop has the liberty of saying mass in the cathedral once a week. The town is plentifully supplied with provisions: wine is made in the neighbourhood, not inferiour to Rhenish: and their fields produce all kinds of corn and grain; nor do they want good pasture for their cattle. The advantage of their situation upon and near so many navigable rivers creates a brisk trade, and the concourse of people which the Diet occasions, is a great addition to it.

8. Passau, situated about sixty miles to the eastward of Ratisbon, and ten to the westward of Austria, at the confluence of the three rivers, Danube, Inn and Ilts, which divide it into three parts, either of them a town by it self, but together form a noble large city: it is naturally strong, being surrounded on all sides either by rocks or rivers; but the fortifications are not answerable to the situation, or the Bishop of Passau, the sovereign of the place, had never yielded it up to the Elector of Bavaria the last war without attempting to defend it; nor would the Elector have parted with it again without force if he had deem'd it tenable. The houses of the town are of wood, but the publick buildings of stone and very magnificent, especially the cathedral dedicated to St. STEPHEN, the Bishop's palace, and the castle which stands upon an adjoining hill. In this city it was that the peace was concluded between the Emperor CHARLES V. and the protestant Princes in the year 1552; by which the Lutherans were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. It is observable that the river Inn, which gives name to that division of Passau called Innstat, discharges it self into the Danube with that violence, that it preserves its stream unmix'd

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H A P. unmix'd for a great way, being of a different colour from the waters of the Danube: and on the other side the Danube, the black muddy streams of the Ilts are discernable for several furlongs, that river running with a furious torrent from the Bohemian forests. The Bishop of Passau is sovereign of the country which lies between the Palatinate and Austria, for twenty miles to the northward of Passau and the Danube, in which district stand the castles of Obernberg and Ebersberg. 9. Landshut, the chief town the Elector hath in the Lower Bavaria, where his Lieutenant usually resides, stands on the river Iser, thirty miles south of Ratibon, in a pleasant country almost in the middle of the Elector's dominions, on which account the antient Dukes of Bavaria built a palace here, and beautified the city, which is still one of the handsomest in the country; and there is a church in Landshut, the tower whereof travellers take notice is the highest in Germany. 10. Newburg, *Novaburgum*, a pretty neat city, the capital of a country of the same name, subject to its own Prince the Duke of Newburg, who is also Elector Palatine, stands on the south bank of the Danube, fifteen miles to the westward of Ingolstat. The town has a good trade in wines; and the country belonging to it extends it self along the Danube near forty miles; but is exceeding narrow. Among other towns in this district is, 11. the town of Hochstet, about twelve miles to the westward of Donawert; rendred famous by the victory the Germans and their allies, the English and Dutch, gain'd over the French and Bavarians near this place in the year 1704. In which battle the confederates were commanded by Prince EUGENE of Savoy and the Duke of Marlborough, and the enemy by the Duke of Bavaria, and the Marshals TALLARD and MARSIN. The Emperor was at this time reduced to the greatest extremity by the French and Bavarian forces, who would probably have made themselves entire masters of Germany, if the English and Dutch had not sent a powerful re-inforcement to the Emperor's assistance. And what would have been the consequence to the allies if that body had been defeated, heaven only knows. On the contrary, the advantages the Emperor reap'd by that successful battle were so numerous, and so important, that the Austrian family must always gratefully remember the English nation, who contributed so largely to that expedition. 12. Between the towns of Donawert and Hochstet, stands the little city of Lawingen upon the Danube, subject also to the Duke of Newburg. The bridge over the Danube, the castle, and the great church, are all that travellers mention here to be worth our notice; neither do they give any further description of it, than that the great church is cover'd with copper.

13. Nabburg, a pleasant city in the same district of Newburg, which stands upon a hill near the river Nab. And, 14. Alchstat; but of this more in Franconia, of which it is sometimes reckoned a part. 15. Freisingen, situate on the side of a hill, in a fruitful country near the river Iser, seventeen or eighteen miles north of Munich. The Bishop is sovereign of the place, and of the adjacent country; and there is another small territory belonging to him on the confines of Bavaria and Tyrol, call'd Werdensels from its chief town, which lies near the river Iser, about forty miles south of Munich. And lastly, I come to describe the country subject to the Archbishop of Salzburg, which is accounted part of the circle of Bavaria; being bounded by the dutchy of Bavaria on the north; by Styria and the Upper Austria towards the east; by Carinthia and part of Tyrol on the south; and by Tyrol towards the west: the chief towns whereof are, 16. Salzburg, the antient *Juvavia*, situate on the river Saltza, sixty miles east of Munich, esteem'd one of the finest cities of Germany. The cathedral is a modern building, erected in the year 1628, exceeding magnificent; the city having been burnt down a little before. The palace of the Archbishop is part of the castle of Mirabel, than which nothing can be more delightfully situated. The town is well built in general: and the publick inns, travellers relate, are the best in Germany. It has a very good trade, especially in salt, which the neighbouring pits produce. 17. Hallen, another town in this country, upon the banks of the river Saltza, about eight miles to the southward of Salzburg, where the salt-pans continually employ great numbers of people. It is reported that in the year 1573, there was found in a salt-pit here, several hundred fathom deep, in the midst of a hard rock of salt, an entire human body, with its limbs, hair and clothes sound and uncorrupted, which by its antique dress, was thought to have lain some ages in that condition.

The country of Salzburg, of which the Archbishop is sovereign, extends seventy miles from east to west, and fifty from north to south: and besides the abundance of salt it affords, it has considerable mines of copper and iron, and some of silver. A little above the city of Salzburg springs the Gastein bath, the waters whereof are very hot, and taste strong of several minerals; and are said to be a remedy for the stone, the pox, the colick, and other malignant distempers, by bathing in them only, without drinking the water. There are also many excellent quarries, out of which is dug a stone little inferiour to jasper. Besides the towns already mention'd in the country of Salzburg, are those of Lauffen, Titmoning, Radstat and Muldorff, of pretty good note; but I do not meet with any particular description of them.

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Bavaria.
Nabburg.
Alchstat.
Freisingen.
Salzburg country.
Salzburg city.
Hallen.

CHAP. X. Notwithstanding Bavaria in general is a rich plentiful country, and lies exceeding well for trade, the Danube and many other navigable rivers passing through it; yet the natives are generally poor, which is supposed to proceed from the Elector's monopolizing the most considerable branches of traffick: and first, that of salt, which he prohibits his subjects to import from Austria, the Bishoprick of Saltzburg, or any other Prince's dominions on the severest penalties, or to buy any that is imported, except of himself. The Elector's factors alone are allow'd to furnish Suabia with salt, which they dig at the salt-pits of Drabestien and Obenhall, which being very coarse, they mix with a purer salt brought from Saltzburg. 2. A second monopoly is that of corn; the farmer is obliged to sell all his grain to the Elector's agents, who retail it out again to the people. 3. This prince, like the Czar of Muscovy, is Brewer-General of his dominions: none may brew or sell strong beer but the Elector's factors. There is only a poor sort of small beer, which the peasants and citizens are allow'd to brew and spend in their own houses. And the Bishop of Passau, whose territories lie within this circle, imitates the Elector in this piece of tyranny. The chief subsistence of the peasants of this country is their herds of swine, which they feed in the woods; and the wild beasts and game they meet with there, such as deer, wild hogs, &c. which they make free with, tho' it be almost as penal for a rustick to meddle with the game in Bavaria as here: but they are compelled by necessity to take what they find; for corn, beer and salt are at such excessive rates, that a countryman is scarce able to purchase them. After what has been observed in relation to monopolies, it may be needless to shew that the Elector is absolute in his dominions; and that the legislative and executive power are both vested in him. There are some general laws of the Empire indeed, that all the Princes and States of the Empire ought to be govern'd by, but they take the liberty to disobey and break through them too often, when there is not a force to compel the observance of them. What the forces or revenues of the Elector of Bavaria are exactly, I do not find computed by any writer, only in general, that his revenues are very large, arising from the monopolies abovesaid; from tolls on the rivers, customs on merchandizes, and the rents of his own demesne lands. And as the country is very populous, there is nothing to restrain him from raising as many troops as he can pay: like the other German Princes, he is never without a good body of standing forces, even in time of peace. The Elector and the Archbishop of Saltzburg are co-directors of this circle. The Elector of Bavaria styles himself Duke of the Upper and Lower Bavaria, and of the Upper Palatinate, Duke

and Count Palatine of the Rhine; Elector and Vicar of the Empire, and Grand Master of the household. His arms are lozengewise Argent and Azure of twenty-one pieces bendwise for Bavaria. One and four Sable a lion Or, crown'd languid and armed Gules for the Palatinate, with an Imperial globe Or, as Elector and Grand Master of the household of the Empire.

The late Elector of Bavaria died on the 26th of Feb. 1725-6, in the 64th year of his age. He was a fine gentleman, and a good soldier, and had experienced great variety of fortune. In the beginning of his life he commanded the Emperor's forces in Hungary; obtain'd a glorious victory over the Turks, and took the strong town of Belgrade by storm. He was afterwards Viceroy of the Spanish Netherlands, and enter'd into the Grand Alliance against France in the year 1698; being Generalissimo of the confederate forces in Flanders in the absence of King WILLIAM III. In the last war he took the part of France, and having lost the memorable battle of Hochstet, was driven out of his country in the year 1704, put to the ban of the Empire, and forced to take refuge in France: but by the peace of Rastadt, anno 1714, his dominions were restored to him, to the great satisfaction of his subjects, who were infinitely fond of their Prince, and ventured several insurrections in his favour while he was in banishment, and the Imperial forces possess'd their country. He lived eleven years in peace after his return to his dominions, endeavouring to repair the damages his country had sustain'd by the ravages of the enemy, who were ten years in the possession of it. He was the third Elector of Bavaria; son to the Elector FERDINAND, and grand-son to MAXIMILIAN I. Elector of Bavaria, who was advanced to that dignity in the year 1623, by the Emperor FERDINAND II. in the room of FREDERICK Elector Palatine, who was put to the ban of the Empire on the loss of the battle of Prague in the year 1620. He married MARIA ANTONIETTA daughter to the Emperor LEOPOLD in the year 1685; by whom he had three children, who are all dead; and the Electress their mother dying anno 1692, he married the Princess THERESA CUNIGUNDA, daughter to JOHN SOBIESKI, late King of Poland, in the year 1694, by whom he had issue CHARLES ALBERT CAJETAN, the present Elector, born August 1697; who married the Archduchess MARY AMELIA, daughter to the late Emperor JOSEPH. 2. FERDINAND MARY, second son of the late Elector, born August 1699, and married to ANNE CAROLINA of Newburg. 3. CLEMENT AUGUSTUS, the third son, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, Bishop of Munster and Paderborn, born August 1700. And 4. THEODORE, the fourth son of the late Elector, and made Bishop of Ratisbon, born anno 1703.

Forces and revenues.

The Elector's titles.

Character of the late Elector.

His marriages and issue.

As

CHAP. X. As to the succession of the Princes of Bavaria from the time this province was first erected into a principality, this I propose to draw up and insert in an appendix, with the families and pedigrees of the other German Princes rather than bring them into the body of it, and weary the reader with a tedious catalogue of names and dates, and proceed next to the circle of Franconia.

FRANCONIA.

CHAP. XI.

Treats of the Circle of Franconia.

THE circle or dukedom of Franconia receiv'd its name from its antient inhabitants the Franks, who were so denominated, as some relate, from FRANCUS, a great commander of that people; but others hold that the Franks were not one particular people, but several German nations united together against the Romans, who took the name of Franken, which in their language signified a free people, and this country might be called so by way of eminence, as being the first or principal promoters of this confederacy.

The modern Franconia is bounded by Hesse and Thuringia towards the north; by the Palatinate of Bavaria on the east; by Suabia on the south; and by the Palatinate of the Rhine towards the west, and extends about 100 and 30 miles from east to west, and about 100 and 40 from north to south: the principal rivers whereof are the Maine, the Sala, which waters the country where the famous Salique law was made, which restrains the succession to the males; the Tauber, the Rednitz, the Altmutz and the Pegnitz. It is prettily diversified with hills and valleys, forests and champain, and moderately fruitful in corn and wine; and comprehends, 1. The bishoprick of Wurtzburg, the chief towns whereof are Wurtzburg, Ochsenfurt, Konigshoven and Bischoffsheim. 2. The bishoprick of Bamberg, the chief towns whereof are Bamberg, Cronach, Weismann and Forchheim. 3. The bishoprick of Aichstat. 4. The district belonging to the master of the Teutonic Order, the chief town whereof is Margentheim. 5. The Marquissates of Cullembach and Obnsbach, the chief towns whereof are Cullembach, Weisinstat, Bertrut, Obnsbach and Kreyling. 6. The districts of Coburg, Schwartzenburg, Cassel, Hennerburg, Erpach, Wertheim and Holach, or Hohenloc. 7. The Imperial, or free cities of Francfort, Nuremburg, Rotemburg, Schweinsfurt, Weinsheim and Weissemburg.

Wurtzburg, or Herbiopolis, the Capital of Franconia, stands on the river Maine, sixty miles to the

eastward of Francfort, in forty nine degrees forty five minutes north latitude. The Maine runs through the middle of the town, over which there lies a noble stone bridge, three hundred paces long. Other little rivulets run through the principal streets. The Bishop's palace stands upon a hill above the town, from whence there is a glorious prospect of the neighbouring country, being the richest part of the province. The Bishop has a great extent of country under his jurisdiction, in which 'tis computed there are not less than four hundred towns and villages besides Wurtzburg. He is as absolute in his dominions as the French King, and lives in all the state of a sovereign Prince.

Bamburg, the capital of the principality of the same name, stands forty miles north-east of Wurtzburg, of which the Bishop of Bamberg is sovereign, his territories extending sixty miles in length, and forty in breadth. He has also several more castles and royalties in Carinthia and other parts of Germany; for the lands and territories of the German Princes are so strangely intermix'd, that it is difficult often to distinguish one from another. Nothing is more common than for a great Prince to hold part of his dominions of one much inferiour to him; the King of Bohemia, the Electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg, for instance, hold several of their mannors of this Bishop as lord paramount. The cathedral, the Bishop's palace, the Jesuits church, and the castle of Bamberg, are the only publick buildings that travellers mention in their way through it, and these do not seem to deserve a particular description.

Aichstat is the capital of another bishoprick, by some geographers placed in Bavaria, whose Bishop also is a temporal Prince. It stands about twelve miles north-west of Ingolstat, the principality about it extending thirty miles in length, and from eight to sixteen in breadth. These three bishops are all Princes of the Empire, and have seats in the Diet.

Margentheim, or Mariendal, is a small city situate on the river Tauber, about two and twenty miles west of Wurtzburg, where the great master of the Teutonic Order hath his residence, and is the capital of the small territory belonging to him, since the order were driven out of Prussia. These Knights still possess eleven commanderies in Germany, and have a right to chuse their great master, who is always a Prince of the Empire, and hath one of the first seats in the Diet after the Electors. The Knights on their admission are obliged to prove their nobility for sixteen descents, both by father and mother.

The marquissate of Cullembach receives its name from its capital city, which stands on the river Maine, twenty five miles north-east of Bamberg, and is subject to the two branches of the house of Brandenburg, call'd Cullembach and Bareith, who are each of them Princes of the Empire; and the

CHAP. XI. the Marquis of Cullembach is joint director of the Circle of Franconia with the Bishop of Bamberg. The extent of the country of Cullembach Proper, is about thirty four miles from east to west, and thirty from north to south. Bareith, the other subdivision of this country, has its name also from its capital Bareith, which stands fifteen miles south-east of Cullembach, the country under its jurisdiction being near forty miles in length, but not a fourth part so broad in many places.

Anspach. The Marquisate of Ohnsbach, or Anspach, is subject to another Prince of the house of Brandenburg. Its capital city of the same name stands twenty five miles south-west of Nuremburg, and the country subject to it is about fifty miles long, and twenty broad.

Hohenloe. The county of Holach, or Hohenloe, lies between the territory of Anspach and Hall, and is about twenty five miles long, and fifteen broad, and takes its name from an old castle, the seat of the Count, who is of a very antient family.

Castel. The county of Castil, or Castel, lies between the bishoprick of Wurtzburg and the county of Schwartzenburg, being about twenty five miles in length, and seven in breadth, the chief town whereof is Castel.

Schwartzenburg. The county of Schwartzenburg lies between the Marquisate of Anspach and the Bishoprick of Bamberg, being about twenty miles long, and fifteen broad; the chief town whereof is of the same name, and situate on the river Lee. The Count to whom it is subject is a Prince of the Empire.

Wertheim. The County of Wertheim lies west of Wurtzburg, being twenty six miles long, and twelve broad: the chief city is of the same name; and stands at the conflux of the rivers Tauber and Maine, in a healthful country, yielding plenty of corn, wine and cattle.

Erpach. The county of Erpach lies between the lower Palatinate and the Archbishoprick of Mentz; being about five and twenty miles in length, and twelve in breadth; the chief town, of the same name, stands on a small river, forty three miles west of Wurtzburg.

Henneburg. The county of Henneburg, so call'd from an antient castle, or palace of the Counts, situate on the top of an hill near Meiningen; and is bounded on the north by the territories of the abby of Fulda; by Thuringia on the east; by the bishoprick of Bamberg on the south; and the diocese of Wurtzburg on the west: a populous, fruitful country; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Meiningen, a beautiful little city, on the river Vera.

Shleusingen. 1. Shleusingen, situate on the river Shleus; remarkable for the assembling the electoral college there by FERDINAND II. 1623; when he depriv'd the Elector Palatine of his dignity and dominions, and transferr'd them to the Duke of Ba-

varia. 3. Coberg, the capital of a county of the same name; sometimes reckon'd part of the Circle of Saxony, one of the most antient cities in Germany; tolerably large and well built, and defended by a castle which stands on an adjoining hill. In this castle MARTIN LUTHER was imprison'd several times for speaking contemptibly of his superiours; and here, during his confinement, he compos'd several hymns, which are sung at this day with great devotion by his followers: in one of which he highly commends the happiness of imprisonment; and might have some reason for it, if he became more humble after it; for the great turn he had given to ecclesiastical affairs, had made him insufferably insolent.

The Imperial, or free cities in Franconia are, 1. Francfort, said to be so named from a ford over the Maine, where the Franks used to pass that river in their incursions against the Saxons; and afterwards built a fort to secure their passage. It lies in fifty degrees odd minutes north latitude, twenty miles to the eastward of Mentz; being built on each side the river, and join'd by a handsome stone bridge. It is a large populous city, regularly fortified, but not of any great strength, being much more considerable for its trade, which is carried on by the Maine, the Rhine, and other rivers which fall into them. There are two fairs yearly, in March and September, of three weeks continuance each, when the town is crouded with people from all parts; but what they deal most in, I perceive, is books and horses. The streets of the town are broad, and the houses built either with a red stone, or of wood plaister'd over and painted. St. Bartholomew's church, where the Emperor is usually elected, is a stately fabrick. The other publick buildings travellers take notice of, are the Emperor's palace, the town-house, and the castle; and there are some houses of the nobility which have a grand appearance. In the town-house, or guild-hall, where the Electors assemble before they proceed to the choice of an Emperor, is preserv'd the original golden Bull, which contains the rules and orders to be observ'd at an election. This city, with the district about it, is govern'd by its own magistrates; which consist of a Prætor, or Mayor, twelve Burgomasters, fourteen Aldermen, and forty-two Counsellors, in the choice of whom every company of tradesmen have their votes. They have also a senate, which is divided into three benches: on the first sit the Aldermen; on the second the Literati, or learned in their laws and customs; and on the third the tradesmen. The Roman catholicks in this city are possess'd of the cathedral church, and there are two convents for men, and one of nuns; but the Papists are not allow'd to make any publick processions through the town, for the magistrates and most of the inhabitants are Lutherans. There are also some Calvinists,

H A P. Calvinists, who are not suffer'd to have a church
XI. in the town, but go to a village near three miles
off to their publick worship. The Jews are pretty
Franco- numerous here, as in other parts of Germany, and
nia. have a synagogue allow'd them: they do not how-
ever live in that wealth and splendour as in Eng-
land; but are frequently put to the vilest drudge-
ries, and particularly are employ'd to extinguish
fires, when any happen in the city.

The territory subject to the city of Francfort, is
bounded by the county of Weteraw on the north;
by the county of Hanaw on the east; by the land-
gravate of Darmstadt on the south; and by the
archbishoprick of Mentz on the west. There is
little good arable or pasture ground in this district;
the country being for the most part cover'd by
woods or vineyards: the natives are a laborious
people, whose employment is chiefly making of
wine, which they transport to other countries,
and drink little themselves: but this is probably
to be understood of the lower rank of the people;
people of fashion in Germany don't use to have
their cellars empty.

To this city of Francfort several English Pro-
testants retir'd during the persecution in Queen
MARY's reign, and had a church assign'd them;
some of these were for retaining the liturgy and
ceremonies establish'd in the reign of King ED-
WARD VI. while KNOX and others were for re-
ducing the church of England to the plan of Ge-
neva: and not content with this, began to preach
up rebellion and disobedience to governours, and
particularly to the Emperor; whereupon the ma-
gistrates of Francfort compell'd KNOX and his dis-
ciples to quit the city, and retire to Geneva; and
leave the English Protestants, who were for uni-
formity and the liturgy, and taught obedience to
magistrates, in possession of the church which had
been assign'd them.

Nuremburg, or Nurnburg, *Noricorum Mons*, si-
tuate in forty-nine degrees thirty minutes north
latitude, forty miles south of Bamberg, and as
many north of Ingolstat, in the very heart of
Germany, is said to have obtain'd its name from
the Norici, who built a fort on the hill where the
castle of Nuremburg now stands, to defend them-
selves from the Huns, who had driven them out
of Austria, their former country. This city is si-
tuate in a plain, being seven miles in circumfe-
rence; and encompass'd with a wall and towers,
after the old way of fortification; and a castle
standing upon an adjoining hill, but of no great
strength at present. The streets are large and well
paved; the houses generally built of hewn stone,
five or six stories high. Their market-places and
squares large and spacious, and adorn'd with foun-
tains: the river Pegnitz runs thro' the middle of
it, entring the city by twelve large arches under
the wall, and issuing out on the other side of the

town in the same manner, but is not navigable. CHAP.
It turns however a vast variety of mills in the XI.
town, for corn, paper, iron, &c. This city is Franco-
extremely populous, and has the greatest trade of nia.
any in Europe, that does not stand near the sea
or some navigable river. Their artificers in iron,
steel, wood, ivory, alabaster, &c. are said to be
inimitable, and afford their goods extremely cheap.
'Tis from this part of Germany that those toys
which we call Dutch are imported hither. And
no place is more famous for clock-work: a coach
was made for the King of Denmark in this city,
that would go by springs without horses, and tra-
vel three miles an hour. Some private citizens
here have as fine collections of rarities, pieces of
antiquity and medals, as are to be found in the
cabinets of Princes. And it is nothing but the
genius and extraordinary diligence of this people,
that procures them this flourishing trade and plenty;
for they live in a barren country, which affords
scarce any merchandize to traffick with, but what
receives the greatest part of its value from their la-
bour and ingenuity. Their publick buildings are
the Stadthouse, or Guild-hall, said to be equal to
that of Amsterdam; and the church of St. SEBASTIAN
is esteem'd as stately a fabrick as any in the Em-
pire. In this city are kept the regalia used at the
Emperor's coronation; as the Imperial crown,
with which CHARLEMAIN was crown'd, his
mantle, the golden globe, CHARLEMAIN's sword,
the scepter, the Imperial cloak, all richly adorn'd
with precious stones, with the gloves and buskins
cover'd with plates of gold. The established reli-
gion here is the Lutheran: the Roman catholicks
are only allow'd to perform divine service in a
church of the Lutherans, when they have done
with it. The Calvinists are not allowed any pub-
lick place of worship, but are forced to go to a
church three miles out of town, and suffer the Lu-
therans to baptize their children.

The governours and principal magistrates of the
city are elected out of the nobility and gentry.
The common-council consists of forty-two mem-
bers, of whom thirteen are Burgomasters, and as
many Aldermen, the rest are stiled only Elders,
or Sages of the people. One Burgomaster has the
military, and one Alderman the civil government
of the city for a month, and are then succeeded
by two more; so that there is a Burgomaster and
an Alderman for every month of the year, in
whom the executive power is vested by turns. The
ordinary affairs of the government are debated in
their common-council: the raising of forces, or
levying taxes, are usually referred to a select num-
ber of the council, stiled by way of eminence, *The
Eight*: and upon any extraordinary emergency,
the principal burghers elected out of every trade
and profession in the town are summon'd, to the
number of four hundred, who have also the power
of

CHAP. XI. of electing the members of the other councils, and of the magistrates of the place, which are chosen annually.

Frankonia. The Nuremburghers have a country of about twenty miles extent, and several towns and villages under their jurisdiction; the chief whereof are, 1. Altorf, a university about twelve miles from Nuremberg. 2. Balthan. And, 3. Hersprach; all which were formerly parts of the Upper Palatinate; and taken by the Nuremburghers in their wars with the Marquis ALBERT, in the year 1504.

Rotenburg. Rotenburg, another Imperial city in Frankonia, situate on the river Tauber, thirty miles to the westward of Nuremberg, a pretty compact town, obtain'd its freedom of the Emperor FREDERICK I. in the year 1163.

Schweinfurt. 4. Schweinfurt, situate on the Maine, twenty-six miles north-east of Wurtzburg; a small city, and not very populous; obtain'd the privilege of a free Imperial city in the year 1388.

Winsheim. 5. Winsheim, a little Imperial city, which stands on the river Arsch, in the marquisate of Anspach, sixteen miles to the northward of Rotenburg.

Weissemburg. 6. Weissemburg, situate in the bishoprick of Eichstat, twenty-eight miles south of Nuremberg. And these are all the free cities we meet with in Franconia. I proceed now to the circle of Saxony.

S A X O N Y.

CHAP. XII.

Treats of Saxony in general.

Saxony. OF what extent the ancient Saxony was is very uncertain, but it is generally held to have taken up all the northern part of Germany, from Franconia and Bohemia to the Baltick Sea; and to have comprehended not only the Circles of Upper and Lower Saxony, but Westphalia, the two Friezlands, good part of Holland, Holstein, and even Jutland, which is at present part of the kingdom of Denmark.

The name. Nor is the derivation of the name less contested than the bounds of the country. Mr. CAMDEN follows the opinion of those who derive it from the Sacæ, a Scythian nation, who inhabited a country to the north of Persia and India, whose posterity he supposes the Saxons are. But as there is no probability that those eastern Scythians should ramble so far to the westward, nor no foundation in history to support this surmise, later writers have taken the liberty to dissent from Mr. CAMDEN, and to suggest that the Saxons more probably took their name from a short sword, or dagger they

CHAP. XII. Saxony. wore, peculiar to that nation, and called in their language Seax, or Saks. But however they obtain'd the name of Saxons, or whatever countries they inhabited, no people render'd themselves more terrible to the Romans and their allies, both by sea and land; and from their frequent maritime expeditions, I make no question of their possessing most of the sea-coast between Holland and Denmark. It is observed, that upon the coasts of Britain and France, as far as Spain, the Romans were obliged to maintain standing troops to oppose the incursions of this people, under certain great officers, who from their commands were stiled, *Comites litoris Saxonici per Britanniam & Galliam*. The character SIDONIUS gave of a Saxon rover, was, That he was an enemy formidable beyond comparison, one whom frequent shipwrecks recreated rather than terrified, as being not only acquainted but grown familiar with the perils of the ocean: which is a character very suitable to the natives of Friezland, whose ancestors the Saxons possess'd the same shores.

There is no doubt but many different nations were united under the general name of Saxons; all who join'd them in hopes of plunder, or finding more agreeable seats than their own, went under this common appellation; the people they invaded at least made no distinction, but as they met with them in the Saxon armies, called them all Saxons, tho' there might be Jutes, Angles, and twenty other tribes mix'd together.

According to our antient historians, the Saxons first infested the British shores about the year 370; but did not obtain any settlement here, till they were invited hither by VORTIGERN, a British King, to defend him against the Picts, about the year 447. These Saxons, 'tis said, were commanded by HENGIST and Horsa, two brothers. But Dr. NICHOLSON, with good reason, questions whether there ever were two Saxon Generals named HENGIST and Horsa; because there never was any family of Saxons, who had these names amongst them, either before or since that time: and the occasion of the mistake the Doctor supposes to proceed from the Saxon armies having a horse in their colours and standards: for the word *Hengist* he observes, in the old Saxon dialect, signifies a Stallion; and that *Horsa* is a word of the same signification, he thinks is obvious enough to an English reader. He looks upon it as highly probable therefore that the Saxon commanders should have the names of HENGIST and Horsa given them by the English, for the same reason that some writers enigmatically call the Emperor the Eagle, the King of France the Lilly, &c. from the arms they bear.

The modern Saxony, including both the Circles of Upper and Lower Saxony in their utmost extent, is bounded by the Baltick Sea, Denmark, and

Modern Saxony, bounds.

H A P. and the German Ocean towards the north ; by
XIII. Poland and Silesia towards the east ; by Bohemia
axony. and Franconia towards the south ; and by the
Circle of Westphalia towards the west ; lying be-
tween the fiftieth and the fifty-fifth degrees of
north latitude.

UPPER SAXONY.

CH A P. XIII.

Treats of the Circle of Upper Saxony.

Upper
axony.
vision.
I N the Circle of Upper Saxony are included,
1. The duchy of Saxony. 2. The marqui-
fate of Misnia and Voigtland. 3. The mar-
quisate of Lusatia. 4. The duchies of Sax-Merf-
burg, Sax-Naumburg, and Sax-Altemburg. 5.
The principality of Anhalt, and county of Barby.
6. The province of Thuringia ; most of which
provinces are subject to the Elector of Saxony.
But besides these, there are included in the Cir-
cle of Upper Saxony, the marquisate and electo-
rate of Brandenburg ; the duchy of Magdeburg ;
the principality of Halberstat, and the duchy of
Pomerania ; most of which are under the domi-
nion of the Elector of Brandenburg, the present
King of Prussia. The chief rivers in the Upper
Saxony, are the Elbe, the Sala, the Elster, the
Unstruck, the Spree, the Havel, and the Neisse.

he duchy
Saxony.
1. The duchy of Saxony, properly so call'd,
which gives the Elector the title of Duke, is of
no great extent ; and bounded by the principality
of Anhalt on the north ; by Lusatia and part of
Brandenburg towards the east ; by Misnia on the
south ; and by the county of Mansfield, and the
landgravate of Thuringia towards the west. The
air of this country is cold, but healthful ; the soil
yields wheat and some wine, tho' not in great
plenty. Here are mines also of silver and other
metals, but they want fuel to refine them. The
chief towns of the duchy of Saxony are, first,
Wittenburg, situate on the river Elbe, forty miles
north of Leipstick. The town consists of but one
long street, and has little observable in it besides
the university. A merry fellow gives this cha-
racter of the place, viz.

At Wittenburg a man is sure to meet

Hogs, soldiers, whores, and scholars in the street.

2. Hall, situate on the river Sala, forty miles
south-west of Wittenburg, a neat town, standing
on the side of a pleasant hill cover'd with vines ;
the inhabitants a polite people, and speak the
High Dutch in the greatest purity. It is call'd
Hall Saxonum, to distinguish it from other places
of the same name in Germany. The salt-pits

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near it yield a good revenue to the sovereign, who CH A P.
is the Elector of Brandenburg. 3. Quedlinburg, XIII.
a little city, thirty-five miles north-west of Hall, Upper
remarkable only for a nunnery there, whose Ab- Saxony.
bess is a Lutheran, and sovereign of the place, and
has her deputy, or representative in the general Quedlin-
Diet. She is always a Princess of the house of burg.
Saxony, and admits no nuns but of a noble de-
scend into the convent. There are also in this
duchy the towns of Sweinitz, Hertzburg, Torgau, Torgau, &c.
Bitterfield, Weissenburg, &c. but I don't meet
with any other description of them than their si-
tuation, which will be found in the map bound
up with this volume.

2. The second division of the Circle of Upper Misnia mar-
Saxony, is the marquisate of Misnia, or Meissen, quisate.
bounded by the duchy of Saxony on the north ;
by Lusatia on the east ; by Bohemia on the south ;
and by Thuringia on the west ; and extends a-
bout an hundred miles from north to south, and
eighty from east to west ; the district of Voigtland
being the most southerly part of Misnia. The
chief rivers in this province are the Elbe, the Rivers
Mulda, the Pleiss, and the Black and White Elster.
The plains of Misnia yield plenty of all manner
of grain, and their hills are rich in minerals. On
the banks of the Elbe, near Dresden and Meissen,
are large vineyards, which produce indifferent
wine. The whole country is very well furnish'd
with wood, and their forests afford plenty of game
and venison. The natives of Misnia are distin-
guish'd for their hospitality and good breeding,
their shape, make, and the neatness of their dress,
beyond their neighbours ; but then there is no
province of Germany where they drink harder.
The court it self is intolerably addicted to this
vice ; and how they do to preserve their chastity,
which they are so much commended for, when
they are scarce ever sober four and twenty hours,
is a mystery to me. But by chastity I'm apt to
think our travellers mean no more than their ab-
staining from adultery ; for they relate at the
same time, that this crime is punished with death by
the Saxon law ; and perhaps they are seldom so far
intoxicated as to venture a halter for another man's
wife, when there are females enough to be had
without running that hazard.

The chief towns of Misnia are, 1. Dresden, Dresden
the usual residence of the Elector of Saxony, a city.
large populous city, situate on the river Elbe, in
51 degrees odd minutes north latitude, about forty
miles south-east of Leipstick, and twenty north
of the confines of Bohemia. It is one of the most
considerable cities of Germany, fortified after the
modern way, and the bastions faced with stone ;
and we have all the reason in the world to believe
it very strong, because the late King of Sweden,
when he was actually in possession of all the coun-
try for a year together and upwards, never at-
tempted

M

CHAP. XIII. tempted the siege of this place. The river Elbe divides the town into two parts, the one called Upper the new, and the other the old city, which are Saxony. join'd together by a noble bridge of seventeen arches. The new town, where the Elector's palace stands, is best built, and very well worth a traveller's attention. The palace is large, and contains many beautiful apartments; the hall especially is admir'd for the many fine paintings in it, among which we see the people of most nations drawn in their respective habits: but what travellers are most taken with is the Kunst Kammern, or gallery of curiosities, containing several cabinets, in the first of which are all kind of mechanical instruments and tools, exquisitely wrought. In the other, many artificial works of coral, agate, &c. cups made of mother pearl, an ostrich made out of its own shell, with golden feathers, a purse of linnen incombustible, silver ore almost pure from the mines of Freiburg, several unpolish'd topazes ten inches in diameter, emeralds an inch in diameter as they grow in the rock. There is also a great variety of clock-work, as a horseman riding, a ship under sail, a centaur running and shooting, and a crab crawling on the table, &c. The stables also which are shewn to travellers are worth the seeing, the fabrick stately, and filled with the finest horses in the world; every one of which has an iron rack and a copper manger. Near the stables is a long arch'd walk, with the pictures of several favourite horses; and over it a gallery, where all the Dukes and Electors of Saxony are drawn both in their robes and military habits; and among them are shewn two pieces, said to be the pictures of those two Saxon Generals, HENGIST and Horsa, who first obtain'd a settlement in Britain, though, as Dr. NICHOLSON observes, 'tis probable that neither of these names were ever known to the antient Saxons. In the arsenal there were within these few years no less than four hundred pieces of brass cannon, but the number may possibly be reduc'd at present, since the Swedes surpriz'd and took so many of them in the last war. 2. Leipfick, one of the most populous and well-built cities in Germany, situate in a pleasant fruitful plain, at the meeting of three small rivers, viz. the Elster, the Pleissa, and the Parda, about forty miles north-west of Dresden, a town of great trade, especially at the three annual fairs of Christmas, Easter, and Michaelmas, when their streets are crouded with foreign merchants. The town is said to be defended by a strong castle, but I find the present Elector, King AUGUSTUS, did not think it tenable in the year 1706, when the King of Sweden march'd into Saxony, for he order'd the governour to surrender it without hazarding a siege. Besides the castle, I don't find any publick buildings mention'd by travellers, except the church of St. Nicholas, which is said to

Leipfick.

be the finest Lutheran church in Germany. There is also a celebrated university in this city, in which however they have but four colleges, and those inferior to many in Oxford; the reason of which may be, that in most foreign universities the students lodge in the town, and are not oblig'd to reside within the walls of a college, as with us. In this city, 'tis observ'd, the High Dutch, or German language, is spoke with greater purity than in any other in Germany. 3. Freiburg, which stands about twenty miles south-west of Dresden, near the river Mulda, being of a circular figure, and encompass'd with good walls, the streets broad and handsome, and the market-place spacious. The publick buildings are the Elector's palace, said to be a noble structure, and the church of St. Peter, where are the monuments of the ducal family; among which, that of MAURICE, Duke and Elector of Saxony, is accounted the finest in Germany, the bust being of black marble, admirably wrought, with many statues of alabaster and white marble about it. The situation of this place is so exceeding pleasant, that it is a proverbial saying, Were I Lord of Leipfick, I would spend my fortune at Freiburg. And the riches which are found here more than equal the beauty of the town, which stands great part of it on a mine, over vast vaults and caverns, which have been some ages digging to come at the silver ore that is found here. At a little distance from the town there are several other mines, three of which the ingenious Dr. BROWN has given us some account of. One of them, which goes by the name of the High Hill, he relates, is more than two hundred English fathom, or twelve hundred feet deep, which exceeded the depth of any mine he saw in Hungary. The second is called the Prince of Heaven, which has at some times produced an ore so rich, that it has afforded sixty-five pounds weight of silver in the hundred weight, tho' it generally yields but an ounce and a half, and sometimes but half an ounce of silver in the pound; but 'tis a constant observation of the miners, that where the veins are richest and purest they are thinnest, and generally not above the breadth of two inches. This mine, since it was first open'd, 'tis reported, has yielded above an hundred millions of silver sterling. However, thus much is certain, that the Elector's annual profit from these mines amounts to at least an hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling, clear of all charges. The third mine which Dr. BROWN visited here, was call'd the Neck-breaker, about eighty fathoms deep, the ore it produced being either copper and silver, or silver and lead, and sometimes all three; but they work only for silver. There is also a rich sulphur ore, hard and stony, with red spots, which is esteem'd the best, some of which yields three pounds of sulphur out of an hundred weight of ore; and some of

CHAP. XIII. Upper Saxony.

Freiburg.

Mines.

H A P. XIII. of this sulphur ore yields silver and copper, but in smaller quantities.

Upper Saxony. Among the several ways they have of discovering mines, they tell us of a divine rod which directs them to the ore. It is nothing more than a forked hazel stick, the two horns of which the miner holds in his hand, while he walks over the ground, muttering some unintelligible words to himself, by way of charm; whereupon the forked stick turns in his hand, and points to the ground where the veins of silver lie. This is related by two authors of the best credit who treat of these mines, namely Dr. BROWN and Dr. NICHOLSON, who seem to have been eye-witnesses of the experiment; after which perhaps it may be thought impertinent to doubt the virtue of this rod. But however the miners may ascribe this to a supernatural power or impulse, if the fact be really true, I should be apt to impute it to some such cause as occasions the needle pointing to the load-stone, rather than to a charm, in which I confess I have no great faith. But to proceed; these deep mines are very dangerous to the workmen, who frequently meet with damps that prove mortal; and another inconvenience that attends their labour, is the dust which grates upon and frets their skins, lungs and stomachs, and brings them into irrecoverable consumptions; to secure themselves against which, they frequently wear vizards with glass-eyes. The mines are cold as far as the air can penetrate, but afterwards warm enough. There is a mint at Freiburg where rix-dollars are coin'd, and other money, which is most commonly sterling, and look'd upon to be the best cash in Germany; for the general coin of the Empire is a base mix'd metal. 4. Meissen, heretofore the capital of Misnia, situate on the river Meissen from whence it takes its name, has little in it now worth a traveller's notice, unless a palace of the Elector's, venerable on account of its antiquity. 5. Plawen, the capital of Voigtland, situate on the river Elster, sixty miles south-west of Dresden. The other principal towns are Pirn, Mulberg, Chemnitz, Frawenstein, Koningstein, Marienburg, Annaburg, Zuickaw, Sneburg, Werda, Weisfels, Colditz, Leissnicks, Lutzen, and Zeitz, of which I meet with nothing remarkable.

3. The third division of Upper Saxony is the marquisate of Lusatia, bounded on the north by Brandenburg; on the east by Silesia; on the south by Bohemia; and by the duchy of Saxony and Misnia towards the west; extending about ninety miles in length from north to south, and sixty from east to west, the principal rivers being the Spree and the Neisse. This country was a province of Bohemia until the year 1620, when being engaged in a rebellion against the Emperor with the rest of that kingdom, the Elector of Saxony was

commission'd by the Emperor to reduce them to his obedience; which having effected, the Emperor transferred this province to the Elector and his successors, who still enjoy the same, except some few places which are subject to the Elector of Brandenburg.

Lusatia is part of it a sandy barren soil, and the remainder of it taken up with bogs and marshes, there being scarce corn enough growing in the province to subsist the inhabitants. Venison and fish however are extremely plentiful, and there is no want of wood. The inhabitants are supposed to be of Sclavonian extraction from their language, which is a mixture of Sclavonian and High-Dutch. They are observed to have quick natural parts, but more addicted to covetousness and a sordid way of living than the rest of Germany. The chief towns are, 1. Bautzen, or Budissina, situate on the river Spree, thirty miles north-east of Dresden. This city suffer'd much in the civil wars of the Empire, and was afterwards almost demolish'd by the Swedes; and is at present in no very flourishing condition. 2. Gorlitz, situate in a marsh, upon the river Neisse, about twenty-five miles to the eastward of Bautzen; in which are several handsome churches, and the private buildings are not despicable. The chief trade of the citizens lies in linnen cloth, which they make and dye; and in beer brewed here and vended abroad. The other towns of any note in Lusatia, are Zittaw, Leiba, Luben, Guben, Soraw, Cothus, Comitz, Friedland, Sprehenberg, Konignart, and Zobelitz, of which travellers entertain us with nothing remarkable.

4. The fourth division of Upper Saxony I am to describe, is the duchy of Sax-Merzburg, Sax-Naumburg, and Sax-Altenburg.

Sax-Merzburg was a Bishop's See till the reformation, when the Elector of Saxony seiz'd upon the city and territory belonging to it; and now applies the revenues of it to the support of one of his younger sons, to whom it gives the title of Duke. The town stands about eighteen miles north-west of Leipzick; there is little worth observation in it, except the cathedral.

Sax-Naumburg also is the capital of a bishoprick, which the Elector of Saxony seiz'd at the reformation; and now gives title to a Prince of Saxony of the Ernestine line, who is stiled Administrator of the bishoprick. The town is situate on the river Sala, twenty-five miles south-west of Leipzick; having a territory belonging to it twenty-five miles in length, and fifteen in breadth.

Sax-Altenburg is bounded by Thuringia on the north; by Voigtland towards the east; and by Franconia on the south and west. The town of Altenburg, the capital of the territory, was an Imperial city, till FREDERICK, Marquis of Mis-

CHAP. XIII. Saxonia, took it in the year 1308, and united it to that province: it is now subject to the Duke of Upper Sax-Gotha.

Upper Saxony. The fifth division of Upper Saxony is the principality of Anhalt, and the little county of Barby; bounded by the principality of Halberstat and Magdeburgh on the north; by Thuringia on the south; and by Quedlinburg towards the west: extending ninety miles from east to west; but is not of a proportionable breadth, being mighty narrow. This territory is subject to the Prince of Anhalt, one of the most antient families in Germany; from which sprung the houses of Saxony and Brandenburg. The chief towns of Anhalt are, 1. Zerbst, situate on the east side of the Elbe, about fifty miles north of Leipzick, where the Prince has a palace. 2. Brenburg, situate on the river Sala, where the Prince has another palace; but travellers have not thought either of them worth a description. 3. Dessau, situate in a pleasant fruitful country, at the confluence of the Elbe and the Mulda, eight miles to the southward of Zerbst, where the Prince also resides sometimes, the fortifications whereof are said to be very strong.

Anhalt and Barby. 6. The sixth division of Upper Saxony is the landgravate of Thuringia, or Thuringen, in Latin authors *Duringia*, and the county of Mansfeldt; bounded by the Hercynian forest towards the north; by the river Sala on the east; and by the woods of Franconia towards the south. The chief rivers are the Sala, the Werra, the Unstruck, the Jera, and the Leina. The country yields plenty of corn, and some wine, more palatable than that of Saxony or Brandenburg; and among that variety of plants and herbs, with which their fields abound, those peculiar to this province, are wild saffron, and woad used by the dyers in their best blues. They have also some good salt-pits; but their mines of silver and copper ore, mention'd by some travellers, do not turn to any great account. The natives are esteem'd the most clownish and inhospitable people in Germany; naturally so stupid and brutish, that 'tis with difficulty they are brought acquainted with the common principles of humanity, or to understand their duty to their governours. The Thuringians are supposed to be descended from the Goths and Vandals; and were antiently govern'd by their own Kings, till they were subdued by the Franks in the reign of CHARLEMAIN, who established Christianity in this province: great part of it was made subject to the Archbishop of Mentz, who divided it into several governments, which afterwards grew up into distinct counties and baronies. Afterwards LODOWICK, Count of Schomberg, procur'd the title of Count of Thuringia to be conferr'd on him by the Emperor CONRAD II. and his posterity afterwards had the title of Landgraves of Thuringia given them by succeeding Emperors. In this line

it continued till the death of HERMAN; Landgrave of Thuringia and Hesse, when Thuringia descended to HENRY Marquis of Misnia, from whom the present Elector of Saxony claims.

The chief towns whereof are, 1. Erfurt, or Erford, or rather Jeraford, from the river whereon it stands, the capital of the province, situate in a pleasant fruitful plain, on the banks of the river Gere, or Jera, sixty miles to the westward of Leipzick, in fifty-one degrees north latitude: it is a considerable city, usually compar'd to Cologne, for its beauty and dimensions, and the trade and wealth of the inhabitants. Here are several noble churches and abbeys, a magnificent castle, and a considerable university; a large territory also belongs to this city, in which are several baronies, and between three and fourscore villages, all which were subject to the Archbishop of Mentz till the reformation; when the citizens embracing the Lutheran religion, put themselves under the protection of the Elector of Saxony; which occasion'd a war between the Archbishop of Mentz and the Elector; but by a treaty between them, it was at length agreed, That seventeen villages in this territory should be transferr'd to the Elector of Saxony; and the city with the rest of its dependencies should remain subject to the Archbishop of Mentz, as it is at this day. 2. Weimar, the capital of a duchy, which gives a title to a Prince of the family of Saxony; a large well-built city, situate between Erfurt and Jena, and has a great trade in wine. 3. Jena, seated in a pleasant valley, on the river Sala, three and twenty miles to the eastward of Erfurt; remarkable chiefly for its university, which has bred several learned men, particularly the famous J. LIPSIUS. 4. Gotha, the capital of a duchy, which gives a title to another branch of the house of Saxony; where the Duke has a castle and palace. The principal employment of the natives is the cultivating and preparing woad for the dyers, of which there are great quantities in the territory belonging to this city. This herb is said to be an excellent balsamick for curing wounds; and the roots enrich and improve the lands where they are planted. The other towns of any note in Thuringia, are Mulhausen, a small Imperial city; Orlamund or Erlamund, Tonnenburg, Eisenach the capital of a duchy, which gives a title to another Prince of the house of Saxony, and hath a considerable trade in iron. Marchfeld, the usual residence of the Dukes of Saxe-Gotha. Sunderhausen, the capital of the territory of Schwartzburg, forty miles long, and five and twenty broad. Northausen, the capital of the territory of Hohenstein, about twenty-five miles in length, and ten in breadth. Stolburg, the capital of a territory of the same name, twenty miles long, and ten broad; the Counts whereof are sovereign Princes.

AP. II. The last territory I shall mention here, is the county of Mansfield, by some called one of the Hercynian counties, (the other three being Stolburg, Hohenstein and Regenstein) so denominated from their lying upon the Hercynian forest. Mansfield is bounded by the principality of Anhalt on the north; by the river Sala, which divides it from Merzburg, on the east; by Thuringia on the south; and by the territories of Schwartzburg and Stolburg on the west: and is about thirty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth. This country is rich in minerals, among which there is a black glittering kind of slate, which being melted down, yields both copper and silver, of which a German writer gives the following account: "The Counts of Mansfield, says he, have in their territories several mines of Scheifferstein, the like whereof the whole world can't pretend to; for out of this stone the inhabitants melt a copper, each hundred weight whereof contains between ten and twelve ounces of pure silver: and whatever part of the country you dig for this mineral, you are sure to succeed; I myself have been an eye-witness of an extravagant curiosity of nature in the composition of this stone: there is in the neighbourhood of Eisleben a lake several miles in length and breadth, abounding with several kinds of fish and other animals, as frogs, water-rats, &c. all which are lively represented in many of these Scheiffer-stones, by fair copper strokes thro' the very body of the slate."

The Counts of Mansfield are Princes of the Empire, of a very antient family; but at present branch'd out into four or five distinct houses, which renders them less considerable than they have been. They pay some homage or acknowledgement to the Elector of Saxony, but have no great dependance on him. The chief towns of the county of Mansfield are, 1. Eysleben, so named from the iron ore dug there, called by the natives Eysen. The famous MARTIN LUTHER was born in this city in the year 1483, and died in the same place anno 1564. Over the door of the house where he was born, the citizens set up his statue in stone, with this inscription, viz.

*Hostis eram papæ, sociorum pestis & hujus
Vox mea cum scriptis nil nisi Christus erit.*

But the Imperialists in the civil wars of Germany which followed, demolished the image and defac'd the inscription. The town is but small, and stands about fifteen miles north-west of Hall: the principal trade whereof is in iron-work. 2. Mansfield, which gives name to the county, and a title to its Count; stands above five miles north-west of Eysleben; an old ruinous town, remarkable for nothing but a castle which stands near it on the top of a hill. The other towns of any note

in this country are Wipra, Arustein and Querfurt, of which travellers afford us no description. CHAP. XIII.

And thus I have gone through all that part of the Upper Saxony that is subject to, or any way dependant on the Elector of Saxony. I proceed now to give some account of the present Elector, the King of Poland, and his family, and of his forces, revenues, and interests.

The present Elector FREDERICK AUGUSTUS was the younger son of JOHN GEORGE III. born May the 12th, 1670. In 1693, he married CHRISTINA EBERHARDINA, the daughter of CHRISTIAN ERNEST, Margrave of Brandenburg Bareith, and succeeded his brother JOHN GEORGE IV. the late Elector, anno 1694, and was elected King of Poland in the year 1697. He has issue by the Electress a son named FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, born October the 17th, 1696, married to the Archduchess MARY, daughter of the late Emperor JOSEPH, in the year 1719. I shall not here give a list of all the Princes of the house of Saxony, but leave that for the appendix, where the pedigree of the other German Princes will be inserted; only observe that the present electoral family derive their pedigree from WITTIKIND, the last King of the Saxons, who being conquer'd by CHARLES the Great, about the year 785, was afterwards restor'd to his dominions by the same Emperor; and held them of him under the title of Duke. The Princes of this house were great encouragers of the reformation; on which account the Elector JOHN FREDERICK was a considerable sufferer, being taken prisoner, and condemn'd to death by the Emperor CHARLES V. but pardon'd afterwards as to his life, on the intercession of some powerful friends, upon condition he should resign the electoral dignity and all his dominions to the Emperor: which when he had done, the Emperor restor'd him the castle of Gotha, and the town of Weimar, with the territories thereto belonging, which his posterity still enjoy. But the Emperor, with the general consent of the Electors, invested MAURICE, cousin-german to the deprived Duke, in the electoral dignity, and all the lands, honours, and estates, which formerly belong'd to the late Duke, the signiories of Gotha and Weimar excepted; and the posterity of Prince MAURICE have enjoy'd the electoral dignity and its dependencies ever since, the present Elector claiming under him.

The revenue of this Prince is supposed to exceed that of any of the German Powers, except the Emperor; and to amount to at least five hundred thousand pounds per ann. For he has a tenth of all the corn, fruit, wine, and other produce of the earth in his dominions; besides a general excise upon beer, and almost all other kinds of provision. There is also a particular tax laid on his subjects for the maintenance of a war against the

CHAP. the Turk, at least it was levy'd at first with that
XIII. design, but is now continued in time of peace,
 upon pretence of the necessity of being always in
 a posture to oppose the enemy. A precedent that
 the ministry in other countries frequently copy af-
 ter: and indeed, it seems to be a standing rule a-
 mong those gentlemen, that whatever tax you can
 once wheedle or frighten the people into, is never
 to be laid down or diminished, notwithstanding
 the occasion of the first levying it hath been
 long since removed. But to proceed, there is al-
 so a vast estate in demesne lands, which belong to
 the Elector; and particularly church and abbey
 lands, which these Princes seized at the reforma-
 tion; and over and above all this, there is a con-
 siderable revenue arises from the silver mines in
 this country, which, together with the other arti-
 cles, cannot amount to so little as half a mil-
 lion of money annually. The Elector of Saxony,
 like other German Princes, always keeps up a
 good body of troops both in peace and war; and
 particularly the present Elector, who had never ob-
 tain'd the crown of Poland, or preserved himself
 on that throne, but by the influence of his Saxon
 forces. Before he had this occasion for them,
 he let out his troops to the allies, or other Prin-
 ces for hire, as his neighbours constantly do,
 whenever they have an opportunity. And these
 Princes seem to have two very substantial reasons
 for keeping up a standing army at all times; the
 one to support the arbitrary dominion they exer-
 cise over their subjects, and the other to increase
 their revenues; for the Prince has always a profit
 out of the mercenaries he furnishes any power
 with, over and above the pay they receive for
 their necessary subsistence.

Abstract of The present Prince enter'd into the confederacy
the actions against France, and commanded a body of troops
of the pre- upon the Rhine, soon after his accession to the
sent Elec- electorate, in the year 1694. He had then the
tor. reputation of a gallant man, and was actually
 stronger in his hands than any soldier in the ar-
 my, being able to twist a horse-shoe in two with
 his fingers. He was call'd from the Rhine in the
 year 1696; and made General of the Emperor's
 forces in Hungary, where he gain'd abundance of
 honour by a victory he obtain'd over the in-
 fidels near Temeswaer. About the same time
 he thought fit to quit the Lutheran doctrine, and
 reconcile himself to the church of Rome, in or-
 der to qualify himself to be elected King of Po-
 land, in which he succeeded through the interest
 of the powers in alliance against France, and the
 influence of the Saxon forces he carried with him
 into Poland on this occasion; and as he obtain'd
 his election by surprize and force, he was sensible
 he could not maintain himself on the throne of
 Poland, but by the continuance of the Saxon
 troops in that kingdom, which was however con-

trary to the constitution of Poland, and to the **CHAP.**
Pacta Conventa he had sworn to on his accession; **XIII**
 and the only expedient he could think of in this **Upper**
 case to avoid sending back the Saxons, was to **Saxony**
 make an offer to the republick of employing them
 in the recovery of those provinces which had been
 taken from the republick by the Swedes a centu-
 ry before, and yielded to Sweden by formal trea-
 ties, which the Poles did not seem very averse
 to, especially since they were not to be at the ex-
 pence of reducing them to their obedience. For
 let a Prince or State yield up a part of their ter-
 ritories to an enemy by the most solemn treaties,
 they ever pretend there was a force put upon them
 in the matter, and whenever they have an op-
 portunity, seldom fail to renew their pretensions
 to the dismember'd country, let the distance of
 time they parted with it be ever so great. But
 to proceed: the King of Poland, before he be-
 gan this war, thought it prudent to enter into an
 alliance with Russia and Denmark, who had both
 of them the same antiquated pretensions to some
 of the provinces in the possession of the Swede;
 and when he had thus secured himself, as he ap-
 prehended, from all possibility of a disaster, he
 fell upon the Swedish dominions in Livonia, with-
 out declaring war, or giving the least intimation
 of his hostile intentions, which was look'd upon
 to be the more barbarous and dishonourable, be-
 cause the King of Sweden was then a minor. I
 have already given an account of the progress of
 this war in the modern history of Poland, I shall
 therefore only remember here, that the King of
 Sweden, though he was but seventeen years of age,
 assembled his forces, and landing in Livonia, de-
 feated both the Muscovites and Saxons, and ne-
 ver left the pursuit of his enemies till he had
 ravaged the electorate of Saxony it self, obliged
 King AUGUSTUS to renounce the crown of Po-
 land, and to acknowledge and congratulate STA-
 NISLAUS, whom he had set up in his room, as
 sovereign of that kingdom. But the King of Swe-
 den being afterwards defeated at Pultowa by the
 Russians, King AUGUSTUS took the opportunity
 of re-ascending the throne of Poland again, in
 the year 1709, where he has maintain'd himself
 to this time, but in perpetual contentions with
 his subjects, who always insisted on the Saxon
 troops evacuating Poland, and at some times actu-
 ally fell upon them in their quarters, and cut
 them in pieces; which occasion'd an intestine war
 in that kingdom for many years, the Saxons sur-
 prizing the Poles, and the Poles the Saxons, as
 they had an opportunity. And that which alarm'd
 the Poles the more, was a proposal of his present
 Majesty to make the crown hereditary, and settle
 it on his family; to which purpose the electoral
 Prince, his eldest son, after the pattern his father
 had set him, renounced the Protestant religion,
 and

A P. and became a Papist; but the Poles notwithstanding seem determin'd that he shall not succeed the present King. I must not forget here to do that justice to the Electress of Saxony, consort to the present King of Poland, as to acknowledge, that though the King her husband, and the electoral prince her son, both apostatized from their religion in expectation of a crown, she has always continued firm to her principles, choosing to remain Electress of Saxony, rather than alter her religion to obtain the title of Queen of Poland, and the honours which attend it; for the Poles it seems will not suffer any Princess to be crown'd Queen, who is not of the communion of the church of Rome. And this brings me to mention the religion profess'd in this electorate, which is in general the Lutheran, except in those cities and territories which are subject to the Archbishop of Mentz, and other popish Princes. It is true, the present Elector the King of Poland, and the electoral Prince, with some other Princes of the electoral family, have of late years been reconciled to the church of Rome; but they have not yet used any other means than their own example and persuasion to bring over the people to that church. Lutheranism is still the establish'd religion of the country, and when the Duke of Sax-Zeits, who had been seduced to turn Papist, return'd to the bosom of the Lutheran church four or five years since, I find they sung *Te Deum* for it, as if they were under no apprehensions of the frowns of the court on that occasion; and perhaps the danger they may apprehend to their religion from the apostacy of their Princes, may put them more upon their guard, and induce them to hold their opinions the faster: for I make no doubt but many of the subjects of England, who were very zealous for their religion in the reign of the late King JAMES, having since met with no opposition on that head, have become very indifferent to it, and scarce think any religion worth the contending for; whereas, had the danger continued, their zeal would probably have continued too.

The Elector of Saxony and the Elector of Bavaria are Vicars of the Empire, and have the administration of the government during an Interregnum, (but I think this point is scarce settled between the Elector Palatine, and the Elector of Bavaria.) The Elector of Saxony is also Great Marshal of the Empire, and by virtue of that office to have the guard of the city where the Diet assembles. The titles he assumes are Duke of Saxony, Juliers, Cleve, Berg, Engers and Westphalia; Arch-Master and Elector of the Empire; Landgrave of Thuringia; Margrave of Misnia, and of the Upper and Lower Lusatia; Count and Prince of Henneberg; Count of La Marck, Ravensburg and Barby; and Lord of Ravenstein.

The arms of the Elector of Saxony, are, A-

zure, a lion crown'd faced Argent and Gules, for Thuringia. Faced Or and Sable with Vert thro' the whole for Saxony. Or, a lion Sable, for Upper Misnia. Coupee Sable on Argent two swords Gules, for the dignity of Elector and Arch-Marshal of the Empire. Argent, a beeve Gules, and a wall Or, for Lusatia. The helmets are Or, surmounted with two blue wings, for Lusatia. Or, surmounted with two horns Argent, for Thuringia. Or, two crowns Azure and Argent, for Saxony. Or, surmounted with a demi-man Azure and Argent, for Misnia.

BRANDENBURG.

CHAP. XIV.

Treats of the north part of the circle of Upper Saxony, viz. the marquisate of Brandenburg, the dukedom of Magdeburg, the principality of Halberstat, the duchy of Pomerania, and the island of Rugen.

THE southern part of the circle of Upper Saxony, subject to the Elector, the present King of Poland, has been already described; I come now to the more northern countries comprehended in this circle, which are, the marquisate of Brandenburg, Magdeburg, Halberstat, and the dukedom of Pomerania, most of them subject to the King of Prussia, as Elector of Brandenburg.

This part of the circle of Upper Saxony is bounded by the Baltick sea towards the north; by the kingdom of Poland on the east; by Silesia and the other part of the circle of Upper Saxony towards the south; and by the circle of Lower Saxony towards the west.

And first of Brandenburg, stiled the Margravate, or Marquisate, by way of eminence, as having been the utmost bounds or marches of the German Empire towards the north; the Margrass, or as we call him, Marquis, being properly *Judex*, or *Comes Limitaneus*, Lieutenant of the marches, as this officer was stiled antiently in England, and vested with the civil, as well as the military power in his province.

Brandenburg is bounded by Pomerania and Mecklenburg on the north; by Poland towards the east; by the other part of Upper Saxony on the south; and by Brunswick and Lunenburg towards the west; extending two hundred miles in length from east to west, but of very unequal breadth, in some places near an hundred, and in others not fifty miles broad. The chief rivers which water this country are the Elbe, the Oder, the Havel, the Spree and the Wart; besides several large lakes, of which the Ukersee is one of the

North part
of the circle of
Upper Saxony.

Brandenburg
marquisate,
why so called.

Situation
and extent.

Rivers.

CHAP. XIV. the chief. They have a communication also with the Baltick sea by the river Oder; and there is a canal cut from the Oder to the Elbe, by which they convey their merchandize and produce of the country to the German ocean, and thereby avoid the duties demanded in the Sound of such ships as go through the Baltick. The air of this country is cold, and their winters long, continuing seven or eight months. The soil is sandy and barren, and over-run with woods and forests: they have however corn enough for their use for the most part, and when they want are supply'd on easy terms from Poland, which lies contiguous to them. They have large flocks of sheep, and store of deer and other venison in their forests, but do not abound in black cattle. The wine they make is sour, as it is in all countries which lie so far north, and bad even to a proverb. Salt here is none, but what is imported by their rivers, the Elbe, the Havel or Spree. Here are scarce any silver mines as in other provinces of Germany, which may be one reason their coin is of a much baser metal than their neighbours; and their mines of copper and iron yield but a very small quantity of either. The natives are a mixture of several German nations, as is evident from the several dialects spoken by them. They are generally a poor miserable people, insomuch that Dr. NICHOLSON observes, that to lie on a bed of clean straw is a mark of distinction, and the lot only of a man of some fashion.

At the reformation the Brandenburgers and their Prince embraced the doctrines of LUTHER, in which they were unanimous, till GEORGE WILLIAM their Elector, about the year 1614, married a sister of FREDERICK Elector Palatine, the head of the Calvinist party, who brought him over to that sect, and prevail'd upon him to publish an edict for suppressing the Lutheran doctrine, and establishing Calvinism throughout his dominions, in the year 1615; whereupon his subjects unanimously rebelled against their Elector, and had infallibly deposed him, if he had not suddenly revoked his edict, and establish'd Lutheranism again by another act of state, declaring he would confine the Calvinist worship to his own private chapel. Succeeding Electors however, have found means to advance the Calvinist interest, which now bears a great sway in Prussia and some other territories belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg: in the universities of Koningsberg and Francfort upon Oder particularly, the principles of Calvin only are encouraged; but yet the greatest part of the people of Brandenburg still remain Lutherans.

The marquisate of Brandenburg is usually divided into three parts, viz. 1. The Alt Marck, or Old Marck. 2. The New Marck. And 3. the Middle Marck.

The Alt Marck is bounded on the north by CHA Mecklenburg; by Middle Marck on the east; by XIV the dukedom of Magdeburg on the south; and by Brand Sax-Lawenburg and Lunenburg towards the west: burg. the chief towns whereof are, 1. Stendal. 2. Soltwedel. 3. Gardeleben. 4. Angermund, or Tan- Alt Mar germund. 5. Osterburg. Here are also the towns of Seehusen, Werben, Havelburg, and Perleburg, but of less note.

1. Stendal, the capital of Alt Marck, is situated in a pleasant plain, on the river Ucht, about five miles from the river Elbe, and as many from Angermund; formerly one of the Hans towns, and is still a place of some trade in corn and linen cloth. 2. Soltwedel, or Soltquel, a great town on the banks of the river Jetze, in the midway between Lunenburg and Stendal, the trade whereof consists chiefly in beer, which they export to Lunenburg, and other provinces of Brandenburg. 3. Gardeleben, said to have obtain'd its name from the many pleasant gardens about it. The beer brew'd here is in great reputation in the rest of Germany as well as their hops, which are bought up by the Danes and other foreigners. 4. Angermund, situated at the confluence of the Anger and the Elbe, eight miles to the southward of Stendal; and has a great advantage by the navigation of the Elbe, upon which they transport their corn and other merchandize as far as Hamburg, and from thence to foreign countries.

2. Newmarck, which lies between the river Warta and Pomerania, separated from Middlemarck by the Oder: containing about an hundred miles in circumference; and belonged antiently to the Knights of the Teutonic Order. It is the most fruitful part of the marquisate, having plenty of corn and pasture, and in some places vines, which yield indifferent wine. The only considerable town in this territory is Kustrin, situate on the river Oder, near the mouth of the Warta, fifty miles east of Berlin: a place of such strength, that GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS having sat down before it, was forced to raise the siege. It is a neat well-built town, and has a spacious market-place. Towns of less note in this territory are Falkenburg, Dreyfen, Lansperg, Sunneberg and Sternberg.

3. Middlemarck, situate in the very heart of Brandenburg, extending in length about an hundred miles between the rivers Elbe and Oder; the chief towns whereof, are, 1. Brandenburg. 2. Berlin. And 3. Francfort upon Oder. 1. Brandenburg, situate in the midst of a morass, on the river Hamel, which divides it in two parts, twenty-six miles west of Berlin, gives its name to the whole marquisate, and was once the metropolis of it. In the great church are several monuments of their Princes and Bishops: but the inhabitants are in so wretched a condition at present, that was it

H A P. not for a neighbouring lake which affords them
XIV. plenty of fish, they would find it difficult to sub-
 sist. 2. Berlin, pleasantly situated in a fruitful
 country on the river Spree; having vineyards on
 one side, meadows on another, and a forest on
 the third, stocked with all manner of game; and
 lies in the latitude of fifty-two degrees thirty
 minutes, fourteen degrees to the eastward of Lon-
 don, and forty-five miles to the westward of Franc-
 fort upon Oder. It is the capital of the marqui-
 sate, and the usual residence of the Elector, now
 King of Prussia, divided in two parts by the river
 Spree, the larger towards the north is properly
 Berlin, the other south of the river is call'd Coln,
 where stands the Elector's palace, a magnificent
 structure built of free-stone: in which the arm-
 ory, the chamber of curiosities, the paintings, the
 library, the gardens, water-works, and stables are
 much admir'd by travellers. The town is also
 generally well built, the streets wide, and the
 squares and publick places spacious, the whole en-
 compass'd with a wall, and regular fortifications
 after the modern way; and the canals cut from
 this city to the river Oder and Elbe, the one fal-
 ling into the Baltick, and the other into the Ger-
 man Ocean, render it one of the best trading
 towns in Germany. The people of this place we
 have lately imitated in the fashion of our cha-
 riots, from hence call'd Berlins, after the name of
 the city. 3. Francfort upon Oder, usually so cal-
 led to distinguish it from Francfort on the Maine,
 upwards of forty miles to the eastward of Berlin,
 formerly one of the Hans-Towns, and an Impe-
 rial city, but now subject to the Marquisses of
 Brandenburg, who have erected a university here
 for the propagation of Calvinism. The town is
 divided into two parts by the river Oder, and
 join'd together by a wooden bridge. The streets
 are wide, and the houses well built: they have a
 tolerable good trade, especially at their annual
 fairs; but the town is not in that flourishing condi-
 tion it has been. The other great towns in this
 marquisate, are Spandaw, Oranienburg, Rotenaw,
 Lebus, Havelburg, Newstat, Wistock, Dalmin,
 Rupin, Premislaw, Pozdam, Strasburg and Tem-
 plin; but of these I find nothing remarkable, un-
 less that the King of Prussia has a palace at Pots-
 dam, where he sometimes resides.

The Duchy of Magdeburg is bounded by Meck-
 lenburg and Brandenburg on the north; by the
 other part of Brandenburg and Upper Saxony to-
 wards the east; by the principality of Anhalt and
 Halberstat on the south; and by Brunswick to-
 wards the west; extending sixty miles in length
 from east to west, and is about thirty miles broad
 from north to south; the river Elbe running cross
 this territory, that part of it which lies to the
 eastward of the river consists chiefly of forests,
 and has very little corn-ground; but to the west-

ward of the river they have plenty of grain, and
 as great a scarcity of wood. The chief city of
 this territory is Magdeburg, antiently called *Par-
 thenopolis*, situate on the banks of the Elbe, in fif-
 ty-two degrees odd minutes, seventy miles to the
 westward of Berlin. It was not very considerable
 till **EDGITHA** daughter of **EDMUND** an English
 Saxon King, and consort to the Emperor **OTHO**
 the Great, enlarged and beautify'd it: she also
 prevail'd with the Pope to make it an Archbishop-
 rick, and independent of any ecclesiastical juris-
 diction but the See of Rome, whereupon the
 Archbishop was stiled Primate of all Germany; and
 in the cathedral church there still remains the
 bust of the Empress **EDITHA**, with the repre-
 sentation of eighteen casks of gold by her, which
 she founding the cathedral and embellishing the
 city cost her, as tradition gives us to understand.
 The antient city was of a very large circumfe-
 rence; but it is now scarce half built, having
 been destroy'd by Count Tilly, the Imperial Ge-
 neral, after a brave defence, in the year 1631;
 of forty thousand inhabitants, which this town
 then contain'd, Tilly caused them every one to
 be massacred, it is said, except four hundred, on
 account of their adhering to the Lutheran doc-
 trine; nor did he leave a church or house stand-
 ing, except the cathedral, and some few fisher-
 men's cottages; but the Lutherans have since
 erected some very handsome churches, and the Je-
 suits have a very fine one. The cathedral is a mag-
 nificent structure, and had in the Popish times
 thirty-two, **Dr. NICHOLSON** says forty-nine, no-
 ble altars: the high altar still remains, which is a
 table of jasper stone, eighteen foot long, about
 eight in breadth, and two in thickness, valued at
 two tuns of gold: here are also statues represent-
 ing the five wise virgins, with smiling countenan-
 ces, and the five foolish equally disconsolate. They
 shew also several reliques, which in the days of
 Popery were in great veneration, but not much
 regarded by the present inhabitants; namely, a
 large stone said to be a piece of one of the water-
 pots in which our Saviour turn'd the water into
 wine; an old wooden slipper of the Virgin **MAR-
 Y**'s; a piece of wood on which the cock stood
 that crow'd on **PETER**'s denying our Saviour;
 the basin **PILATE** wash'd his hands in, &c.

This city embracing **LUTHER**'s doctrine a-
 bout the year 1566, **JOACHIM FREDERICK**,
 son of the then Elector of Brandenburg, was e-
 lected administrator of the revenues of the Arch-
 bishoprick: and by the treaty of Westphalia it
 was stipulated that the Archbishoprick of Magde-
 burg should be for ever annexed to the Electorate
 of Brandenburg, and converted into a duchy; ac-
 cordingly one of the titles of the present Elector
 the King of Prussia is Duke of Magdeburg, of
 which city and territory he is absolute sovereign:

City of Mag-
deburg.

Magdeburg
archbishop-
rick con-
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duchy.

CHAP. the revenue of which is computed to amount to
XIV. an hundred thousand pounds per annum. In this
 Branden- place **LUTHER** had his education, and they still
 burg. shew the remains of his chamber among the ruins

of the cloyster of the Austin fryars, with his bed-
 stead and table, and over the door are certain
 verses in High-Dutch, which a modern writer
 has put into English rhyme as follows:

*LUTHER lodg'd within this little room
 When first he did into the cloyster come,
 In memory whereof we still do keep
 The bedstead upon which he us'd to sleep.*

Tourna-
 ments first
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 here.

Another thing the city of Magdeburg was once
 famous for, was the tilts and tournaments first in-
 stituted here by the Emperor **HENRY** surnamed the
FOWLER, about the year 638, to which none but
 the antient nobility were to be admitted, or any
 usurper, oppressor of widows or orphans, here-
 ticks, murderers, cowards, bastards, or any who
 had given a real affront to a lady, and not above
 one of a family at a time: every Prince who en-
 tred the lists was to be attended by four squires;
 a Count or Baron by three, a Knight by two,
 and a Gentleman by one. Every one at his en-
 tring the lists appear'd at the President's apart-
 ment, where his name and quality being registred
 in the presence of three Heralds, the Champion
 deliver'd in his helmet and sword, and after con-
 fession entred the barrier attended by his Esquires,
 where having engaged his antagonist at all man-
 ner of weapons, the judges gave sentence, and the
 conqueror received the prize from the hand of
 some fair lady, or from the Prince who gave it.
 But after these exercises had continued some ages,
 they were abolish'd on account of the destructive
 consequences; for such an emulation was rais'd
 between the nobility of some provinces, that at
 one tournament in the year 1473, there were se-
 venteen gentlemen of Franconia kill'd on the
 spot, and nine of Hesse. 2. Borch, the most con-
 siderable place in the duchy next to Magdeburg;
 besides which there are twenty-seven other towns
 in this territory, but none of them particularly
 described by travellers.

Borch.

Halberstat
 principality.

The principality of Halberstat is bounded by
 the duchy of Brunswick and Magdeburg towards
 the north; by the duchy of Saxony on the east;
 by the principality of Anhalt on the south; and
 by the bishoprick of Hildesheim towards the
 west: extending about thirty-six miles in length
 from east to west, and twenty-five in breadth
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 name to the principality, is Halberstat, situate on
 the little river Hotheim, about thirty miles south-
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 travellers tell us in general; but give no account
 of any particular buildings, except an inn, esteem'd
 the largest, and to have the best accommodations
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Halberstat
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LEOPOLD WILLIAM of Austria restored Popery, **XIV.**
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CHUS, they adorn and enlarge the vessels which
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 In many other German towns besides this, a tra-
 veller is carried to see these capacious tuns, in the
 gilding and carving of which no small labour is
 bestow'd. The other towns mention'd by geo-
 graphers in this principality are Oscherleben and
 Osterwick, of which they give no particular de-
 scription. This territory is generally fruitful in
 corn, and excels any of the neighbouring countries
 in the pleasantness of its forests, and plenty of all
 kinds of Venison.

The antient Pomerania, or Pomerland, was of Pomerania
 much larger extent than the present Pomerania, dukedom.
 taking in all Casubia and Pomerelia to the east-
 ward, which now belong to Poland, and part of
 the marquisate of Brandenburg on the south; the
 Baltick sea also, it is said, has broken in and swal-
 lowed up great part of the antient Pomerania on
 the north, together with some whole islands, and
 half of the isle of Rugen. The modern Pomerania Situation
 nia is a long narrow tract of land, extending near and extent
 two hundred miles in length from east to west,
 and fifty or sixty in breadth from north to south,
 but the breadth is very unequal. It is bounded
 by the Baltick sea on the north; by Polish Po-
 merelia towards the east; by the marquisate of
 Brandenburg on the south; and by Mecklenburg
 towards the west: and took the name of Pome-
 ren, from its lying on the sea-coast; Pomer sig-
 nifying as much both in the Slavonian and Ger-
 man tongue. The air is severer here than in any
 part of Germany, as may well be supposed from
 its northern situation. It is well water'd by lakes Rivers at
 and rivers; among the latter are the Oder, the lakes.
 Pen, the Rega, the Persant, the Wiper, the Stolp,
 the Rekenitz, and the Barte. The Rekenitz se-
 parates Pomerania from the dukedom of Meck-
 lenburg, forming a large lake near Damgarten, and
 discharging it self into the Baltick at Dars. The
 Barte rises near Stralsund, and falls into the sea at
 Bardt. The Oder soon after its entring Pomerania
 divides it self into several branches, inclosing
 many large islands, whereof some are two miles
 over; and having passed by Stetin flows into the
 Damnish Lake, and then into Damantzke, and
 at last dilates it self into a vast fresh-water lake, or
 sea.

H A P. sea, called the great Frische Haß; extending sixteen miles in length, and as many in breadth; which lake falls into the Baltick sea, by three currents, viz. the Divenow, the Swyn, and the Penemund, through which ships pass to Stetin. Between the Pene and the Swyn lies the island of Usedom: and the territory of the city of Wollin lies enclosed by the Swyn and Divenow. Besides the rivers above mention'd there are many more in this province which fall into the Baltick. Pomeran also contains a vast number of standing lakes; the chief whereof are those of new Stetin, Lukow, Sukow, Verschem, Derfenten and Penkun. Here are scarce any mountains, but the country is covered with woods and forests, well stock'd with game and wild beasts. Their lakes and rivers also furnish them with vast plenty of fish, particularly salmon and lampreys; and land and water-fowl no where abound more: but the soil is generally a barren sand, on which they do not attempt to raise vineyards, and have scarce corn enough for their own use. Mines there are none, except some few of Iron in the Upper Pomeran.

division
Pomerania-
The country is usually divided into the eastern and western Pomerania. The western, till very lately, was all of it subject to the King of Sweden, and subdivided into the districts of Stetin, Wolgast, Gatskow and Bardt, lying on the west side of the Oder, together with the islands of Rugen, Usedom and Wollin. The eastern Pomerania is subject to the Elector of Brandenburg, and situate on the east side of the Oder, being subdivided into the districts of Pomerania, Casuben, and Vendosin or Wenden. But before I enter into a more particular description of this country, it will be necessary to give an abstract of the history of it, from the year 1217. This dukedom was divided between BUGISLAUS and OTHO, two brothers, from whom descended the two houses of Wolgast and Stetin, which continued for two hundred years and upwards. The house of Stetin failing about the year 1464, by the death of OTHO III. that part of the dukedom which belonged to it was confer'd on FREDERICK, the second Marquis of Brandenburg, by the Emperor FREDERICK III. whereupon the Duke of Pomeran Wolgast conceiving a great piece of injustice to have been done his family, enter'd into a war with the Elector of Brandenburg, which ended in a treaty of peace, whereby it was concluded, that they should both retain the title and arms of the Dukes of Pomeran, but the Duke of Wolgast should remain in possession of all the Pomeranian territories, and upon failure of issue male, they should descend entire to the house of Brandenburg. Accordingly in the year 1637, BUGISLAUS XIV. dying without issue, GEORGE WILLIAM, Elector of Brandenburg,

CH A P. laid claim to the whole dukedom; but the Swedes having been allies to the late BUGISLAUS, and XIV. called in by him and other German Princes to Brandenburg support them against the Emperor, and being now in possession of the best part of Pomeran, and pretending that the late Duke had by his will given the duchy of Pomeran to the Swede, insisted at the treaty of Munster, that all the western Pomeran, with the isles of Rugen and Wollin, and the town of Stetin, should from thenceforward be annex'd to the crown of Sweden, and that part of the country to the eastward of the river Oder only should be subject to the Elector of Brandenburg, and that no longer than there should be male issue of the house of Brandenburg; upon failure whereof, it should be added to the Swedish dominions; and in the mean time both Princes should enjoy the title and arms of the Dukes of Pomeran, and that the Elector should have by way of equivalent for his parting with the western Pomerania, the bishopricks of Halberstat and Minden, and the reversion of the archbishoprick of Magdeburg, which he now enjoys. He is also allow'd one voice in the Diets of the Empire for Pomeran, another for Magdeburg, and a third for Halberstat and Minden. Notwithstanding all which advantages, the Elector took the opportunity some years afterwards, when the Swede was engaged in a war with the Danes and other powers anno 1678, to seize on most part of Pomeran allotted to the King of Sweden by the treaty of Munster, but was forced to relinquish it again soon after by the treaty of St. Germain, and the Swedes remain'd in quiet possession of the western Pomerania till the late King of Sweden's defeat at Pultowa, when the King of Prussia taking advantage of his distress, seized Stetin, the islands of Wollin and Usedom; and the Danes, by the assistance of the Prussians, Poles and Muscovites, made themselves masters of Stralsund, Marstrand, the isle of Rugen, &c. But by the treaty of peace which ensued anno 1720, the Danes were obliged to restore to Sweden all they had taken during the war, particularly Stralsund, and that part of Pomeran which lies west of the river Pene, with the isle of Rugen, the fortress of Marstrand, and all the other islands in their possession: but Stetin, and the isles of Wollin and Usedom, and the countries contiguous to the Oder, were confirm'd to the Elector of Brandenburg, the present King of Prussia, in whose possession they then were. So that now he hath a free communication with the Baltick sea, the thing he hath so long aim'd at; whereas when the Swedes were possess'd of Stetin, and the isles of Usedom and Wollin, no vessels could come down the Oder into the Baltick sea without their leave.

The chief towns of western Pomerania are, 1. Stetin. Stetin, formerly one of the Hans-Towns, and capital

CHAP. the revenue of which is computed to amount to **XIV.** an hundred thousand pounds per annum. In this **Branden-** place **LUTHER** had his education, and they still **burg.** shew the remains of his chamber among the ruins

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Halberstat
city.

The principality of Halberstat is bounded by the duchy of Brunswick and Magdeburg towards the north; by the duchy of Saxony on the east; by the principality of Anhalt on the south; and by the bishoprick of Hildesheim towards the west: extending about thirty-six miles in length from east to west, and twenty-five in breadth from north to south: the chief town, which gives name to the principality, is Halberstat, situate on the little river Hotheim, about thirty miles south-west of Magdeburg. It is a neat uniform town travellers tell us in general; but give no account of any particular buildings, except an inn, esteem'd the largest, and to have the best accommodations of any in Europe. Lutheranism was establish'd

here about the year 1591. But their last Bishop **CHAP.** **LEOPOLD WILLIAM** of Austria restored Popery, **XIV.** till the Swedes taking the town introduced the Lutheran religion again; and by the treaty of Westphalia it was made a secular principality, and conferred on the Elector of Brandenburg the present sovereign. 2. **Gruningen**, remarkable only for a fine chapel and organ, and a tun made in imitation of that of Heidelberg, which will contain near a thousand hogsheads of wine: for as the Germans pay a more than ordinary respect to **BACCHUS**, they adorn and enlarge the vessels which contain the generous juice of the grape beyond any thing in their publick or private buildings. In many other German towns besides this, a traveller is carried to see these capacious tuns, in the gilding and carving of which no small labour is bestow'd. The other towns mention'd by geographers in this principality are **Oscherleben** and **Osterwick**, of which they give no particular description. This territory is generally fruitful in corn, and excels any of the neighbouring countries in the pleasantness of its forests, and plenty of all kinds of Venison.

The antient Pomerania, or Pomerland, was of much larger extent than the present Pomerania, taking in all **Casubia** and **Pomerelia** to the eastward, which now belong to Poland, and part of the marquisate of Brandenburg on the south; the Baltick sea also, it is said, has broken in and swallowed up great part of the antient Pomerania on the north, together with some whole islands, and half of the isle of Rugen. The modern Pomerania is a long narrow tract of land, extending near two hundred miles in length from east to west, and fifty or sixty in breadth from north to south, but the breadth is very unequal. It is bounded by the Baltick sea on the north; by Polish Pomerelia towards the east; by the marquisate of Brandenburg on the south; and by Mecklenburg towards the west: and took the name of **Pomeran**, from its lying on the sea-coast; **Pomer** signifying as much both in the Slavonian and German tongue. The air is severer here than in any part of Germany, as may well be supposed from its northern situation. It is well water'd by lakes and rivers; among the latter are the **Oder**, the **Pen**, the **Rega**, the **Perfant**, the **Wiper**, the **Stolp**, the **Rekenitz**, and the **Barte**. The **Rekenitz** separates Pomerania from the dukedom of Mecklenburg, forming a large lake near **Damgarten**, and discharging it self into the Baltick at **Dars**. The **Barte** rises near **Stralsund**, and falls into the sea at **Bardt**. The **Oder** soon after its entering Pomerania divides it self into several branches, inclosing many large islands, whereof some are two miles over; and having passed by **Stetin** flows into the **Damnish Lake**, and then into **Damantzke**, and at last dilates it self into a vast fresh-water lake, or sea.

Gruninga

Pomerania
dukedom.

Situation
and extent

Rivers and
lakes.

H A P. sea, called the great Frische Haß; extending six-
XIV. teen miles in length, and as many in breadth;
 randen- which lake falls into the Baltick sea, by three
 rg. currents, viz. the Divenow, the Swyn, and the
 Penemund, through which ships pass to Stetin.
 e Frische Between the Pene and the Swyn lies the island of
 ff lake. Usedom: and the territory of the city of Wollin
 lies enclosed by the Swyn and Divenow. Besides
 the rivers above mention'd there are many more
 in this province which fall into the Baltick. Po-
 meren also contains a vast number of standing
 lakes; the chief whereof are those of new Ste-
 tin, Lukow, Sukow, Verschem, Derfenten and
 Penkun. Here are scarce any mountains, but
 the country is covered with woods and forests,
 well stock'd with game and wild beasts. Their
 lakes and rivers also furnish them with vast plenty
 of fish, particularly salmon and lampreys; and
 land and water-fowl no where abound more: but
 the soil is generally a barren sand, on which they
 do not attempt to raise vineyards, and have scarce
 corn enough for their own use. Mines there are
 none, except some few of Iron in the Upper Po-
 meren.

division The country is usually divided into the eastern
Pomerania- and western Pomerania. The western, till very
 lately, was all of it subject to the King of Swe-
 den, and subdivided into the districts of Stetin,
 Wolgast, Gatskow and Bardt, lying on the west
 side of the Oder, together with the islands of Ru-
 gen, Usedom and Wollin. The eastern Pomerania
 is subject to the Elector of Brandenburg, and
 situate on the east side of the Oder, being sub-
 divided into the districts of Pomerania, Casuben,
 and Vendoſin or Wenden. But before I enter
 into a more particular description of this country,
 it will be necessary to give an abstract of the
 history of it, from the year 1217. This duke-
 dom was divided between BUGISLAUS and O-
 THO, two brothers, from whom descended the
 two houses of Wolgast and Stetin, which con-
 tinued for two hundred years and upwards. The
 house of Stetin failing about the year 1464, by
 the death of OTHO III. that part of the duke-
 dom which belonged to it was confer'd on FRE-
 DERICK, the second Marquis of Brandenburg,
 by the Emperor FREDERICK III. whereupon
 the Duke of Pomeran Wolgast conceiving a great
 piece of injustice to have been done his family,
 enter'd into a war with the Elector of Branden-
 burg, which ended in a treaty of peace, whereby
 it was concluded, that they should both retain
 the title and arms of the Dukes of Pomeran, but
 the Duke of Wolgast should remain in possession
 of all the Pomeranian territories, and upon failure
 of issue male, they should descend entire to the
 house of Brandenburg. Accordingly in the year
 1637, BUGISLAUS XIV. dying without issue,
 GEORGE WILLIAM, Elector of Brandenburg,

CHAP. laid claim to the whole dukedom; but the Swedes **XIV.**
 having been allies to the late BUGISLAUS, and
 called in by him and other German Princes to Branden-
 support them against the Emperor, and being now burg.
 in possession of the best part of Pomeran, and
 pretending that the late Duke had by his will
 given the duchy of Pomeran to the Swede, in-
 sisted at the treaty of Munster, that all the western
 Pomeran, with the isles of Rugen and Wollin,
 and the town of Stetin, should from thencefor-
 ward be annex'd to the crown of Sweden, and
 that part of the country to the eastward of the
 river Oder only should be subject to the Elector
 of Brandenburg, and that no longer than there
 should be male issue of the house of Brandenburg;
 upon failure whereof, it should be added to the
 Swedish dominions; and in the mean time both
 Princes should enjoy the title and arms of the
 Dukes of Pomeran, and that the Elector should
 have by way of equivalent for his parting with
 the western Pomerania, the bishopricks of Hal-
 berſtat and Minden, and the reversion of the
 archbishoprick of Magdeburg, which he now en-
 joys. He is also allow'd one voice in the Diets of
 the Empire for Pomeran, another for Magdeburg,
 and a third for Halberſtat and Minden. Not-
 withstanding all which advantages, the Elector
 took the opportunity some years afterwards, when
 the Swede was engaged in a war with the Danes
 and other powers anno 1678, to seize on most
 part of Pomeran allotted to the King of Sweden
 by the treaty of Munster, but was forced to re-
 linquish it again soon after by the treaty of St.
 Germain, and the Swedes remain'd in quiet pos-
 session of the western Pomerania till the late King
 of Sweden's defeat at Pultowa, when the King of
 Prussia taking advantage of his distress, seized Ste-
 tin, the islands of Wollin and Usedom; and the
 Danes, by the assistance of the Prussians, Poles
 and Muscovites, made themselves masters of Stral-
 fund, Marstrand, the isle of Rugen, &c. But by
 the treaty of peace which ensued anno 1720, the
 Danes were obliged to restore to Sweden all they had
 taken during the war, particularly Stralsund, and
 that part of Pomeran which lies west of the river
 Pene, with the isle of Rugen, the fortrefs of Mar-
 strand, and all the other islands in their posses-
 sion: but Stetin, and the isles of Wollin and Usc-
 dom, and the countries contiguous to the Oder,
 were confirm'd to the Elector of Brandenburg,
 the present King of Prussia, in whose possession
 they then were. So that now he hath a free
 communication with the Baltick sea; the thing he
 hath so long aim'd at; whereas when the Swedes
 were possess'd of Stetin, and the isles of Usedom
 and Wollin, no vessels could come down the O-
 der into the Baltick sea without their leave.

The chief towns of western Pomerania are, 1. Stetin.
 Stetin, formerly one of the Hans-Towns, and ca-
 pital

CHAP. pital of Pomerania, pleasantly situated on a rising
XIV. ground upon the river Oder, in fifty three de-
Branden- grees thirty minutes north latitude, forty miles
burg. south of the Baltick sea, and seventy north-east

of Berlin. It is a large populous city, and had heretofore a very great trade, nor is it inconsiderable at present. The castle, formerly the palace of the Dukes of Pomeran, is said to be a noble piece of architecture, equal to any in Europe. The town is regularly fortified, and held out a long siege of near six months against the Elector of Brandenburg, in the year 1677, who made himself master of it at length, but was obliged to restore it to the Swedes by the subsequent treaty of peace at St. Germain. In the last war, about the year 1713, the King of Prussia persuaded the citizens to admit his forces into the town, under pretence of securing it against the Muscovite, and promised to hold it by way of sequestration till a peace should be concluded; but never thought fit to part with it again: and at the following treaty between Sweden and Brandenburg, procured a cession to be made him of this city by the Swede, with the territory thereto belonging; and the King of Prussia as Elector of Brandenburg now remains sovereign of it, which is of prodigious advantage to his country, procuring him a free communication with the Baltick, and will probably render the town as considerable for trade as ever, the river being navigable for small vessels many miles above the city, as it is for larger below it. 2. Stralsund, situate on the sea-coast over against the island of Rugen, from which it is about a mile distant, lying in fifty-four degrees thirty minutes north latitude, near eighty miles north-west of Stetin. The streets of this city are broad and uniform, and the houses generally built of stone. The place is naturally strong, being surrounded almost by the sea and inaccessible marshes: it is also regularly fortified, and has a good harbour for ships of 150 or 200 tons, and has a great trade in corn, which they export to foreign countries. In the civil wars of Germany it put it self under the protection of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS King of Sweden, and the Swedes have ever since remain'd masters of it, except some short intervals; as when the Elector of Brandenburg besieged and took it in the year 1678, and was obliged to resign it again by the peace of St. Germain anno 1679. This city was also taken by the Danes assisted by their allies the Russians, Saxons, &c. in November 1715, after a four months siege; but relinquish'd again to the Swedes by a treaty of peace in the year 1720, who now continue in the possession of it. 3. Gripswald, situate about thirty miles south-east of Stralsund, on a bay of the sea, which forms a harbour for small ships: the town is fortified, and has the advantage of an university in it. 4. Wolgast,

Stralsund.

Gripswald.

Wolgast.

which stands on that branch of the Oder call'd CHAL the Pfin, about five miles from the Baltick sea, XIV. and fifteen to the eastward of Gripswald, the best Brande harbour in the country except Stralsund, formerly burg. the capital of a duchy till it came under the do- minion of the Swedes. 5. Bardt, twelve miles Bardt, to the westward of Stralsund, standing on a bay of the sea, but too shallow for a harbour. The other towns in Swedish Pomerania are Auclam, Demmin, Jatenitz, Ukermond, Passlewalk, Kentzing, Gatzkow, Trebesis and Damgarten, of which I meet with nothing remarkable.

The island of Rugen, taken by the Danes and their confederates at the same time with Stralsund, was also yielded to the Swedes by the treaty of peace 1720, and they now remain in possession of it. This is one of the largest islands in the Baltick, and of great fame antiently for the valour of its inhabitants, and the impregnable fortresses upon it. The island was formerly of a much larger extent than it is at present, reaching to the south-east as far as Ruden, once a part of this island, though now far separated from it. This separation was occasion'd by a great tempest in the fourteenth century, when the sea overflowing its banks drowned a great part of Rugen, and made so deep a channel, called by mariners the New Channel, that the greatest ships which sail on the Baltick may pass that way. At this day the island of Rugen is about thirty miles in length and as much in breadth; but so indented by creeks and bays, which run far into the island, that scarce any part of the land is two miles distant from the sea. The coast of Pomeran, and particularly the city of Stralsund, lie about a mile to the south-west of the island. The chief town of the isle of Rugen is Bergen, an open town, consisting of about four hundred houses, and not considerable for any thing that I can learn: the country about it however affords such plenty of corn, that it is called the granary of Stralsund. It is also well stocked with sheep, black cattle, and a good breed of horses, and their geese here are said to be the largest in Europe; and their seas and lakes abound in fish; but the natives have such a dependance on Stralsund, that they trade no where else. The inhabitants of this island were the last converted to Christianity of any of the northern nations. In the ninth century indeed some monks ventured to preach amongst them, and succeeded so well as to convert many of them, but they soon relapsed into idolatry, and instead of adoring the true God, paid divine honours to one of the missionaries sent amongst them, named St. Vite, whom they worship'd by the name of Swant, and after his death represented him by a monstrous image with four heads, building for him a magnificent temple. To this idol the Rugians repair'd as to an oracle,

Rugen is.

Bergen.

CHAP. oracle, for advice and assistance in all their under-
 XIV. takings: and here foreign merchants brought their
 offerings, and implored success in their voyages.
 Three hundred horses were constantly kept for the
 service of the god Swant, one whereof was a
 white one, and only rid by the high priest, who
 used to shew him to the people some mornings
 sweating and foaming, pretending Swant himself
 had been upon his back on an expedition against
 their enemies, which had put him into such a
 heat: and the Rugians have not forsaken these ido-
 latrous practices, it is said, much above five hun-
 dred years. They were antiently govern'd by their
 own Princes, whose dominions extended a great
 way into the continent. History gives us a catalogue
 of eleven of them, of whom the first was WITZ-
 LAUS, computed to have reign'd about the time
 of the Emperor OTTO I. anno 938. They were
 conquer'd by the Danes in the thirteenth century,
 and by them, converted to Christianity, JARI-
 MAR being the first Prince of Rugen who was
 baptized. WITZLAUS IV. the last Prince of
 Rugen, upon an insurrection of the inhabitants of
 Stralsund, who till then were subject to him, en-
 deavouring to reduce them to their duty, was kill'd
 in the attempt, which put an end to that race of
 Princes, and the Stralsunders declared themselves
 a free people, which happen'd about the year of
 our Lord 1325. Afterwards the isle of Rugen,
 with the territories belonging to it on the conti-
 nent, fell into the hands of the Dukes of Pome-
 ren, upon the failure of which line, it was agreed
 that it should be annexed to the Marquisate of
 Brandenburg; but in consideration of the signal
 services the King of Sweden had done the Prote-
 stants of the Empire, in supporting their interest
 against the Emperor and the Roman catholick
 States, it was agreed by the Elector of Branden-
 burg and the other powers concern'd at the treaty
 of Westphalia, that the Western Pomerania, with
 the isle of Rugen, should be possess'd by the King
 of Sweden; and notwithstanding the Elector of
 Brandenburg confirm'd this agreement by a subse-
 quent treaty at St. Germain's, and had receiv'd an
 ample equivalent for his pretensions, by having
 the duchy of Magdeburg, the principality of Hal-
 berstat, &c. assign'd to him, yet we find him as
 often as he has had an opportunity, reviving his
 pretensions to the Western Pomeran, and was not
 to be satisfied till he had possess'd himself of Ste-
 tin, the isles of Usedom and Wollin, and that
 part of the country between the river Pene and
 the Oder. Which shews that some Princes never
 think themselves longer bound by their compacts
 than they have an opportunity of breaking them.
 But I must not forget here, that the Dane also by
 virtue of his antient conquest above mentioned,
 sometimes puts in his claim to the isle of Ru-
 gen, and actually made himself master of it in

the year 1678, but was forced to restore it again
 to the Swede by a treaty in the year 1679. I
 proceed now to that part of Pomeran which lies
 on the eastern side of the Oder, and has most of
 it been in the possession of the Elector of Branden-
 burg ever since the death of BUGESLAUS the last
 Duke of Pomeran.

The Eastern Pomerania is usually divided into
 three districts, viz. Pomerania Proper, Casubin
 and Vendosin: the chief towns whereof are, 1.
 Cammin, situate on the east branch of the Oder,
 called Diveno, five miles from the Baltick sea, and
 thirty-five north of Stetin; formerly a Bishop's
 See, but at the reformation the revenues were
 seized, and the bishoprick afterwards secularized,
 as our writers term it, by the treaty of Munster,
 and conferred on the Elector of Brandenburg,
 which was the case of Magdeburg, and many o-
 ther Sees. 2. Colberg, situate at the mouth of
 the river Persant, near the Baltick sea, about
 twenty miles north-east of Cammin; remarkable
 for the salt-pits near it, which yield the King of
 Prussia a good revenue. The other towns in
 Eastern Pomerania are Treptow, Collin, Stargard,
 Dam, Buttow, Bublitz, Griffenburg, Belgarden,
 Rugen, Stolpe and Regemord, of which we meet
 with nothing particular.

Having taken a survey of those Provinces of the
 Circle of Upper Saxony, which belong to the Elec-
 torate of Brandenburg, it may be proper now to
 inquire a little into the history of the country,
 and the family of the Elector the present King of
 Prussia.

The first inhabitants of Brandenburg which hi-
 story takes notice of, were the Suevi, and after
 them the Slaves. The Emperor HENRY I. ha-
 ving made a conquest of this country about the
 year 927, confer'd the government of it on SIGE-
 FRIDE Earl of Rengelheim, on condition he
 should defend these marches, or utmost limits of
 the Empire, against the Slaves; from whence SI-
 GEFRIDE acquired the title of Margrave or Mar-
 quiss of Brandenburg. After SIGEFRIDE eight
 others enjoy'd this marquisate successively, being
 appointed by the respective Emperors only during
 pleasure; of whom PRIMISLAUS, King of the
 Obotriti, the ancestor of the Dukes of Mecklen-
 burg, was the last: after whose death the Empe-
 ror FREDERICK BARBAROSSA constituted AL-
 BERT surnamed URSUS, Prince of Anhalt, and
 Marquiss of Soltwedel, the first hereditary Mar-
 quiss of Brandenburg about the year 1162. In
 whose house it continued for sixteen descents,
 when SIGISMUND the last of this race, King of
 Hungary and Bohemia, succeeding to the Empire,
 sold the Marquisate of Brandenburg to JODOCUS
 Duke of Moravia, who mortgaged it to WILL-
 LIAM Marquiss of Misnia, of whom the Empe-
 ror redeem'd it, and confer'd the Margravate upon

CHAP. FREDERICK Burgrave of Noremburg, at the
XIV. council of Constance, anno 1417, in considera-
Branden- tion of the sum of four hundred thousand crowns :
burg. from whom the present Elector of Brandenburg,

the King of Prussia, derives his pedigree. FREDERICK II. who succeeded his father, was made Duke of Eastern Pomeran also by the Emperor FREDERICK III. but his brother and successor ALBERT relinquish'd the whole territory to the Duke of Western Pomeran, except the title and reversion upon failure of issue of the Duke of West Pomeran, as has been observed already. JOHN SIGISMUND the ninth Marquis of this house, married ANNE the daughter and heiress of ALBERT FREDERICK Duke of Prussia, by whom also he acquired a title to part of the duchies of Cleve, Juliers, and Bergen, with the county of Ravensburg. GEORGE WILLIAM son to JOHN SIGISMUND, claim'd in his mother's right the three dukedoms abovesaid, with the barony of Ravenstein, in which he was opposed by the Duke of Newburg, who claim'd by another sister; and they came to an agreement to have the joint dominion of those territories: but falling out afterwards, the Duke of Newburg, Count Palatine of the Rhine, call'd in the Spaniards to his assistance, as the Elector of Brandenburg did the Dutch; and a treaty ensuing, it was agreed, that Juliers and Berg, with the small territory of Ravenstein, should fall to the share of the Duke of Newburg; and that the Elector of Brandenburg and his heirs should enjoy the duchy of Cleve and the counties of Marckt and Ravensprug, and so they remain at this day; but the King of Prussia however thinks fit to retain the titles to the whole. FREDERICK the last Elector of Brandenburg in the year 1700, caused himself to be proclaim'd and crown'd King of Prussia; and has since been acknowledged in that quality by most, if not all the powers in Europe. Upon the death of WILLIAM III. King of England in 1702, he claim'd a right of succeeding to his paternal estate, as being descended from Rene of Nassau Prince of Orange, in which he was opposed, by the Prince of Nassau Friesland, whom King WILLIAM left his heir.

Elector of
Branden-
burg as-
sumes the
title of King
of Prussia.

Family of
the King of
Prussia.

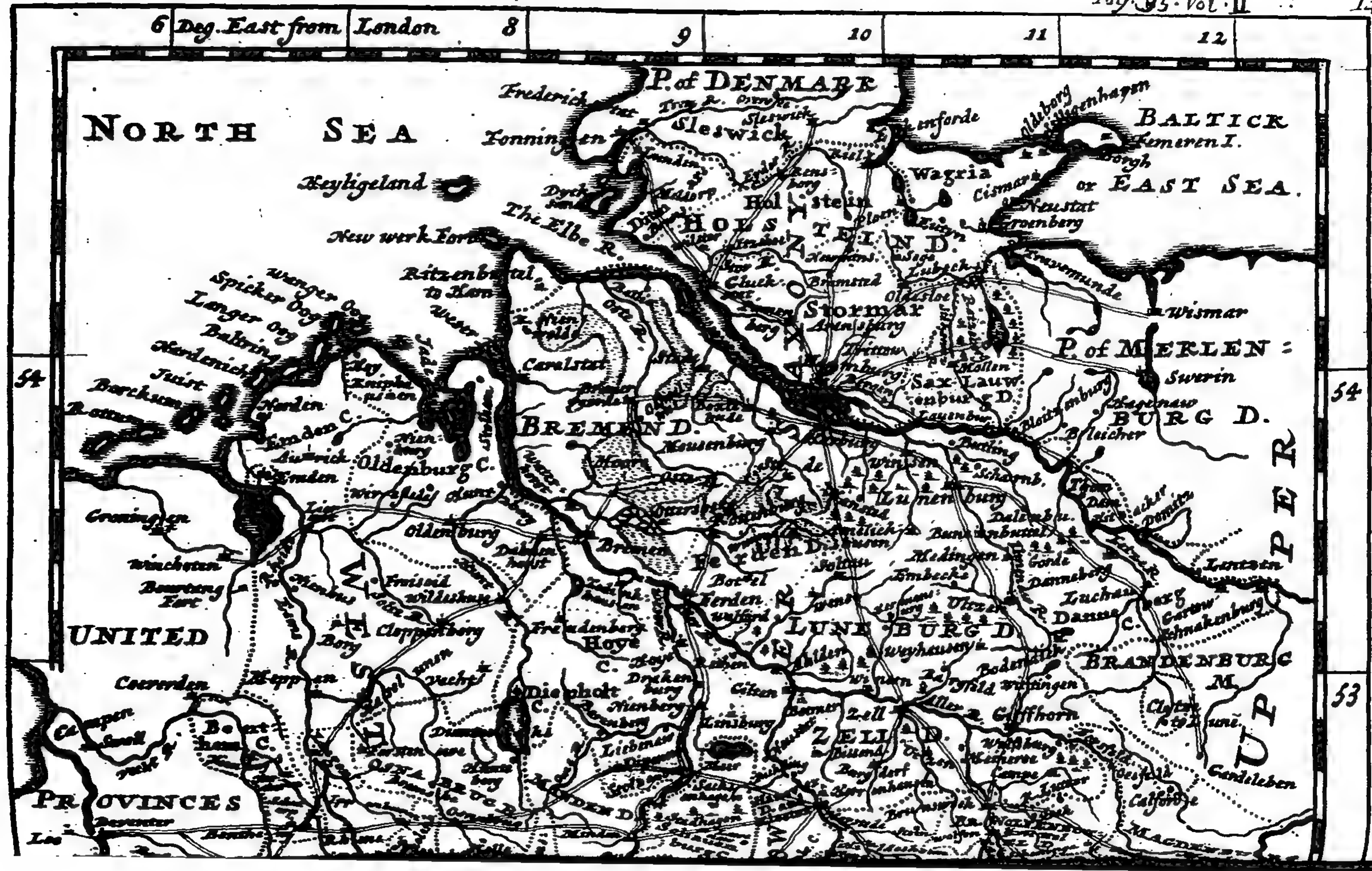
FREDERICK the last Elector of Brandenburg, and first King of Prussia, died on the 25th of February, 1712-13, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. He was born at Koningsburg the 1st of July 1657, and succeeded his father FREDERICK-WILLIAM in the year 1688; and in the year 1700, as has been said, took upon him the title of King of Prussia. He first married the Princess ELISABETH HENRIETTA, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, in the year 1679, who died in 1683, leaving only one daughter, since dead without issue. His second wife was SOPHIA-CHARLOTTE, sister to the late King GEORGE I. of England, by whom he

had issue FREDERICK-WILLIAM, the present CHAP. King of Prussia, born the 4th of August, 1688; XIV. and this Princess dying in the year 1705, his late Branden- Prussian Majesty married a third wife in the year burg. 1708, who died a little before him, leaving no issue.

The present King of Prussia, FREDERICK-WILLIAM II. only son of FREDERICK I. married SOPHIA-CHARLOTTE, daughter of the late King GEORGE I. on the 28th of November 1706, by whom he hath had several children, of which FREDERICA-AUGUSTA-SOPHIA, born in the year 1709, CHARLES-FREDERICK Prince of Prussia and Orange, born January 24th, 1712, and LOUISA, born anno 1714, were lately alive.

By the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht Territories yielded to Prussia by the last peace. between France and Prussia the 11th of April 1713, it was stipulated, that the part of the Upper Guelderland, called the Spanish Guelderland, which the said King of Prussia then possess'd, namely, the town of Guelder, and territory thereto belonging, the bailliage of Kriekenbeck and the country of Kessel, with all their rights, appurtenances and dependencies, should be yielded up to and possessed by the King of Prussia, his heirs and successors of either sex, in full sovereignty and propriety. France also acknowledged the King of Prussia sovereign Lord of the Principality of Neufchatel and Valengin, promising not to disturb the said King of Prussia, his heirs or successors in the enjoyment of them. On the other hand, the King of Prussia renounc'd for himself his heirs and successors in favour of France, all right to the Principality of Orange, and to the lordships and places of the succession of Chaalons and Chastelbelin, situate in France and in the county of Burgundy, transferring the whole to his most Christian Majesty, his heirs and successors: and to render the said renunciation the more valid, the King of Prussia engaged and promised on the faith and word of a King, to satisfy the Prince of Nassau-Friesland as to his pretensions to the said principality, and to the other estates abovementioned, by an equivalent; but the said King of Prussia is still allow'd to retain the title of Prince of Orange.

In the preamble of the abovesaid treaty of peace The titles of his Prussian Majesty is stiled King of Prussia, Mar- the Elect. grave of Brandenburg, Arch-chamberlain and of Branden- Prince Elector of the holy Roman Empire; so- burg, the- vereign Prince of Orange, Neufchatel and Valen- present Ki- of Prussia gin; Duke of Magdeburg, Cleves, Juliers, Berg- stetin, Pomerania, Cassubia, the Vandals, Meck- linburg in Silesia and Crossen; Burgrave of Nu- remburg; Prince of Halberstat, Minden, Cam- min, Swerin, Ratzemburg and Meurs; Count of Hohenzollern, Ruppin, Marck, Ravensburg, Ho- henstein, Tecklemburg, Lingen and Buren; Marquis of Veer and Flushing; Lord of Raven- stein,



NORTH SEA

BALTICK
or EAST SEA.

UNITED

PROVINCES

P. of DENMARK

P. of MERLEN :

BURG D.

LUNE BURG D.

BRANDENBURG M.

P E R

6 Deg. East from London

8

9

10

11

12

54

54

53



A P. stein, Rostock, Stargard, Lawenburg, Butow, Breda, &c.

The arms of his Prussian Majesty are, Argent, an Eagle spread Sable crown'd with a Royal Crown, for Prussia. Gules 1, 4, fac'd Or 2, 3, with a Cornet Azure, the whole surmounted with an Escutcheon Checkee Or and Azure, for Orange. Azure a Sceptre Or, for the dignity of Elector. Argent an Eagle Gules for Brandenburg. Or, a Lyon Sable for Juliers: Argent, a Lyon Gules crown'd Or, for Berg. Coupe Argent and Gules, for Magdeburg. Gules, an Escutcheon Argent in form of a heart with rays of a carbuncle knotted and flower'd Or, illuminated with Vert, for Cleves. Or, a Lyon Sable with a border Compone, Gules and Argent, for Nuremburg. Argent, a Grifpin Gules for Pomerania.

The principal branches of this family are those of Bareith, Cullembach and Anspach, both descending from the Elector JOHN GEORGE, who died in 1598. As to the whole pedigree of the Margraves of Brandenburg, this is reserv'd for the appendix, and where will be found the pedigrees of the rest of the German Princes.

The dominions of the King of Prussia are the largest of any of the German powers, except those of the house of Austria; and tho' they are not the most populous and fruitful, yet their late Princes have given such encouragement to foreign trade, set up so many profitable manufactures, and inviz'd so many mechanicks and artists from all parts to settle in the country; that it seems now to be the most flourishing province in Germany. They already furnish the large Empire of Russia with woollen cloth, (which was formerly done by the English merchants) and with many other valuable commodities: and we may expect to see them e'er long one of the most formidable naval powers of the Baltick, since they have so much enlarged their sea-coasts, and secur'd the navigation of the river Oder entirely to themselves.

That vast body of troops, amounting to near eighty thousand regular forces, which the Kings of Prussia have of late years maintain'd in their dominions, has amazed all people who are not in the secret; for it is obvious to every one, that how much soever the country may be improv'd, it is far from being able to maintain so great a force. Some have suggested, that since Sweden hath so much declin'd, France makes the same use of Prussia she did formerly of the Swede, and pays part of the forces of this crown, in order to balance the power of the Emperor, if ever she should happen to have a quarrel with him; and that other powers having the same view, contribute also to the charge of the Prussian standing army. On the other hand, 'tis said, both the German and the Russian Emperors observing of what consequence it might be to have Prussia

for their allie in case of a rupture, have offer'd CHAP. XIV. very advantageous conditions to the present King, to bring him over to their interests. So that his Brandenburg. Prussian Majesty's affairs seem to be in a very desirable situation, he is courted and presented on all hands; and hath it in his power in some measure to turn the balance, if ever the powers of Europe should be again engaged in a war: and 'tis no improbable surmise, that he will at length take that side which offers the best terms. Some people are under dismal apprehensions for the liberties of the King of Prussia's subjects, while he keeps such great armies on foot; but these have been long since lost. This Prince is already absolute in his dominions, and can lay what charges he pleases upon his people: but as he takes care to pay his troops at the expence of other powers, and seems to have set his heart on advancing trade and manufactures, and putting his territories into a flourishing condition; the people may enjoy as tolerable a share of happiness under his government; as they might under the dominion of any Monarch who has no other ends in view: but the mischief of it is, Princes are generally taught that they have something divine in their constitution; and that their subjects are made only to promote their glory or pleasure, to esteem the enlarging their dominions and making foreign conquests as the noblest pursuits; tho' these can only be done at the expence of the blood and treasure of their people; and in short, that it is more eligible to be Sovereign of a company of fawning indigent slaves, than to be King of a free wealthy people, who while he consults his own and their welfare, may command all that they are masters of, and will seldom meet with opposition but when he is hurried into schemes destructive to his country. It is not so much the form of government we live under, as the disposition of our governours which renders us happy or miserable: the best constituted government in the world may be perverted to the vilest purposes by artful men.

LOWER SAXONY.

CHAP. XV.

Treats of the Circle of Lower Saxony; and herein of the Duchies of Mecklenburg, Lawenburg, Holstein, Hanover, Brunswick Lunenburg, Bremen and Verden.

WITHIN the Circle of Lower Saxony are Provinces of comprehended the duchies of Mecklenburg; Lawenburg, Holstein, Brunswick Lunenburg, Bremen, the principality of Verden and the bishoprick of Hildesheim. As to the duchy of

CHAP. of Magdeburg and the principality of Halberstat, XV. which are usually reckon'd part of the Lower Saxony, I chose to describe them in treating of Upper Saxony, because they lie contiguous to, and are incorporated with the other dominions of the Elector of Brandenburg, which lie within that circle, and therefore shall not consider them here.

Bounds and extent of Lower Saxony.

The circle of Lower Saxony then, is bounded by the German Ocean, Denmark and the Baltick sea towards the north; by Pomerania and the Marquisate of Brandenburg towards the east; by the territories of the Landgrave of Hesse on the south, and by the circle of Westphalia towards the west: extending in length from east to west two hundred miles, and about as far in breadth from north to south. The chief rivers which run through this country are the Elbe, the Weser, the Alter, the Hamma, the Hemon, the Leme, the Ocker and the Elbt. The winters here are long, and air exceeding cold; but the country however produces good corn in many places, and does not want rich pastures, as will appear in the description of the several countries it contains.

Rivers.

Air and soil.

Mecklenburg.

Situation.

Name.

Seas, lakes, rivers and air.

Corn, fruits, and other produce.

Division of the provinces and chief towns.

The duchy of Mecklenburg is bounded by the Baltick sea on the north; by Pomerania on the east; by Brandenburg on the south; and by the duchies of Lunenburg and Sax-Lawenburg towards the west. It is said to derive its name from the High-dutch word *Mecklen*, which signifies a broker or dealer in merchandize, from the great resort of merchants to this country antiently, and particularly to a city of the same name situate on the coast; which was the occasion of adding *burg* to the word *Mecklen*, *burg* signifying a town, and *Mecklenburg* a town of merchants or brokers; and there is now a small village not far from Wismar, according to some German writers, which goes by the same name, and is supposed to be the remains of the once famous city of Mecklenburg. This country has the advantage of the Baltick sea for many miles, besides a great number of rivers and large lakes, which may be one reason that the air is unhealthful in summer, and its northern situation renders it intolerably cold in the winter. It produces however great plenty of corn and fruits, particularly apples; and their lakes and rivers furnish them with fish and water-fowl in abundance.

Mecklenburg is usually divided by geographers into six parts, viz. 1. The dukedom of Mecklenburg, properly so called. 2. The dukedom of Vandalia. 3. The earldom of Swerin. 4. The barony of Rostock. 5. The barony of Stargard. And, 6. The bishoprick of Butzow. In the dukedom of Mecklenburg Proper are the cities and towns of Wismar, Tempzin, Gades, Rhena, and Bucow. In the dukedom of Vandalia; Gustrow, Sterneburg, Malchin, Stavenhagen, Ivenack, New

Calven, Warin, Peutzlin, Rebell, Wredenhagen, Malchau, Tetrou, Goltburg, Parchum, Plage, Lupfian, Grabou, Domitz, Newstat, Eldenau, and Gorlosen. In the barony of Rostock; the cities and towns of Rostock, Ribnitz, Gnoien, Tessen, Laga, Schwan, Salines, and Morlou. In the barony of Stargard; Brandenburg, Stargard, Furstenburg, Strelitz, Mirow, Fredland, and Wesenburg. And in the bishoprick of Butzow, the city of Butzow. The chief whereof I shall endeavour to describe.

1. Rostock, an Imperial city, and one of the Hans-Towns, under the protection of the Duke of Mecklenburg, situate in fifty-four degrees twenty minutes north latitude, on a bay of the sea at the mouth of the river Warna; is a tolerable harbour, forty miles to the eastward of Wismar, suppos'd to take its name from Rotzstock, or a red pillar, antiently worship'd here by the pagan inhabitants. It is divided into three parts, viz. the old, the new, and the middle city, which united make a large town, containing many thousands of lofty well-built houses. Travellers observe, that here are seven large streets leading to a spacious market-place, seven handsome gates towards the land, seven bridges over the Warna, which runs through several parts of the town, seven great doors to the cathedral church, seven towers on the town-hall, and two or three other sevens still less worth our observation; and perhaps the reader will scarce forgive me for taking up his time with these. The university here is said to contain as many students as most in Germany; and was founded by JOHN and ALBERT, two cotemporary Dukes of Mecklenburg and cousins, in the year 1419. Half the charges whereof being borne by the corporation and magistracy of the city, half the professors are chosen by the Duke of Mecklenburg, and the other half by the town; and the Rector is chosen alternately every half year, as in most other German universities. Amongst other learned men that have been educated here, are ALBERT CRANTZIUS, JOHN POSSELIUS, and NATHAN CHYTRÆUS, three celebrated historians.

The government of the city is in the hands of twenty-four Aldermen, elected out of the nobility, scholars, and principal merchants; of whom four are Burgomasters, two Chamberlains, two Stewards for the river, and two Judges of civil and criminal matters. These twenty-four may be stiled the upper house, and have in a manner the whole executive power lodg'd in them, with the power of coining money, and electing officers. There is also a common-council of an hundred inferiour citizens, who are summon'd to give their advice upon extraordinary emergencies relating to the whole community. 2. Warnemund, a small town situate on the sea, seven miles below Rostock,

CHAP. XV. Lower Saxony.

Rostock.

Warn.

H A P. stock, being the port-town to that city; for large
 XV. vessels cannot come up so high as Rostock. 3. Wis-
 Lower mar, which stands between this and forty miles
 Saxony. to the westward of Rostock, and many to the
 eastward of Lubeck, by some esteem'd the capi-
 tial of Mecklenburg, said to obtain its name from
 the conveniency of its situation, *Wisneer* signify-
 ing a secure harbour, as the town of Wismar is.
 It is said to have been built out of the ruins of the
 antient town of Mecklenburg, about the year 1250.
 In the year 1266 it was enlarg'd and beautify'd,
 and from that time became extremely populous,
 and was reckon'd one of the chief of the Hans-
 Towns, for this was the harbour where all the men
 of war belonging to that body were laid up. The
 Swedes having possessed themselves of this city,
 during the civil wars of Germany, insisted on its
 being confirmed to them by the treaty of Munster,
 as it was; and the Swede has since stiled himself
 Lord of Wismar. It has however several times
 been taken by the Danes, and restor'd to the
 Swedes again by subsequent treaties; particularly
 in the last war it was taken by the Danes and
 their allies, the Hanoverians, Brandenburgers and
 Saxons, but restor'd to the Swedes by a treaty
 made in the year 1720; wherein it was stipulated
 however, that the walls and fortifications should
 be demolish'd, in which state it remains at present.
 4. Swerin, situate upon the great lake called the
 Swerin-sea, to which it communicates its name,
 about fifteen miles south of Wismar, and forty
 south-west of Rostock, formerly a Bishop's See;
 but by an article in the treaty of Munster, con-
 verted into a temporal principality, and conferr'd
 on ADOLPH FREDERICK, Duke of Mecklen-
 burg. 5. Gustrow, a well-fortified town, for-
 merly the seat of the Duke of Mecklenburg-
 Gustrow, whose line became extinct in the year
 1688.

This country was antiently inhabited by the
 Vandals, and govern'd by their own Princes.
 ALBERT and JOHN, joint Dukes of Mecklen-
 burg, were by the Emperor CHARLES IV. first
 admitted Princes of the Empire in the year 1349,
 upon condition of being subject to its laws. Lu-
 theranism was establish'd in this country about
 the year 1550, by Duke JOHN ALBERT, who
 demolish'd the abbeys and religious places, and
 converted their revenues to other uses. In the ci-
 vil wars of Germany this country was miserably
 harass'd by the Imperial army, probably upon ac-
 count of their deserting the Roman communion,
 and embracing Lutheranism. CHARLES LEO-
 POLD, the present Duke of Mecklenburg, was
 born the 6th of November, 1679; and married
 to SOPHIA EDWIGE of Nassau-Dietz, anno 1698.
 This Princess being wantonly disposed, the Duke
 began a process against her in the Imperial court,
 in order to obtain a divorce; where meeting with

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more than ordinarily delays, he ventur'd to marry
 the Duchess Dowager of Courland, niece to the late
 Czar, in the year 1716, before there was any de-
 cision of the cause; and it seems to be no extra-
 ordinary thing with the German Princes to di-
 vorce themselves, and take another woman to
 their bed in the life-time of the former.

This was but the beginning of troubles to the
 unhappy Duke of Mecklenburg, whose country
 was the following year almost ruin'd by the Mus-
 covite forces, which were brought into the Em-
 pire to assist the Danes and Saxons against the
 Swedes; and at the same time the Duke laying
 heavy taxes upon his nobility, they applied to
 the Emperor for redress; setting forth that the
 Russian army having committed great ravages up-
 on their estates, when they thought fit at last to
 leave their country, the Duke retain'd in his ser-
 vice a body of three thousand of them; which,
 together with his own troops, he was continually
 augmenting by new levies, he quarter'd on the
 nobility, and exacted extravagant contributions
 from them, under pretence of providing for the
 security of the country against foreign invasions;
 pretending that he was sole judge what was ne-
 cessary for the defence of his subjects, who were
 to bear the expence. But the nobility denied this
 prerogative, alledging that a convention had been
 made with his predecessor in the year 1701, to
 pay annually the sum of an hundred and twenty
 thousand crowns, in lieu of all taxes and duties,
 ordinary or extraordinary; and thereupon the
 Duke renounced all further pretensions of laying
 any taxes upon them, except the usual land-taxes.
 II. They alledge, that the monthly contribution
 of sixty thousand crowns demanded of them, ex-
 ceeded the produce of their estates, and was more
 than necessary to pay the troops. That at the
 same time all the peasants, who were not subjects
 of the nobility, were exempted from these con-
 tributions; which made it evident, that the Duke
 design'd the ruin of the nobility, whose estates
 were seiz'd and sequester'd for not paying the sums
 demanded, and some of them compell'd to fly their
 country, &c.

After this cause had depended before the Impe-
 rial tribunal for some years, it was decreed about
 the year 1722, That the Duke should pay to his no-
 bility one million of crowns, for repairing the da-
 mages they had sustain'd; and on his not complying
 with this edict, a body of troops were order'd to
 quarter upon the Duke's demesn lands, and seize
 his revenues; which was executed accordingly,
 and the Duke thought fit to retire out of the
 country for some time; but is returning to his
 dominions again now the decree is satisfied, and
 the nobility begin to be reconcil'd to him.

From this instance it appears, that the Princes
 of the Empire are subject to the general laws of
 the

CH A P.
 XV.
 Lower
 Saxony.

His second
 marriage in
 the life of his
 first wife.

Decree a-
 gainst the
 Duke of
 Mecklen-
 burg for op-
 pressing his
 subjects.

CHAP. the Empire, and that their nobility and gentry, XV. between whom there is little difference, can appeal for redress to the Imperial courts, when they are oppress'd by their respective Sovereigns. But it is not so with the peasants or husbandmen, and other inferiour people; these are subjects and vassals to their several Lords, and do not hold their farms by lease, as our farmers do, but at will; and are obliged to do such services, and pay such rents in kind or money, as their Lords require of them; and if they are order'd to arm and march into the field against an enemy, they dare not refuse it. Thus it was lately among the Clans in Scotland, where a Lord with his Clan would fall upon a neighbour in a hostile manner, and endeavour to do himself justice, if he apprehended himself injur'd, as if there were no civil courts of judicature in the kingdom; and as for controversies among the tenants themselves, these were determin'd in the courts of their respective Lords.

Lawenburg duchy. The duchy of Sax-Lawenburg is situate on both sides of the Elbe; being bounded by Holstein on the west and north; by Mecklenburg on the east; and the duchy of Lunenburg towards the south: the chief town whereof is Lawenburg, situate at the conflux of the Elbe and the Stegnitz, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees forty minutes, about thirty miles south of Lubeck, and near forty south-east of Hamburg. It is a small, but populous town, and has a pretty good trade. The other towns of any note in this duchy are Mollen, Wittenburg, and Ratzeburg; but of these I meet with nothing particular. The last Duke of Sax-Lawenburg was JULIUS-FRANCIS, who dying without male issue, in the year 1689, the Elector of Saxony, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Duke of Lunenburg-Zell all laid claim to it; but the Duke of Lunenburg taking possession of it, this duchy on his death devolv'd on the Elector of Hanover, with his other territories; the other pretenders relinquishing their claim in consideration of a sum of money, or some other equivalent given them by the Elector of Hanover.

Holstein duchy. As to the province of Holstein, it hath already been describ'd in treating of the King of Denmark's dominions, except the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, which some reckon to be out of the bounds of Holstein; perhaps because they have freed themselves from the Danish yoke, tho' that Prince frequently revives his pretensions to those places, and exacts large sums from them; and were it not that they are under the Emperor's protection, and deem'd free Imperial cities, the Dane would no doubt long since have reduced them to his obedience again.

Hamburg. Hamburg, one of the most considerable of the Hans-Towns, is built partly on islands, and partly on the continent, on the north side of the river Elbe, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees fifty

minutes, ten degrees to the eastward of London, forty miles south of Lubeck, and sixty north-east of Bremen, but seventy-five miles distant from the sea. Its name is supposed to be deriv'd from the forest of Ham, which stood near it, and gave title to the antient Lords of Ham; who building a castle where the city now stands, call'd it *Hamburg*, or *Ham Castle*. It is generally held to be within the limits of Stormaria, a province of the duchy of Holstein: and however this is disputed by some, it is agreed, that the territories belonging to this city, and adjoining to it, lie in Stormaria. They contain but a small circuit, wherein are several large villages and noblemen's palaces. There are also several little islands in the Elbe under the government of the Hamburgers.

The city of Hamburg, says a late writer, consists of a great many little islands in the rivers Elbe and Altster, which, like Venice, have a communication with each other by bridges. The tide flows through the canals which separate the islands; and it lies so low, that in spring-tides houses have been carried away and damaged by inundations, as it happen'd in the year 1651. As the place appears to be naturally strong by this account, the inhabitants have added to it good walls, and regular fortifications after the modern way, especially towards the land. It is divided by a wall into two parts, called the Old and New Town. The streets are wide, but not straight; and the buildings generally of brick, very high, which make a grand appearance. The town is exceeding populous, occasion'd by a flourishing foreign trade. Ships from all parts of Europe resort hither, and from hence their merchandize is distributed thro' the Empire. But the most considerable manufacture of the Hamburgers, if we may call it such, is their beer, in brewing of which great numbers of people are employ'd, and it is transported into all the neighbouring countries, being valued equally with wine. The peasants of Holstein, 'tis said, have such an opinion of its virtues, that they apprehend it impossible to live without it. They have also plenty of all provisions at Hamburg, which are either brought down their rivers from the inland parts of Germany, or imported from abroad; but their markets are with nothing better stored than with sea and river-fish and garden-stuff. Their gardens, which lie contiguous to the town-walls, do not only afford plenty of fruit, herbs, and roots, but being regularly planted, and extending a great way into the country, yield an inexpressible delight to the citizens, who have their country-seats in the middle of them. On the other side, ships of good burthen may come up to the very walls, to take in and discharge their lading; the largest indeed are forced to come to an anchor at New Mills, four miles below it, and

unlade

1 AP. unlade their merchandize into smaller vessels. The
XV. tide flows sixteen miles higher up the river than
ower Hamburg, which is about ninety miles from the
xony. Ocean, and thought to be a longer course than
the tide takes in any other European river.

The publick buildings in this city mention'd by travellers, are, the church of St. PETER, formerly a cathedral, while the town remain'd an archbishoprick, and the residentiaries of this church still compose a chapter, who have cognizance of ecclesiastical causes, from whom there lies no appeal, but to the Imperial Chamber at Spire. The other most considerable churches are those of St. NICHOLAS, St. JACOB, St. CATHARINE, and St. MICHAEL, where registers of the poor of the respective parishes are kept, who have money weekly distributed amongst them, and a yearly allowance of clothes and fuel: nor is there any city can boast of more well-endowed hospitals and charitable foundations in proportion to its bigness, for cripples, aged people, orphans, disabled seamen and their families, with free-schools for the education of the children of poor citizens, who are furnish'd with clothes as well as good instruction, till they are capable of being put out to trades, or sent to the university.

The city of Hamburg is a free Imperial city, independent of any other power except the Emperor, to whom they pay homage, and some other small acknowledgments for the protection they receive from the Empire, as other Imperial cities do, who have both the legislative and executive power lodg'd in them. The magistrates are four Burgomasters; twenty Schepins or Aldermen, chosen out of the most considerable merchants or tradesmen; twelve Common-Council Men or Senators, who constantly attend the service of the city, who upon extraordinary occasions assemble sixty more of the principal citizens, called *Burger Alten*, or Elders of the city; and if the case be of the utmost importance, the whole body of freemen are assembled, in whom seems to be the last resort. But this power has been frequently disputed of late years; the senate pretending that though they are call'd to advise with upon extraordinary occasions, their superiours only have the power of determining what ought to be done: and these controversies have sometimes risen to that height, that the Emperor has been oblig'd to take cognizance of them, and command the forces of the Circle to march into the city to keep the peace, as will appear hereafter. But before I proceed further, it may be convenient to enquire here the foundation of that claim the Dane frequently makes to the dominion of this city. And it seems WOLDEMAR, Duke of Sleswick, by the assistance of CANUTUS the VIth, King of Denmark, his brother, took this city from the Emperor OTHO IV. and WOLDEMAR being af-

terwards advanc'd to the Danish throne, transferr'd the sovereignty of Hamburg to ALBRECHT, Earl of Orlemund, who assign'd his right to the citizens in consideration of fifteen hundred marks of silver; and thus this city became a free and independent State: and ADOLPH IV. Earl of Holstein, confirm'd their rights and privileges, as his successors also did down to ADOLPH XIV. the last Earl of Holstein and Scawenburg of that family, who died anno 1459: upon whose death the province of Holstein put themselves under the protection of CHRISTIAN I. King of Denmark, whom they elected their Sovereign, under the title of Duke of Holstein; and the citizens of Hamburg enter'd into an alliance with the King of Denmark, engaging to maintain the same friendship and correspondence with him, they had done with the Earls of Holstein and Schawenburg his predecessors, if he would confirm their rights and privileges, which he did accordingly. His successors, however, were perpetually reviving their claim to the sovereignty of this city; and some of them compell'd the citizens to pay large sums to purchase a confirmation of their liberties: but in all their treaties with that crown, they concluded, *Salvo jure Cesaris & Imperii, & salvo libertatibus civitatis ab Imperiali culmine obtentis*. And in a Diet, held at Augsborg anno 1510, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN I. with the States of the Empire, declar'd Hamburg a free Imperial city, and summon'd the Duke of Holstein to appear before the Imperial Chamber at Spire, to make good or renounce his pretensions to the said city. But the Kings of Denmark, as Dukes of Holstein, have nevertheless several times since extorted large sums of money from this city; sometimes appearing before it with a numerous army, and at other times blocking up the mouth of the river Elbe, taking their ships, and obstructing their traffick; but the Powers interested in preserving the liberties of this city, have hitherto interposed, and preserved them from being swallow'd up by the Dane. The liberties of Hamburg have also been several times endanger'd by religious disputes with some of the neighbouring Princes, and by their own intestine divisions, as has been hinted already, particularly in the year 1708; when those disputes arose so high, that a body of troops was sent to take possession of the town, by the directors of the Circle of Lower Saxony, in order to preserve the peace of the city.

The established religion of Hamburg is Lutheranism; and so bigotted are they to their particular opinions in religion, that they will tolerate no other sect, whether popish or protestant, except in the chapels of foreign ministers: nor will they suffer any subject of Hamburg to resort even thither, insomuch, that they prosecuted very severely some citizens who were seen at the

CHAP. Dutch chapel, notwithstanding the representa-
 XV. tions of the King of Prussia and the States-General
 Lower in behalf of their brethren, the disciples of CAL-
 Saxony. VIN, in the year 1719. And in answer to his
 Prussian Majesty's memorial on this subject, they
 acquainted him that the Calvinists in affairs re-
 lating to trade, enjoy'd the same privileges as the
 Lutherans; but that at the time of the establishing
 the Lutheran religion in that city, neither the
 Calvinists, the Roman Catholick inhabitants, or
 the Jews were allowed the publick exercise of their
 worship, but were content with domestick ser-
 vice; and as for sermons and the administration
 of the sacraments, they were obliged to repair to
 neighbouring towns: which state of things was
 confirm'd by the treaty of Westphalia, and their
 magistrates obliged by a very binding oath to ob-
 serve that treaty. Notwithstanding which, both
 the Calvinists and Roman Catholicks were in-
 creased in their city of late years to an insufferable
 degree, and openly assumed to themselves an ex-
 ercise of their worship, assembling in divers parts
 of the town, and particularly at the Dutch resi-
 dent's house, to the number of some hundreds,
 with several coaches, and by preaching sermons,
 singing aloud, and administering the sacraments,
 gave reason to suspect they would in time claim
 a right to their publick worship; and that this,
 with the repeated encroachments and usurpations
 of the Roman Catholicks, had put the magistrates
 upon issuing an edict to prohibit such unlawful
 worship, and reduce the same within the bounds
 prescrib'd by the treaty of Westphalia.

The same year, 1719, I find the Roman Ca-
 tholicks also complaining of their being insulted
 by the inhabitants of Hamburg on account of their
 religion. The Imperial minister residing in this
 city, it seems, had caused a new chapel to be built,
 and the priests having laid the first stone with un-
 usual ceremonies, and attempted openly to make
 proselytes to their religion, gave great offence to
 the Lutheran clergy, who incited both magistrates
 and people to oppose the finishing this popish tem-
 ple; whereupon a mob was spirited up on Sunday
 the 15th of September, who first plunder'd the
 chapel of the plate and ornaments, and afterwards
 demolish'd it. They also proceeded to storm the
 house of Count Metsch the Imperial minister,
 stripping it of the furniture, and carrying off
 seven thousand crowns in money, abusing M.
 Lembke, Imperial counsellor and secretary of the
 embassy; the tumult lasting from nine of the
 clock in the morning 'till midnight before it was
 suppress'd. Of which the Imperial resident im-
 mediately sent an express to court. The Emperor
 was so exasperated at this outrageous riot against
 his ministers and those of his communion, that he
 threatned the city with military execution if they
 did not forthwith pay a fine of two hundred

thousand crowns, rebuild the house and chapel at
 their own expence, and make good the loss of the
 furniture, ornaments, and all other damages sus-
 tain'd; and lastly, that two members of the se-
 nate and two of the common-council should come
 to Vienna, and beg his Imperial Majesty's pardon.
 With which the Hamburgers were oblig'd to com-
 ply, except that they got some part of the fine a-
 bated. But the Emperor has since taken them
 into his special protection, and espouses their cause
 heartily against the antiquated pretensions of the
 Dane: for in November, 1724, the magistrates
 publish'd an Imperial mandate, importing, That
 whereas it had been represented to his Imperial
 Majesty, that the King of Denmark and his offi-
 cers, especially the Count de Calenburg, High-
 Bailiff of the county of Pinneburg, had for some
 time past pretended to exercise an independent
 jurisdiction within the district of the Danish ho-
 tels (palaces) called the Schawenburg and Muhlen
 in the city of Hamburg, and to exempt the inha-
 bitants thereof, and all the houses within that
 verge, though sworn Burghers of the city, from
 all civil power, allegiance, and obedience to the
 government, as also from all taxes and contribu-
 tions; and had made use of threats to deter the
 said city from maintaining her rights, which they
 had possess'd for many centuries; his Imperial
 Majesty annull'd and vacated all the ordinances
 hitherto issued against the city by his Danish Ma-
 jesty and his officers, especially by Count Calen-
 burg, and the Danish Residents Hagendorn and
 Hohenmuhl, and all the inhabitants of the said di-
 stricts were by the said mandate strictly enjoin'd
 not only to be faithful and obedient, like other
 Burghers, to the magistrates of Hamburg, accord-
 ing to the antient constitution of the city, but
 likewise to pay without resistance the arrears of
 the taxes, and bear their share of all contributions,
 charges, and offices for the future, on pain of be-
 ing punish'd corporally, and even with death, ac-
 cording to the nature of the crime.

The Ministers of Denmark on the contrary
 publish'd an order of the King of Denmark's, re-
 quiring the inhabitants of the district of Schawen-
 burg not to pay the least contribution or tax to
 the magistrates of Hamburg on pain of death,
 wherein his Danish Majesty also revives his claim
 to that his hereditary city, as he calls it; and
 threatens the citizens that one time or other they
 should feel the effects of his resentment. In the
 year 1726, the King of Denmark proceeded to
 prohibit the currency of the Hamburg coin in his
 dominions, (as the Hamburgers had before the
 currency of the Danish coin in their territories.)
 He also required his subjects not to buy of the
 Hamburgers any goods of the growth or manu-
 facture of England, France, Holland, Italy, Ger-
 many, or any other foreign country; and the Da-
 nish.

HAP. nish merchants were required to purchase them
 KV. in the respective countries where they are pro-
 duced or manufactured; which is a very great loss
 to the Hamburgers, who used to furnish the
 dominions of Denmark with most of their foreign
 goods. The English Hamburg merchants are said to
 be more favoured in this city than those of any
 other nation, on account of the extraordinary trade
 they occasion here; their factors and agents be-
 ing exempted from the jurisdiction of the city
 courts, and all civil and criminal matters relating
 only to their people, determin'd by the English
 resident. They are also indulged in the publick
 exercise of their religious worship, a privilege said
 to be denied to most other nations who are not
 of the Lutheran persuasion; but I perceive the
 Dutch and other foreigners have now the same
 liberty, though the natives are not allowed to re-
 sort to their chapels.

Lubeck the chief of the Hans-Towns, and an
 Imperial city, is situated in the province of Wa-
 gerland in the duchy of Holstein, tho' some have
 placed it in the duchy of Mecklenburg, from
 which indeed it is not far distant. It is said to
 have derived the name from its situation on a
 corner or point of land; the word *Lubeck*, or ra-
 ther *Lobeck*, in High-Dutch, signifying as much.
 This city stands on the river Trave, ten miles
 from the Baltick sea, in fifty-four degrees odd mi-
 nutes north latitude, upwards of forty miles north-
 east of Hamburg, about as many to the westward
 of Wismar, and twenty-five miles north of Law-
 enburg. Travemund, at the mouth of the river
 Trave, is the port-town to Lubeck, and esteem'd
 a very good harbour. There is not any city in
 the north of Germany, according to Dr. NI-
 CHOLSON, which exceeds Lubeck in the beauty
 and uniformity of its buildings, or the pleasantness
 of the groves and gardens about it. The streets
 are broad and strait, and the houses built of brick;
 and from a publick reservoir water is laid into e-
 very citizen's house, and several of the streets are
 planted with rows of trees. The churches are
 generally well built, adorn'd with high spire stee-
 ples, being about twenty in number; and the ca-
 thedral, dedicated to St. MARY, esteem'd a fine
 piece of architecture. Lubeck was an inconsider-
 able borough till enlarged and beautified by A-
 DOLPH, the second Earl of Holstein anno 1140,
 from whom HENRY Duke of Saxony and Bava-
 ria, surnamed the Lion, took it. WOLDEMAR
 Duke of Sleswick, brother and heir to CANUTUS
 King of Denmark, afterwards made himself ma-
 ster of it; but the citizens being unkindly treated
 by the Danes, put themselves under the protec-
 tion of the Emperor FREDERICK II. who con-
 firmed their antient privileges and immunities,
 and enlarged them; since which, Lubeck has con-

tinued a free Imperial city, and was the metropo-
 lis of the Hans-Towns, as has been intimated al-
 ready. The bishoprick of this city has been en-
 joy'd by Protestant Princes ever since the year
 1561, when the Lutheran religion was introduced
 here, and devolves as an appennage, or inheri-
 tance, on the younger sons of the Duke of Hol-
 stein-Gottorp, who are stiled Dukes of Eatin,
 from a town where the palace of this prelate
 stands, about four miles from the city. This is
 the only Protestant bishoprick in Germany, it is
 said, which has not been stripped of the reve-
 nues and privileges belonging to it; the other
 Lutheran Bishops are rather superintendants, ha-
 ving little to distinguish them from the inferiour
 clergy, but the point of precedence.

The present government is in the hands of
 twelve Burgomasters elected out of the nobility
 and civil lawyers, and the senate or council con-
 sists of sixteen members, half noblemen and law-
 yers, and the other half merchants. Two bro-
 thers, or father and son, cannot be admitted at
 the same time into the senate, nor any handicraft
 or mechanick is suffer'd to sit amongst them.
 Their territories are about sixty miles in circum-
 ference, and contain several small towns and vil-
 lages. Happy were the northern Princes who
 could make Lubeck their friend, while she was
 capital of the Hans-Towns, for they are said to
 have been able at some times to have fitted out
 upwards of two hundred ships of war, and to
 have had the power of turning the scale to which-
 ever side they inclined in the wars among the
 northern powers: but the reader has already met
 with an account of the Hans-Towns, and there-
 fore I forbear to say more of them here.

L U N E N B U R G.

THE dukedom of Lunenburg, in which
 Zell is comprehended, is bounded by the
 river Elbe, which separates it from Law-
 enburg and Holstein on the north; by Branden-
 burg and Magdeburg on the east; by the duke-
 dom of Brunswick on the south; and by Bremen
 and part of Westphalia towards the west. The
 air of this country is cold, and a barren sandy
 desert takes up a great part of it: the rest is co-
 ver'd with woods and forests, and the people who
 inhabit them the most clownish, and unpolish'd
 of any in Germany: but their forests abounding
 in wild hog, deer and other venison, the neigh-
 bouring princes and nobility annually assemble
 here to take the diversion of hunting. The prin-
 cipal rivers are the Elbe, the Ilmenow or Awe,
 and the Jetze. The chief towns are, 1. Lunen-
 burg, or Luncburg, said to derive its name from
 city.
 Lund,

CHAP. *Luna*, the moon, on account of that planet's being ador'd by the antient Pagan inhabitants: but XV.
 Lunenburg. how the moon came to have a Latin name in this part of the world before the Romans arrived here, is a difficulty that is not easily got over. It stands on the river Ilmenow, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees thirty minutes; about thirty miles south-east of Hamburg, and near forty south of Lubeck, being of an oblong figure, and about two miles in circumference; the streets broad, and most of the houses tolerably well built. The publick buildings mentioned by travellers are, the town-hall or stadt-house, and the palace belonging to the late Duke of Zell, of which I do not meet with any thing remarkable; but the bridge over the river is said to be a very fine one. From the salt-springs near this town are made great quantities of salt, in which the trade of the inhabitants chiefly consists, and they afford a good revenue to the sovereign. 2. Zell, the usual residence of the late Dukes of Lunenburg, situate in a sandy plain at the confluence of the two little rivers Aller and Fuhse, about forty miles south of Lunenburg, and thirty north of Hanover. The Duke's palace is a square building, moated round, and encompass'd with pleasant gardens; but I do not find the architecture of this palace much admired. The courts of justice for the duchy of Lunenburg are held in it. 3. Bardewick, five miles north of Lunenburg, antiently a considerable city, of which little remains at present but the cathedral church and a convent. 4. Ultzen, a compact uniform little town in the midway between Lunenburg and Zell, the inhabitants of which place have a tradition, that the first Saxons who settled in England came from hence. 5. Harburg, a strong little town upon the Elbe, thirty miles to the westward of Lunenburg, not very considerable at present, but capable, it is said, of being made equal to Hamburg, standing on the opposite side of the Elbe, full as conveniently for a foreign trade as the other; and since the duchy of Lunenburg has at present the King of Great Britain for its sovereign, it is expected that a trade will sooner or later be establish'd between his British Majesty's English and German dominions, and that this town of Harburg will be the mart for the merchants of both countries to resort to, from its convenient situation on the banks of the Elbe; but what England would get by discontinuing the trade to Hamburg, and endeavouring to divert it into another channel, may deserve consideration. 6. Walsrode, situate in a pleasant valley, encompass'd with hills and forests, near the confines of Verden; the trade whereof consists in wool, beer and wax.

The duchy of Lunenburg descended to K. George. The dominions of Lunenburg and Zell on the death of GEORGE-WILLIAM the late Duke anno 1705, devolved on the Elector of Brunswick,

the late King of Great Britain, in right of the Electress his consort, who was the only daughter and heiress of the said Duke of Lunenburg, and are now descended to his present Majesty King GEORGE II. the eldest son of the said King and Princess.

As to the constitution of the government, it is almost unnecessary to inform the reader that the Prince is as arbitrary as the King of France, in this, as well as the rest of the dominions of the house of Brunswick; except in some few Imperial cities which still retain their liberties.

The church-government in the dominions of Brunswick is much the same as in other parts of Germany where Lutheranism is profess'd. In each dukedom there is a *Superintendens Generalissimus*, who has the supreme inspection of the church, and resembles an English Archbishop; to whom are subject the several Superintendents General, or Bishops, who preside over the Superintendents Special, who have much the same office as our Archdeacons. In some provinces they have no other distinction of Superintendents but General and Special, as where the province is not of so large extent as to require more than one single Bishop: and their ecclesiastical courts are as liable to the controul of the Prince as the civil: neither the one or the other have any laws but what the Prince can repeal or alter at his pleasure; and we see the Electors of Brandenburg have actually alter'd the establish'd religion in part of their dominions from Lutheranism to Calvinism: though I find where any German Prince attempts this, he is obliged to have a great deal of patience, and to do it by degrees, or he hazards an insurrection of his subjects.

BRUNSWICK and HANOVER.

THE dukedom of Brunswick, properly so called, contains only the territories of Brunswick and Hanover or Calenberg: as for the principality of Grubenhagen, the counties of Blankenburg and Reinstein, though they are contiguous thereto, and subject to the same Princes, yet are no part of the dukedom of Brunswick; but as they are usually thrown together, I shall follow the method of those who have gone before me in describing the boundaries of the whole.

Brunswick then including the duchy of Hanover, Grubenhagen, Blankenburg and Reinstein, is bounded by Lunenburg on the north; by Magdeburg and Halberstat towards the east; by Hesse Cassel on the south; and by the river Weser towards the west. This country was part

CHAP. XV. Lunenburg.

The Prince arbitrary.

Ecclesiastical government.

Boundaries.

Nature of the soil.

AP. of the great Hercynian forest, and is still pretty much over-run with woods, which yield more pine and fir-trees than any other sort of timber: part of it, especially the county of Blankenburg, is mountainous, cold and barren, their hills being covered with snow till midsummer; but even here are some fruitful valleys abounding in herds of cattle, and their mountains are richly furnished with mines of silver, copper, lead, vitriol, brimstone, quicksilver and copperas. The country is also generally healthful, and the people of as large a size as any in Germany, used to coarse fare and hard lodging, and naturally well fitted and prepared for the drudgeries they are put to. Dried hogs flesh and a black coarse sort of rye-bread fitter for horses than men, as the French traveller expressed himself, is their common food; the rest of the Germans, from their living so much on swines flesh, call them Bacon-guts. The principal rivers are, the Weser, the Leina, the Innerste and the Ocker. Upon the top of every high hill almost are seen the ruins of old fortresses, supposed by some to have been erected by the Romans; but by others to have been built during the wars of the Saxons with CHARLES the Great. The present generation are allow'd to be sincere and hospitable, as the generality of the Germans are; but a little rough and unpolish'd. The chief towns are,

1. Brunswick, *Brunopolis*, from its founder BRUNO, one of the sons of LUDOLPH Duke of Saxony, situate in a plain on the river Ocker, in the latitude of fifty-two degrees twenty-five minutes, ten miles north of Wolfenbüttele, and between fifty and sixty south of Lünenburg. It was formerly a free Imperial city, and one of the Hans-Towns; but after many struggles for their liberties, they were forced to yield to the superiour force of the Dukes of Brunswick, who keep a strong garrison in the place, and have enlarged the fortifications; whereupon the merchants and trading men have forsaken it, and it is now in a declining condition, mum and butter being almost the only commodities they deal in. The town is of a square form, and about two miles in circumference, divided in the middle by the river Ocker. The private houses are tolerably well built, and the town-house and Prince's palace are said to be magnificent structures. The mum made here is of two sorts, the one thin and weak, the ordinary drink of the inhabitants; and the other called ship-mum, such as is imported into England and other parts of Europe. This Dr. NICHOLSON observes is scarce fit to drink till it has purged it self at sea, and is made of barley with a small mixture of wheat, well hopp'd. The town was formerly govern'd by its own magistrates; but as the Dukes of Brunswick obtain'd it by conquest, they take the liberty of prescribing

what laws and regimen they think properest for the city at present, and are at this day as absolute here as in the rest of their dominions.

2. Wolfenbüttele, which stands also on the river Ocker, ten miles to the southward of Brunswick, in a watery country, as the name signifies, and surrounded by marshes. It was the seat of the antient Dukes of Brunswick; and strong both by art and nature, consisting of two parts, the one called *Arx Guelpica*, where the palace stands, having obtain'd its name from the founder, who was of the Guelphian family; the other called *Henrickstat*, from Duke HENRY the younger, who laid the foundation of it. The publick buildings taken notice of by travellers, are the new church, an elegant building, where lie interred more than twenty Dukes and Duchesses of Brunswick; and the palace, the residence of the present Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, with the library belonging to it, containing an hundred and twenty four thousand volumes, according to HANISIVS, one of the librarians; but Dr. NICHOLSON looks upon this as incredible, the books being contain'd in two small rooms, both of them not so large as a third part of the Bodleian library. It is, however, allow'd to be one of the best collections of printed books in Germany. This library was founded by AUGUSTUS the famous Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, a Prince, says Dr. NICHOLSON, who infinitely surpass'd all his predecessors in learning and knowledge, who in four large volumes gave an account of the most considerable authors in his library, and composed many other excellent treatises; he died in the year 1666, leaving two sons, viz. RODOLPHUS AUGUSTUS, and ANTHONY ULRICK, who govern'd jointly the dominions of Wolfenbüttele, of whom I shall have occasion to speak further hereafter.

3. Hanover, the capital of the dukedom of Calenberg, situate on the river Leina, so named from a ferry on that river; Hanover in the old Saxon dialect signifying as much as *Have-over* in English, according to Dr. NICHOLSON. It stands between forty and fifty miles to the westward of Brunswick, and thirty south of Zell, and is said to be a handsome well-built city; but except some few houses of stone, I perceive timber and clay are the chief materials in their buildings. The Elector's palace is in the castle, which stands on one side of the town near the walls, being a large building of free stone, containing several square courts; but I do not meet with any traveller that has enlarged upon the beauties of it. The principal churches of the city are those dedicated to St. JAMES and the Holy Cross, which are built of stone, and have some good paintings in them. This town being the residence of the Electoral family, is tolerably populous, and well fortified.

CHAP. fortified. It was once a free Imperial city and a
 XV. Hans-Town, when their trade was in a flourish-
 Brunf- ing condition; but the only merchandize I can
 wick and learn they export at present is a kind of sweet
 Hanover. muddy beer, which goes by the name of Bru-
 hane, which the neighbouring villages take off
 their hands.

Helmstat.

4 Helmstat, which stands twenty-four miles to the eastward of Wolfembuttel, remarkable for its university founded and endowed with large privileges by JULIUS Duke of Brunswick-Wolfembuttel anno 1576, the rector whereof has the title and dignity of a Count Palatine.

Hamelin.

5. Hamelin, situate at the confluence of the rivers Weser and Hamel, esteemed one of the strongest fortresses in the Duke of Brunswick's dominions; but more famous for a story related by Dr. NICHOLSON and other grave writers, and believed by the credulous people of this place, though nothing surely ever had more the air of a fable; I shall recite it in the doctor's words without any manner of alteration. 'The records of

The story of the pipe.

'this city, (says that reverend Gentleman) relate a notable accident which happen'd among the burghers on the 26th of June 1284, viz. The citizens being strangely infested by rats, and having tried all imaginable expedients, but in vain, to rid themselves of these troublesome guests, at last met with a stranger who undertook for a certain reward to do the feat. The burghers agreed to his proposals, and the strange gentleman immediately with his tabret and pipe draws after him all the rats in the town, like so many morris-dancers, to the river, and there drowned them. Returning for his reward it was denied him, as being judged too great a recompence for so small a performance. However, less he could not be persuaded to take, but left the town in a rage, threatening in a short time to be revenged. Accordingly about a year after he came again, and play'd the second part of the same tune, but with another train after him: for now he went attended with a great number of children, who followed him in at the mouth of a great cave on the top of a neighbouring hill, called by the burghers *Koppelberg*, and were never after heard of. In remembrance of this sad accident the citizens were wont for many years after, as appears by several old deeds and other records in that city, to date all their indentures and contracts, such a year *since the departure of our children*. The street through which they pass'd is to this day called *Bungloese Straß*, or Tabret Street; and on the top of the mountain near the cave's mouth, is still to be seen a monument of stone with an inscription giving an account of the loss of an hundred and thirty children in the manner above related.

Grubenhagen county.

I come now to give a more particular descrip-

tion of the principality of Grubenhagen, which in the High-dutch signifies a grove or forest; this being part of the Hartz, or *Sylva Hercynia*, mention'd by JULIUS CÆSAR in his commentaries. The German word Hartz, out of which Dr. NICHOLSON supposes the Latins form'd their *Hercynia*, signifying properly rosin or pitch, which is the liquor extracted from the pine and fir-trees, the only timber with which this forest abounds; and though part of this forest hath since the times of the Romans been converted into towns and villages, and corn-fields, yet it is still easy to discern the traces of it quite cross the country.

Grubenhagen lies on the south-west part of the dukedom of Brunswick, and is most considerable for the mines of silver, copper and lead that are found here; besides a great many other minerals, as, 1. Grey vitriol. 2. Atramentstein, or ink-stone, out of which two beaten and boil'd together the ordinary green vitriol is made. 3. Geden vitriol, which grows like icicles out of the rocks, and may be used without cleansing or purifying. 4. Blue vitriol, commonly made out of the copper ore. 5. White vitriol, made of lead-ore. 6. Misy, a mineral of the same colour and nature as the ordinary yellow brimstone. 7. Brimstone, made out of a peculiar sort of ore, from whence drop the *Flores Sulphuris*, which usually coagulate like icicles.

The chief mines of this country are, 1. Ram-
 melsburg, in an high mountain near the city of Goslen, discover'd by a huntsman named RAMME (from whence it had its name) in the year 972. Another great vein of ore was discover'd in the year 1045, where Wildman now stands; and a third at Zellerfeld in the year 1070. This last is the chief of all the mine-towns belonging to the Princes of Brunswick: here the overseer of the mines keeps his court every Saturday, and pays off the workmen. The capital city of Grubenhagen is Einbeck, so called from a number of small rivulets which unite their streams near this place; the word *Beck*, or *Backe*, in the old Saxon dialect signifying a rivulet. The other towns in this principality are Clonsthal, Altenan, Andreasburg, and Osterode, all inhabited by miners, who being bred up, says my author, in caves and the bowels of the earth, do not trouble themselves with erecting very fair structures above ground.

The little counties of Blankenburg and Rein-
 stein are usually consider'd together as one province, lying between the territories of Halberstat and Anhalt. The castle of Blankenburg, which gives name to the province, is situated about forty miles to the southward of Wolfembuttel. This country was antiently called Hartingow, or the Hercynian county. The Roman writers who describe it, say the inhabitants live in an intolerable sharp air, and have a continual winter, which modern

CHAP. XV.
 Brunf-
 wick
 Hanov-
 The Her-
 cynian forest

Mine.
 Einbeck city.

Blanken-
 and Rein-
 stein.

CHAP. XV. modern authors observe may more justly be applied to this than any other territory in Germany, it being exposed to the north, and receiving the cold blasts from the top of Bruçteras (one of the highest hills in Europe) and the neighbouring mountains, which are usually covered with snow till midsummer. The air however is so healthful, that the inhabitants frequently live to upwards of an hundred. The soil produces little corn, but the valleys are well stock'd with cattle, and their mountains afford abundance of iron ore. Among the curiosities which travellers take notice of in this country, is an unfathomable cave, called Buman's hole, which seems to resemble the Peak of Derbyshire, of which they relate abundance of extravagant stories; as of a shepherd's losing himself, and wandring eight days about it, after which he return'd, and gave a monstrous account of the subterranean inhabitants. The bones of men of an uncommon size, much beyond the present generation, also are said to have been found here. Near the monastery of Michaelstein are two large craggy rocks opposite to each other, which naturally represent two monks in their habits, as exactly as if they had been carved by the best artists. And all over this cold barren country are forts and castles, on the top of every craggy inaccessible rock, built by the antients, as if they had something better worth the defending than such a desert as the Hercynian forest, the only one whereof that is thought habitable by the present generation is the palace of Blankenburg, where the Duke of Wolfembutte usually resides in the hunting season; the rest are only so many venerable remains of antiquity, as the old castle of Reinstein, so called from being hewn out of one entire rock or stone, Heimbürg, Hartingow, Gerßderf, Lawenburg, Homburg, and many more. With this country of Blankenburg geographers usually describe the Imperial city of Goslar, tho' independent of the Dukes of Brunswick, because it is surrounded by their territories. It was built by the Emperor HENRY I. on the river Gose, from whence it takes its name. The citizens enjoy large privileges, and in all Imperial mandates and letters directed to them, are stiled *Nobile Membrum Imperii*. The inhabitants are all miners, and their employment is either in digging, cleansing, tempering, or vending of metals and minerals.

family of Brunswick. As to the pedigree of the Dukes of Brunswick, it will be found in the appendix to this work with those of the other German Princes; I shall go no higher here than their marrying into the Palatine family, only observe that they are said to be descended from the family of the Guelphs or Whelps, who were antiently Dukes both of Bavaria and Saxony, of whose original the following relation is given us by Dr. NICHOLSON, Vol. II.

and almost every other writer that has treated CHAP. of Germany, as follows: "JERMINTRUDIS, XV. Countess of Altorf in Suabia, having accused Brunf- a poor woman of adultery, and caused her to wick and be severely punish'd for having had twelve Hanover. children at a birth, was not long after deliver'd of the same number her self, and all of them sons: her husband Count ISENBRED being absent at that time, she commanded the nurse to kill eleven of them, fearing she might undergo the same scandal she had thrown on the poor woman above mention'd. But the nurse, as she was going out to execute the Lady's order, was met by the Count returning home, who enquiring what she carried in her apron, answered, Woelpen (Whelps), and the Count opening her apron to see them, she confess'd the whole matter; whereupon he took them from her, and obliging the woman to be secret, put them all out to nurse. At the end of six years the Count invited his friends to an entertainment, when he took an opportunity of introducing his eleven sons to their mother, cloathed all alike; who being conscious of what she had done, confess'd her fault, and was restored to her husband's favour." And from the eldest of these Whelps, for so the Count ordered them to be named, in memory of the nurse's answer to him, descended HENRY GUELPH, Earl of Altorf, whom the Emperor CONRADE II made Duke of Bavaria; and the dominions of this family were afterwards much enlarged by the accession of Lower Saxony. I do not, I must confess, give much credit to this account of the Countess of Altorf's being deliver'd of twelve children at a birth, but as it is in the mouth of every traveller who has visited this country, there was no avoiding the mentioning of it.

The present Elector of Brunswick, GEORGE II. The Duke of Great Britain, is grandson of Duke ERNEST AUGUSTUS, who succeeded his brother JOHN FREDERICK, Bishop of Osnabrug, in this duchy anno 1679. By the Princess SOPHIA, daughter of FREDERICK V, Elector Palatine, and of the Princess ELIZABETH, daughter to JAMES I, King of Great Britain; Duke ERNEST had issue, GEORGE LEWIS, the late Elector and King of Great Britain, born anno 1660, who succeeded his father in the duchy of Brunswick anno 1698, and having married SOPHIA DOROTHY, the only daughter of his uncle GEORGE WILLIAM, Duke of Lunenburg Zell, that duchy devolved upon him anno 1705.

In the year 1692, the Emperor LEOPOLD created Duke ERNEST, grandfather of his present British Majesty, the ninth Elector, and Arch-standard-bearer of the Empire; but the Duke of Wirtemberg laying claim to the office of Standard-bearer, the Emperor JOSEPH afterwards conferred

CHAP. XV. confer'd the title of Arch-treasurer on the Elector of Brunswick. The college of Princes at first protested against the Duke of Brunswick's being made a ninth Elector, and it was the 30th of June 1708, before the Diet agreed to the establishment of this ninth electorate, in the person of **GEORGE LEWIS** late King of Great Britain, and son of Duke **ERNEST**, the first Elector of this house.

The last Elector, his consort and issue.

His Majesty the present Elector's Queen and issue.

Queen of Prussia's issue.

Brothers of his late Majesty.

Arms of the Duke of Brunswick.

His late Majesty **GEORGE**, Elector of Brunswick, died at Osnabrug, in the night of the 10th of June 1727, leaving issue only **GEORGE AUGUSTUS**, the present Elector and King of Great Britain, and **SOPHIA DOROTHY**, the present Queen of Prussia, whom he had by the Princess **SOPHIA DOROTHY**, daughter and heiress to the Duke of Zell, above mention'd. This marriage however, Monsieur **PASCHOU** Chaplain to the Earl of Albemarle, in his Geographical Treatise, pag. 86, informs us, was disannulled by the consistory of Hanover, December 28, 1694; and the Electress afterwards resided at the castle of Alen, separate from his late Majesty, till her death. His present Majesty **GEORGE AUGUSTUS** was born Octob. 30, 1683; and on September 2, 1705, was married to the present Queen **CAROLINE**, daughter of **JOHN-FREDERICK**, Margrave of Anspach. This Princess was born March 1, 1683, by whom his Majesty hath issue now living, 1. Prince **FREDERICK-LEWIS**, born the 19th of January, 1706. 2. The Princess **ANNE**, born 22 Octob. 1709. 3. The Princess **AMELIA-SOPHIA-ELEONORA**, born the 30th of May, 1711. 4. The Princess **CAROLINA-ELIZABETH**, born the 30th of May, 1713. And, 5. Prince **WILLIAM-AUGUSTUS**, born at Leicester-House on the 15th of April, 1721. The Princess **SOPHIA-DOROTHY**, the present Queen of Prussia, was born the 16th of March, 1687, and married to **FREDERICK II**, King of Prussia, the 28th of November 1706, by whom she hath had issue, 1. The Princess **FREDERICA-AUGUSTA-SOPHIA**, born anno 1709. 2. **CHARLES-FREDERICK**, Prince of Prussia and Orange, born anno 1712. 3. The Princess **LOUISA**, born anno 1714. His late Majesty King **GEORGE**, had also several brothers, most of whom died in the bed of honour in defence of the Empire; but **ERNEST-AUGUSTUS**, the present Duke of York, and Bishop of Osnabrug, born the 17th of September 1674, is still living.

The arms of the Duke of Brunswick are, Gules, two leopards, Or, languid, for Brunswick; Gules, a horse Argent, for Lower Saxony; Or, a lion rampant Azure, strew'd with hearts Gules, for Lunenburg; Argent, a branch of deers horns, for Reinstein; and the like Sable, for Blankenburg: and for Bremen, the arms are in a field Gules, a key Argent, to shew, says my author,

that they can open or shut the passage of the river Weser as they see fit.

The house of Brunswick was till lately divided into three branches, viz. those of Zell, Wolfembuttle and Hanover; Zell and Hanover we have seen united in the person of his late Majesty King **GEORGE**, but that of Wolfembuttle still remains separate and distinct, and is frequently of a different interest from that of Hanover; particularly at the breaking out of the war in the year 1702, we find the two Dukes of Wolfembuttle, **RODOLPHUS** and **ANTHONY ULRICK** (being brothers, and governing that duchy jointly) to take the part of France against the confederates; whereupon the Dukes of Zell and Hanover march'd against them, and excluded Duke **ULRICK**, who refused to abandon the French, from his share of the regency, and brought over Duke **RODOLPH** to the allies, leaving him in the sole possession of the territories of Wolfembuttle. But **RODOLPH** dying two or three years after, Duke **ANTHONY ULRICK** was restored to the whole dominions of Wolfembuttle; and in the year 1709, he renounced the Protestant religion, and was reconciled to the church of Rome, though he was before esteem'd the most steady to his principles of all the Lutheran Princes, and the most learned amongst them. It was by his influence also that his grand-daughter, the present Empress, daughter to Prince **LEWIS** of Wolfembuttle, his second son, was prevail'd on to turn Roman Catholic.

But as Duke **ULRICK** wanted neither sense, learning, or experience, and was exceedingly well versed in the controversial points between the Lutherans and the church of Rome, I am very far from thinking he was brought over to the Roman communion by the strength of their arguments. It is certain there were other very strong inducements to draw him to that side, namely, interest and ambition. He had formerly been deposed by a powerful relation, and seems to have been apprehensive of the like treatment again, which he could not take a more effectual way to prevent than by marrying his grand-daughter to the then King of Spain, brother and heir to the Emperor **JOSEPH**; he might expect also by this means, his posterity would one day succeed to the Imperial throne. The court of Wolfembuttle have indeed this last year enter'd into an alliance with that of Britain, a pension of twenty-five thousand pounds per annum must have a mighty influence on a little German Prince; but can it be supposed however he will totally abandon the Emperor's interest, if things should be brought to an extremity? Britain has better friends surely than those she purchases, or it would be easy to foretel her fate.

BREMEN and VERDEN.

THE duchy of Bremen is bounded by the river Elbe towards the north; by the territories of Lunenburg towards the east; by the river Weser on the south-west; and by the German Ocean towards the west; and is usually subdivided into, 1. Verden, situate on the confines of Lunenburg. 2. Bremen Proper, containing the territories of the city of Bremen. 3. Wurffland, situate on the sea-coast from the Weser to the mouth of the Elbe. 4. Hadelia, near the mouth of the Elbe, where stand the forts of Ritzenbottle and New Werck, subject to the city of Hamburg: another part of it, in which is the castle and town of Atterndorf, belongs to the duchy of Sax-Lawenburg. 5. Kedingerland, in which stands the town of Slade: and lastly, Altland or Oldland. The country of Bremen in general is either a barren sand, or a morass; though there are some fruitful meadows upon the banks of the Weser and the Elbe. It was antiently subject to the Archbishop of Bremen; but being conquer'd by the Swede in his German wars, was confirm'd to him by the treaty of Westphalia anno 1648, and the archbishoprick converted into a dukedom. These territories the Danes acquired the possession of in the late war; and by a treaty between Denmark and Brunswick, transfer'd them to that Elector in consideration of a sum of money: they were afterwards confirm'd to the house of Brunswick by Sweden in the year 1720, (as hath been already related in the history of Denmark) Sweden being then under the utmost consternation from the invasion and ravages of the Muscovites, and could only be relieved by the British fleet, which induced them to consent to the dismembring this duchy from their other dominions. Whether they will ever revive their claim to Bremen, time must shew; but I am sorry to observe we are already obliged to purchase their friendship at a very high rate.

The chief towns of this duchy are, 1. Bremen, situate in a plain on the river Weser, seventy miles north-west of Zell, and as many south-west of Hamburg, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees twenty minutes: it is strong by nature as well as art, the whole country round it being easily laid under water by cutting the banks of the Weser, which annually, like the Nile, it is said, overflows its banks, and enriches the sandy soil about it. The harbour is not fit to receive large vessels, the floods throwing up great banks of sand, which render the navigation to Bremen very dangerous; for which reason the city hath a custom-house six miles below it, where ships are unloaded, and the merchandize brought up in flat-bottom'd vessels.

Before the Swedes took possession of the country, Bremen was a free Imperial city, and one of the chief of the Hans-Towns, being very considerable for its trade; but the Swedes besieged it and deprived them of many of their antient privileges, which has probably occasion'd their trade to decline. The citizens are generally Calvinists, but the Swedes reserv'd the cathedral church for the Lutheran worship when they were in possession of it. In its flourishing state it was govern'd by its own magistrates, viz. four Burgomasters, and twenty-four Ratshera, or Senators, who were divided into four classes, one Burgomaster and six Ratshera being appointed to govern each quarter of the city. And here was one of the most celebrated universities in Germany. The commodities exported from Bremen are timber, wool and minerals; they have also an excellent way of dressing leather and cloth, which are therefore sent from other countries to be manufactured here. The exporting fish caught in the sea and Weser, is another branch of their trade: within the very walls of the town, it is said, many thousands of salmon and lampreys are caught; and being smoak-dry'd or pickled, are exported abroad. 2. Verden, formerly a Bishop's See, but secularized by the treaty of Westphalia, and made part of the new duchy of Bremen, stands about thirty miles to the eastward of Bremen, upon the river Aller, which falls into the Weser. It has had the misfortune to suffer pretty much in the German wars; and is not at present thought considerable enough by travellers to deserve a particular description, tho' it be the capital of a small territory which lies round about it. 3. Stade, antiently one of the Hans-Towns, situate on the river Zwinga near the Elbe, in a good air, about fifty miles north-east of Bremen, and twenty-four west of Hamburg: formerly reckon'd a very strong place, but was notwithstanding taken by the Swedes in one day anno 1645. It has a fort at the conjunction of the two rivers Zwinga and Elbe, which form a good harbour, and will admit of larger ships than that of Hamburg; and therefore, according to some, stands more convenient for the German trade; and since Britain and Bremen are under one sovereign, some projectors have propos'd the establishing a trade between them, which would certainly be an advantage to his Majesty's German dominions, if it could be effected, whatever it may be to Britain. But Harburg in Lunenburg, which stands close to the Elbe over against Hamburg, others have thought would make a more convenient mart: however, unless other nations could be brought into this project, it might be difficult to turn the current of trade from Hamburg; and the English would give an advantage to their rivals in commerce by attempting it, if they should not succeed.

CHAP. XV. Bremen and Verden. Buxtehude. Rottenburg. ceed. 4. Buxtehude, situate on the river Elbe near the Elbe, fifteen miles west of Hamburg, and as many east from Stade, in one of the most pleasant and fruitful countries in Germany, supplying Hamburg with great part of its provisions. 5. Rottenburg, a little city on the river Wien, fifteen miles north of Verden; a place of some trade, and well inhabited. 6. Otterburg, a little fortress, where the Archbishop had a palace, sixteen miles east of Bremen. 7. Rutzenbottle, a strong fortress at the mouth of the Elbe, belonging to the Hamburgers. And, 8. Bremerfurd, a wall'd town on the road from Bremen to Stade.

And thus I have taken a view of the circle of Lower Saxony, comprehending the duchies of Mecklenburg, Lawenburg, Holstein, Brunswick, Lunenburg, Bremen and Verden, (as to the bishoprick of Hildesheim, it is consider'd in another place) of which Lawenburg, the best part of Brunswick, with Lunenburg, Bremen and Verden, are now subject to his Majesty King GEORGE II, who has the absolute dominion of them. And as these countries are contiguous and have the advantage of lying upon the German Ocean, and of being wash'd by the rivers Elbe and Weser, the navigation of which they command; his German territories may be look'd upon to be as considerable as those of any Prince in Germany, especially in point of trade, which the ministry on that side the water, it is presum'd, will take care to improve to the best advantage, as the British do theirs: this must in time render his Majesty's German, as well as British subjects, a rich and flourishing people. We need only imitate our neighbours the Dutch in encouraging and supporting our merchants, and improving our fisheries, and we shall never want a brisk trade, or mariners to man the royal fleet. On the contrary, should we indolently lose all the advantages of our situation, and let our neighbours run away with every valuable branch of commerce; we shall soon become a contemptible people both in peace and war, and poverty overspread the face of the nation.

S U A B I A.

CHAP. XVI.

Treats of the circle of Suabia, or Suevia; and herein of the duchy of Wirtemberg; the marquisate of Baden; the Imperial cities of Augsburg, Ulm, &c.

Suabia circle.

SUABIA, Schwaben, or Suevia, is bounded by Franconia on the north; the duchy of Bavaria on the east; the county of Tyrol, and

the mountains of Switzerland on the south; and by Alsatia on the west: being about an hundred and thirty miles from east to west, and an hundred and ten from north to south. But when the Romans were first acquainted with this part of the world, the bounds of Suevia, Dr. NICHOLSON observes, were much larger; for it extended northward beyond the Baltick Sea to the utmost limits of Sweden, and westward to the German Ocean; comprehending, according to Tacitus, fifty-four different tribes of the Suevians, among which the chief were the Hermunduri, Narisci, Marcomanni, Quadi, Marisingi, Burii, Semnones, Lygii, Burgundiones, Gothones, Lemavii, or Heruli, Rugii, Carini, Longobardi, Deuringi, Cariones, Angli, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones, Nuithones, Osi, Gothini, and beyond the Baltick the Sitones and Suiones: from whence it is inferred, that Suevia and Germania were almost synonymous terms among the Romans to signify the same country; but afterwards the name of Suevi became appropriated to the Hermunduri, the most considerable of the Suevian nations, who fixed their seats in that part of Germany, now called Suabia or Schwabenland; and from a kingdom dwindled into a dukedom, after it was contracted into narrower bounds, and so continued for some ages. At present no Prince claims the whole, but it is shared among several petty sovereigns. The Dukes of Wirtemberg have a greater part than any other: the Austrian family also have considerable territories here, as well as the Elector of Bavaria, and the Marquisses of Baden, and the Imperial cities claim the remainder. And first, of the territories of the Dukes of Wirtemberg,

The duchy of Wirtemberg is bounded by the palatinate of the Rhine and Franconia on the north; by the bishoprick of Augsburg on the east; by the principality of Furstenburg towards the south; and by Baden on the west; being about seventy miles in length, and about as much in breadth. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Stuttgart, the capital of the duchy, and the Duke's usual residence, situate near the banks of the Neckar, forty miles east of Baden, and as many south of Heidelberg. The Duke's palace is said to be a noble structure, and the gardens about it exceeding fine; but the private houses of the citizens poor wooden buildings; the town is however much resorted to on account of its baths, famous for their healing qualities. 2. Tubingen, a well-built city, twenty miles to the southward of Stuttgart, at present most remarkable for its university, but according to tradition, was once the seat of the Emperor CARACALLA, who here entertain'd the Germans with publick games. 3. Retling, or Retlingen, an Imperial city under the protection of the Duke of Wirtemberg, situate in

CHAP. XVI. Suabia. The situation and extent. Antient Suevia, or Suabia.

Modern Suabia divided among several Princes and States.

Wirtemberg duchy.

Stuttgart City.

Tubingen.

Retlingen.

VI. in a plain twelve miles south-east of Tubingen, of which I meet with no further description. 4. Hailbron; or the fountain of health, so called from the virtues of its medicinal waters: a free Imperial city, situate on the Neckar, in a pleasant fruitful country, twenty-eight miles north of Stutgard; besides which, it is said, there are in this dukedom sixty cities, an hundred and fifty great towns, six hundred and forty villages, and fourteen abbeys; and the country in general, travellers relate, abounds in every thing that can afford profit or pleasure: vines flourish on their mountains, and their valleys are stock'd with corn and cattle; the bowels of the earth are rich in mines, and their forests furnish variety of game. The title of this Prince is Duke of Wirtemberg and Teck, Count of Montbelliard, Lord of Heidenham, &c. His office in the Empire is to carry the Imperial standard, which is Or, a baton Sable pointed Argent, with a spread eagle Sable. He is also Great Huntsman of the Empire, and joint director of the circle of Suabia, with the Bishop of Constance. The pedigree of this Prince will be found in the appendix, with those of the rest of the German Princes.

The Dukes of Wirtemberg have the privilege, it is said, that there lies no appeal from their courts to the Imperial chamber; but there is a supreme court at Tubingen, consisting of five Gentlemen, four Doctors of civil law, and four Burghers, who finally determine all controversies both civil and criminal: and a consistory of the clergy, who are Protestants, that with some lay-assessors learned in the ecclesiastical laws, determine all causes proper for their cognizance. The right of primogeniture is establish'd in the family of Wirtemberg, as in the rest of the Empire: the younger sons having some small appanages, and the daughters portions in money. The family is divided into several branches, viz. Wirtemberg, Stutgard, Neustadt, Montbelliard, Oels, Bernstadt and Weiling, of which none have the privilege of sitting in the Imperial Diets, but the Dukes of Stutgard and Montbelliard, who are both Protestants.

The marquissate of Baden is bounded by the palatinate of the Rhine on the north; by the Black Forest on the east; by Swisserland on the south; and by the Rhine, which divides it from Alsatia, on the west: being about ninety miles in length from north to south, but not above twenty in breadth in the widest part. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Baden, the capital of the marquissate, which takes its name from the multitude of hot baths about it, said to amount to near three hundred; situate in the latitude of forty-eight degrees, fifty minutes, about five miles from the eastern bank of the Rhine, twenty-five miles

south of Heidelberg, and twenty north-east of CHAP. Strasburg, upon a mountainous rocky ground, XVI. which renders the streets very uneven. These baths Suabia. are scalding hot, and issuing from rocks of salt alum and brimstone, taste strongly of those minerals. One of them called the Kettle, boils and bubbles up as if it stood over a hot furnace. Among other distempers, they are famous for curing the cramp and gout, on which account there is a great resort of quality there annually from Germany during the whole summer. The only public buildings here mention'd by travellers are, the Marquiss's palace, and the castle built on an adjoining hill. 2. Durlach, situate at the foot of Durlach. a mountain on the river Pfintz, twelve miles north of Baden, and twenty south of Heidelberg, and gives a title to the Marquiss of Baden Durlach, whose palace far exceeds that at Baden, being admired for the magnificence of the building. The streets also are strait and regular, and the private houses stately and uniform. The library, and the coins and medals in the Marquiss's cabinet are worth the viewing. 3. Stolhoffen, a little Stolhoffen. fortified town, naturally strong by its situation on a morass, lies five miles south-west of Baden, and half a league from the Rhine, famous for the lines thrown up here for the defence of the Empire. 4. Kheel, situate on the east side of the Rhine, Kheel. over against Strasburg, taken by the French in the late war, but restor'd to the Empire by the peace of Utrecht. 5. Pfortzheim, a small city at the con- Pfortzheim. fluence of the rivers Ens and Neckar, twenty miles south of Durlach, called antiently *Porta Hercynia*, being the entrance of the Black Forest, part of the Hercynian wood. 6. Baden Weiller, twelve Baden Weiller. miles south of Brisac, where are several hot baths, but not equal to those of Baden already mention'd. Hochburg, Rotel, Spanheim, Sufenburg and Muhlburg, have also been places of note on account of their castles or palaces which gave titles to some antient Princes of the Empire, and are therefore still recorded with the other titles of the Marquisses of Baden, but have nothing in them to deserve a particular description at this day: the castle of Rastat however, which stands a little to the northward of Baden, ought to be remember'd on account of the peace concluded there in the year 1714.

The Marquissate of Baden is a populous fruitful Soil and produce of the Marquissate. country, abounding in corn and wine, and venison and wild fowl are so plentiful in their forests, that it is the ordinary food of the peasants. The rivers Rhine, Ens, Wirmbz and Pfintz, which water this country, also yield them plenty of fish; and they have woods of chefnuts where they feed excellent bacon-hogs. Here are also quarries of marble of all colours, and free stone, with which materials the natives build handsome houses.

CHAP. houses at a small expence. They have also some
XVI. agate; and export great quantities of hemp and
Suabia. flax, which their country produces.

Branches of the house of Baden. The house of Baden is divided into two branches, viz. those of Baden-Baden and Baden-Dourlach. The territories of the Marquiss of Baden-Baden are the upper marquissate of Baden, part of the county of Eberstein, half the county of Spanheim, the lordship of Usenburg, the earldom and castle of Guntzburg, and the fort of Khiel. The territories of the Marquiss of Baden-Dourlach are the lower marquissate of Baden, the marquissate of Hochberg, the landgravate of Sufenberg, the lordships of Baden-Weiler, Rotelin, Lhar and Muhlberg. Each of their titles are the same, viz. Marquiss of Baden and Hochberg, Landgrave of Sufenberg, Count of Spanheim and Eberstein, and Lord of Rotelin, Baden-Weiler, Lahr and Muhlberg. The Princes of Baden-Baden are Roman Catholics, and those of Baden-Dourlach Protestants. Their respective pedigrees and issue will be found in the appendix. I proceed next to the description of the Imperial cities and other places in the circle of Suabia which have not been treated of already.

Augsburg city.

1. Augsburg, a free Imperial city, named *Augusta Vindelicorum*, from AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, in whose reign the Romans planted a colony here among the Vindelini, is situate in the latitude of forty-eight degrees, twenty-four minutes, near the confines of Bavaria, at the conflux of the rivers Lech and Wardar, sixty miles south-west of Ratisbon, and twenty-five south of Donawert. It is a large populous well-built city, esteem'd the capital of Suabia, furnish'd with many noble fountains, adorn'd with brazen statues of antient Heroes and Emperors, and some valuable monuments of antiquity. The cathedral, the town-hall, and the two arsenals, are magnificent buildings; and their hospitals much admired for their convenience and large endowments, particularly that built by the family of the FUGGERS, Lords of the adjacent country, which contains an hundred and six houses, making four cross streets, inhabited by poor people, who have annual pensions settled on them. The mechanicks, especially the gold-smiths of this city, are excellent artists, and their work vendd in several parts of Europe. There are more Lutherans than Papists in this town, who live in a tolerable good understanding, their poor being provided for in the same hospitals; and to avoid giving offence, it is said, the Lutherans stand with their hats off when the host passes by. There is no place where the citizens have such a variety of habits as here, which are so regulated by the magistrates that every person's quality and religion may be known by their dress. Here it was that the Protestant Princes presented their confession of faith to the Emperor CHARLES V,

in the Diet held anno 1530, from thence called CHAP. the Augsburg confession, which occasioned a civil XVI. war in the Empire that lasted some years; but it Suabia. was at length agreed at a Diet held in this city in the year 1555, that the Protestants should enjoy the free exercise of their religion in the Empire. The magistracy of Augsburg have since been composed of about an equal number of Protestants and Papists, their senate consisting of twenty three Roman Catholics, and twenty two Lutherans; and their Common Council of an hundred and fifty of each; the executive power being in the Senate, and the legislative authority in both bodies. The fortifications of this town don't appear to be very strong, for the Duke of Bavaria took it in the year 1704, after a siege of thirteen days: and upon the loss of the battle of Hochstet the same year, he withdrew his garrison out of the place, as not thinking it tenable, whereupon the citizens desir'd the confederates to take them into their protection.

The next most considerable city in Suabia is, 2. Ulm, an Imperial city also situate on the Danube, Ulm. where it unites with the Iller, and first becomes navigable for considerable vessels; being about forty miles west of Augsburg. The town is large and populous, and regularly fortified; but what is most admired by travellers is the cathedral, not to be equall'd in Germany, 'tis said, but by that of Strasburg. Here are abundance of exquisite mechanicks also, especially in clock-work, and the town has a brisk trade with Bavaria and Austria, from whence they receive corn, salt and iron by the Danube; exporting linnen-cloth and cottons in return. The government of this city is lodged in one and forty Aldermen, chosen out of the nobility and the principal burghers; and out of the nobility they annually elect two bailiffs, who preside in their councils. The Reformation prevail'd here about the year 1529, the magistrates at this day being all Lutherans, as are most of the inhabitants. The territories belonging to this city contain no less than forty bailiwicks and lordships, most of them purchased by the city of the necessitous nobility in their neighbourhood. Ulm was taken by the Duke of Bavaria in the year 1702, but he was obliged to quit it again soon after his defeat at Hochstet in the year 1704, whereby the city recover'd its liberties again; but was miserably ransack'd by that Duke while he was in possession of it. 3. Bibrach, another an- Bibrach. tient Imperial city, which stands on the river Rufs, twenty miles south of Ulm, in a fruitful valley encompass'd with pleasant fields and gardens; most remarkable for its hot bath, which brings a great concourse of people thither annually at the season. The magistrates are one half Protestants and the other Papists, and the inhabitants a mixture of both. 4. Bucaw, a little Imperial city, Bucaw. ten

ten miles south-west of Bibrach; remarkable for its nunnery, if it may be called such, when all the nuns, except the Lady Abbess, have the liberty of marrying, and are all of noble families. This Abbess is one of those who is a Princess of the Empire, and has a vote in the Diet by her proxy. 5. Memminghen, a large city on the river Bach, seventeen miles south-east of Bibrach; the inhabitants a mixture of Lutherans and Papists, whose principal trade is in linnen, cotton and paper, the last esteem'd the best in Germany; but they come far short of the French and Hollanders in the paper manufacture. 6. Leutkirk, a little neat Imperial city, on a small river, twelve miles south-west of Memminghen, a great thoroughfare from Italy to Germany; the magistrates and people being a mixture of Lutherans and Papists. They have a tolerable good trade in linnen-cloth, corn and flax; and the citizens have the privilege of digging the mines which lie about the place. 7. Kempten, one of the most antient cities of Germany; formerly the residence of the Dukes of Suabia, made Imperial by HENRY IV, who granted them the privilege of sealing their instruments with the spread eagle of the Empire half Or, half Sable, crown'd with the imperial crown. It stands about fifteen miles south of Memminghen on the same road from Italy; and the inhabitants being generally weavers, have a good trade in linnen-cloth, as they have also in salt, which is brought from Tyrol and Switzerland hither, and vend'd in Germany. 9. Isne, or Eisna, situate on a little river of the same name, twelve miles to the southward of Kempten, formerly a Roman colony, as appears by an old marble inscription, purporting, that the highway between this city and Kempten was repaired by SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS and M. ANTONINUS. They have neither corn, wine or cattle in the neighbouring country, and seldom attempt to sow any thing but beans, oats, rape-seed and flax; all other necessities are imported from Italy, or other parts of Germany. It is, however, said to be a flourishing town, and well built, having been burnt down in the last century. 10. Lindaw, an Imperial city, standing partly on the continent, and partly on an island in the lake of Constance, united by a stone bridge near three hundred paces long; remarkable for a nunnery govern'd by an Abbess who is a Princess of the Empire, and is Sovereign of the territories belonging to the nunnery. The nuns are all of noble families, and have the liberty of marrying. The city has a pleasant healthful situation, and by the lake and the Rhine, which runs through it, has an opportunity of importing and exporting merchandize at very easy rates. The magistrates and most of the natives are Lutherans. 11. Bergentz, or Bregentz, situate also on the lake of Constance, five miles south-

east of Lindaw; formerly a great city, and still the capital of a county of the same name; but at present an inconsiderable town. 12. Ravensspurg, or Graven-spurg, twenty miles west of Leutkirk, and as much south of Bucaw; a well-built Imperial city, standing on a little river which falls into the lake of Constance. The town-hall, and some of their churches said to be handsome structures; and there is a watch-tower in the middle of the town with an inscription on it, importing that the old tower being blown down by a whirl-wind, the watchman who stood at the top of it to give notice of the time of the day or night once in three or four hours by a trumpet, as is the custom in other German towns, received no hurt by the fall, tho' his wife and son were both kill'd. 13. Altorf, an antient town two miles from Ravensspurg, belonging to the house of Austria at present; but formerly had an Earl of its own, from whom descended the antient Dukes of Bavaria, and the present Dukes of Brunswick; and here stood the antient monastery and chapel of St. OSWALD, the burying place of the Guelphian family. Altorf is now the usual residence of the Emperor's Lieutenant, or High Commissioner for Suabia, who here holds a court of judicature, and receives appeals from the Imperial cities in this Circle. 14. Wangen, a small Imperial city, ten miles north-east of Lindaw, whose trade is chiefly in flax and paper. 15. Constance, or Costnitz, situate by some the capital of the Imperial Suabia, situate on the south-west part of the lake of the same name, in the latitude of forty-seven degrees ten minutes, eight miles east of Uberlingen, and twelve west of Bucaw. The lake whereon it stands, now called Constance, or the Bodensee, was antiently nam'd *Lacus Brigantinus*, from the city Bregentz, above mention'd, situate upon it. This is the largest lake in Germany, extending one and twenty miles in length, and eight or ten in breadth, the country bordering upon it is frequently called Hegow. The Rhine, which runs through this lake, has so strong a current, that 'tis said it does not mix with the waters in it. The town of Constance is well built, populous, and finely situated, but not very large: it has a brisk trade from the conveniency of water-carriage along the lake and the Rhine. It retains still some of the privileges of an Imperial city; but the Emperor took it at the reformation, and appointed them a governour, on account of their refusing, as the rest of the German cities did, to accept of the Interim, a scheme drawn up by himself, anno 1534, for reconciling the Roman Catholick and Lutheran principles. The Bishop of this place is a Prince of the Empire, and one of the directors of the Circle of Suabia, but suffragan to the Archbishop of Mentz. The Emperor SIGISMUND called a council, in the year 1414, for preventing a schism

CHAP.

XVI.

Suabia.

Ravensspurg.

Altorf.

Wangen.

Constance.

A Council
held here.
Three Popes
at once.

in

CHAP. XVII. in the church, on account of three Popes pretending to the infallible chair at the same time, viz. **Suabia.** **JOHN**, set up by the Italians; **GREGORY**, by the French; and **BENEDICT**, by the Spaniards; who were all summon'd to attend the council: however, none but **JOHN** appear'd; and finding an inclination in the council to make him a prisoner he fled from the city; but being apprehended at Friburg, and brought back, he was depos'd, and committed to prison. The same sentence pass'd against the two absent pretenders; and **MARTIN V.** was afterwards elected Pope; in which choice the Emperor and all Christendom acquiesced. In the eighth session of this council **Dr. JOHN WICKLIFF** of Oxford, and his doctrines, were condemn'd as heretical, and his bones order'd to be dug up and burnt, forty years after his death. In the fifteenth session **JOHN HUSS** was condemn'd, and deliver'd over to the secular power to be burnt, though he had the Emperor's letters of safe-conduct. And the same sentence pass'd upon **JEROME** of Prague, who was likewise burnt in the same city; and the natives still shew the place to strangers who visit them. This council lasted four years, during which time it is observ'd, there were in this little city four Patriarchs, twenty-nine Cardinals, three hundred and forty-six Archbishops and Bishops, five hundred and sixty-four Abbots and Doctors, ten thousand secular Princes and Noblemen, four hundred and fifty common Whores, and three hundred and twenty Fiddlers. 16. **Buchorn**, situate on the same lake, twelve miles north-west of Lindaw, so call'd from the woods of beeches near it; formerly subject to its own Earl, but now part of the Austrian dominions, and made dependent on the city of Uberlingen. It is a small city, but has a pretty good trade by means of the lake, their vessels continually passing and repassing with merchandize between Suabia and Switzerland. 17. **Uberlingen**, a city on the Bodensea, or lake of Constance, twenty-seven miles north-west of Lindaw, situate on the top of a rock, and surrounded with vineyards, whose situation seem'd so pleasant to the antient Dukes of Suabia, that they made it their usual residence. It has at present a pretty brisk trade, and is famous for its mineral waters, which cure the stone and other distempers, and in twice or thrice washing take off all warts. The hospital in this town is the best endow'd of any in Suabia; and the people so rich, that they contribute, 'tis said, as much to the general charges of the Empire as many of the German Princes. 18. **Ratolfzell**, or *Cella Ratolfi*, which communicates its name to that part of the lake called the Celler-Sea, on which it is situated, subject at this day to the house of Austria.

Besides the principalities and towns already mention'd, I find the following are deem'd part of the Circle of Suabia; 1. The marquissate of Burgaw,

lying on the south side of the Danube, extending thirty miles in length, and as much in breadth, under the dominion of the house of Austria; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Burgaw, situate on the Mindel, twenty miles north-west of Augsburg. 2. Guntzburg, a small city on the Danube, eight miles north-west of Burgaw, with a castle adjoining to it, where the Imperial Governour resides.

2. The landgravate of Nellenburg, subject also to the Emperor, twenty-seven miles long and twelve broad, the chief town whereof is Nellenburg, twelve miles north-west of Uberlingen.

3. The county of Hohenburg, situate between the duchy of Wirtemberg and the principality of Furstenburg, about twenty-four miles long and twenty broad; the chief towns whereof are Hohenburg, Rotenburg, and Willengen, subject to the house of Austria; and three Imperial or free cities near the Rhine, viz. Offenburg or Offingen, Zell, and Gongenback.

4. The Brisgow, subject also to the house of Austria, and lies near the Rhine, between Hohenburg and Furstenburg; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Friburg, situate on a hill near the river Treisem, at the entrance of the Black Forest, thirty miles south of Strasburg, esteem'd a strong place, and very populous. The mechanicks here are expert in polishing precious stones, found in Lorrain and the neighbouring countries. This town has been more than once taken by the French in the late wars; but surrender'd to the Imperialists again by subsequent treaties, and particularly by the treaty of Baden, anno 1714, and is now subject to the Emperor. 2. Brisac, usually called Old Brisac, to distinguish it from another town opposite to it on the western side of the Rhine, which the French built some few years since, giving it the name of New Brisac. The town of Old Brisac is situated on the top of a round hill, on the east side of the Rhine, thirty miles to the southward of Strasburg, and ten west of Friburg, reckon'd a strong place, but taken by the French in the year 1703, after thirteen days open trenches; it was however restor'd to the Emperor by the treaty of Baden, anno 1714, and now remains in his possession.

The four forest towns in Suabia also belong to the house of Austria, and are, 1. Rheinfeld, a small city, having a bridge over the Rhine, twenty-eight miles south of Brisac, and eight to the eastward of Basle in Switzerland. 2. Seckinghen, in an island of the Rhine, eight miles east of Rheinfeld. 3. Laufenburg, divided into two parts by the Rhine, situate seven miles east of Seckinghen. And, 4. Waldhust, or Waldshut, situate on the conflux of the Schult and Rhine.

The principality of Furstemburg extends seventy miles in length, lying on both sides of the Danube, near its source, but is very narrow; the chief

Wickliff,
John Huss,
&c. condemn'd by
the council
of Con-
stance.

Buchorn.

Uberlingen.

Ratolfzell.

Burgaw
marquissate.

CHAP. XVII.
Suabia.

Burgaw

Guntzburg

Nellenburg
landgrave
and city.

Hohenburg
county
city.

Offenburg
&c.

The
Brisgow.

Friburg

Brisac

Forest
town.

Rheinfeld

Seckinghen

Laufenburg

Waldhust

Furstemburg
principality

city.

CHAP. XVII. **Suabia.** **Oettingen principality and town.**
 A P. town whereof is also named Furstemburg, situate on the south side of the river, twenty miles north of Schaffhausen in Switzerland, and thirty-five east of Brisac. The village of Tone Essingen, where the Danube rises, is situate in this county. The Prince of Furstemburg is a Count of the Empire, of a very antient family.

county town of The county of Sultz is situate on the confines of Zurich and Schaffhausen in Switzerland, the chief town whereof also is named Sultz, which gives the title of Count to the Prince of this county.

county Ems. The county of Ems, which takes its name from a castle near the Rhine that gives title to a Count of the Empire, lies about ten miles to the southward of Bregentz, being about ten miles long, and five broad.

county Montfort. The county of Montfort, twelve miles long, and six broad, lies to the southward of Ems, on the confines of St. Gall and Appenzel, and gives the title of Count to the family of Montfort.

Walzburg. The county of Walzburg lies south of Ravensprug, extending twenty miles in length, and eighteen in breadth, comprehending the lordships of Walsee, Wurtzback, Friedburg, Sheer, and the fine castle of Walzburg, which gives a title to the family who are Princes of it.

Kingseck. The county of Konigseck, which gives title to a Count of the antient family of the Guelphs, lies to the north-west of Walzburg, the chief town whereof is of the same name, an open place, of which travellers give no further description.

Kirkburg. The county of Kirkburg, of which the town of Kirkburg is the capital, gives title also to a Count, and lies southward of Ulm, being about eighteen miles long, and eight broad.

Mindelheim principality. The principality of Mindelheim, situate in the Algow, between the bishoprick of Augsburg and the abbacy of Kempten, eighteen miles long, and ten or fifteen broad, for the breadth is various, now gives the title of Prince to the family of Marlborough; with which the late Duke was honour'd on the victory he obtain'd over the French at Hochstet, and the heir of that family is thereby entitled to a seat in the Imperial Diet. The capital of this principality, which gives its name to it, is an open town, situate eighteen miles north of Memmingen, and twenty-five south of Augsburg.

Hohenzollern principality. The principality of Hohenzollern, which derives its name from the castle of Zollern, is situated between the principality of Furstemburg and the duchy of Wirtemberg, thirty miles in length, and eight or ten in breadth, govern'd by its own Prince, who is Chamberlain of the Empire, and Vicar to the Elector of Brandenburg in that office. The chief places are Heckingen, Hagerlach, Sigmaringen, and the castle of Zollern; of which the chief is Heckingen, a small city,

which lies between the Danube and the Neckar, eight miles south of Tubingen.

The principality of Oettingen lies between the marquisate of Anspach and the duchy of Newburg, and is near thirty miles long and eighteen broad, the chief places whereof are Oettingen, Allerheimb, Wallerstein, Nordlinghen, Dunkelpihel, and Gingen, the principal whereof are, 1. Oettingen, situate on the river Wernitz, fifteen miles north-west of Danawert. 2. Nordlingen, a small Imperial city, on the river Eyer, eight miles north of Blenheim, famous for two battles fought there in the years 1634 and 1646.

The county of Lowenstein lies near the river Neckar, whose Sovereign is a Count of the Palatine family.

The county of Gravenack lies between the duchy of Wirtemberg, and the principality of Hohenzollern, and gives a title to a Count of the Empire, who is Sovereign of it. The chief places in it are Eglingen, a small city near Nordlingen, and Gravenack, a large open town, defended by a castle, the usual residence of the Count.

UPPER RHINE.

CHAP. XVIII.

Treats of the Circle of the Upper Rhine, comprehending the landgravates of Hesse, Wetteravia, Alsatia, and the duchy of Lorrain.

Upper Rhine. **Hesse landgravate.** **The situation and extent.**
THE Circle of the Upper Rhine is usually divided into three parts, viz. 1. The landgravates of Hesse and the Wetterau. 2. The landgravate of Alsatia. And, 3. The duchy of Lorrain.

1. Hassia, or Hesse, is bounded by Brunswick on the north; by Thuringia towards the east; by the river Maine and Franconia on the south; and by the bishopricks of Mentz and Treves, and the palatinate of the Rhine on the west; extending about an hundred miles from east to west, and about as far from north to south.

The air of this country is cold, but healthful, and in some parts fruitful in corn and wine, especially near the rivers Rhine and Lech. In their plains also are numerous flocks of sheep, which yield the finest wool in Germany, which is bought up even by the English merchants, as equal if not preferable to their own; but great part of the country however is cover'd by woods and forests, especially towards the north, which are well stock'd with deer, and all manner of game: and in their mountains are found mines of copper and lead that yield a considerable profit. This country is held to be antiently the seat of the Catti, mention'd by Tacitus in the first book of his annals. The Christian

CHAP. XVIII. Christian religion was first planted here about the year 730, by **WINEFRID**, an English Saxon, who was afterwards advanc'd to the bishoprick of Upper Rhine. **Mentz.** **PHILIP** the Magnanimous, who succeeded to the landgravate of Hesse, anno 1509, establish'd the reformation according to **LUTHER**'s model; and in the year 1530, he form'd a confederacy of the Protestant Princes at Smalcald, for the defence of their religion, against the Emperor **CHARLES V.** from the place of the treaty call'd the Smalcaldick league. But the Protestant Princes had but ill success in this war, the Duke of Saxony, as well as the Landgrave of Hesse, being made prisoners, and oblig'd to submit to such terms as the Emperor thought fit to impose upon them. The Landgrave **LEWIS**, son of **PHILIP** the Magnanimous, dying without issue, anno 1604, divided his territories between his two nephews, **MAURICE** and **LEWIS**; and **MAURICE** having shewn an inclination to Calvinism, he provided by his will, that if he should endeavour any alteration of the established religion in his territories, he should be depriv'd of his share in them. **MAURICE** nevertheless, soon after his uncle's death, oblig'd his subjects to embrace Calvinism; whereupon **LEWIS** appeal'd to the Emperor, and procuring a decree against his brother, was put into possession of the whole landgravate; whereupon Lutheranism was again establish'd, and continued so till **AMELIA-ELIZABETH**, mother and Guardian to **WILLIAM VI.** having a great standing army, compell'd the natives of Hesse to profess Calvinism again, about the year 1666, as the greatest part of this country do at present. High and Low Dutch are spoken indifferently in Hesse, occasion'd by its situation between the Upper and Lower Saxony; for in the Upper Saxony High-Dutch is spoken in the greatest purity, and Low-Dutch generally in the other.

Division of
the country.

Hesse is divided into, 1. Hesse Proper. And, 2. Veteravia, or the Weterau. In Hesse Proper are, 1. The landgravate of Hesse-Cassel. 2. The landgravate of Hesse-Darmstadt, and the territories belonging to the other branches of this family. 3. The county of Waldeck. 4. The territories of the abbeyes of Fuld and Hirschfeld. 5. The county of Solms. 6. The Imperial cities of Wetlar and Friedburg.

Chief towns.
Cassel.

In Hesse Proper the chief towns are, 1. Cassel, the capital of Hattia, the seat of the Landgrave or Prince, to whom it gives title, situate on the river Fulda, in a pleasant fruitful plain, in the latitude of fifty-one degrees twenty minutes, forty miles south-east of Paderborn, and is suppos'd to stand in the place where **DRUSUS** built his *Castellum Cattorum*. It has at present four churches, the principal whereof is that of St. **MARTIN**, formerly the cathedral, in which are the monuments of the Landgraves, with their busts in copper and

marble. The streets of this city are broad, and the market-places spacious, but most of the houses are timber-buildings. The citizens have a good trade, especially of wool and woollen manufactures, and are very well supply'd with provisions of all kinds. The palace, which is separated from the rest of the town, is strongly fortified, and may be called a citadel; it is admir'd for the many noble apartments within it, and the fine prospect it has of the adjoining country, there being no less than sixty large towns to be seen from its walls. 2. Marburg, pleasantly situated on the river Lahn, forty miles south-west of Cassel, and as many north-east of Frankfort upon the Maine, a fortified town, and defended also by a castle. Here is held the supreme court of justice for all the natives of Cassel, who may appeal from other jurisdictions to this, which consists of a President and six Assessors. Here is also a university, one of the best in Germany, founded about the year 1426. 3. Darmstadt, the capital of the landgravate of that name, and the usual residence of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, situate on a small river, ten miles to the eastward of the Rhine, and fifteen south of Frankfort on the Maine; a small compact and well-built town, and the Landgrave's palace, a magnificent structure, surrounded with a most elegant garden; besides which, he has two other country seats, about two miles distant each from Darmstadt, either of them fit to entertain a Prince. 4. The little town of Catzenellebogen, which communicates its name to a county on the banks of the Rhine, is situated ten miles east of Nassau, and twenty north-west of Mentz. The property of this town and county was long disputed between the Earls of Nassau and the Landgraves of Hesse; but it was at length surrender'd by **WILLIAM** of Nassau to **PHILIP** Landgrave of Hesse, at the treaty of Passau, in consideration of sixty thousand crowns, though the family of Nassau still retain the title of Counts of Catzenellebogen. 5. Smalcald, situate on a rivulet of the same name, fifty miles south-east of Cassel, a well-built town, and considerable for the iron-mines in the neighbourhood of it, which employ vast numbers of smiths and artificers in this town, the iron ware made here being vend'd all over the Empire. But what has render'd this town most famous is, the congress of the Protestant Princes, held here between the years 1530 and 1538, to form a confederacy for their mutual defence against the Emperor; in which they had ill success at first, but at length procur'd the liberty of professing the Lutheran religion in their respective territories. 6. Schwalbach, ten miles north of Mentz, famous for its baths, which, according to the accounts of them, cure almost every distemper; at least they have obtain'd so great a reputation, as to draw great numbers of

CHAP. XVIII.
Upper
Rhine.

Marburg.

Darmstadt.

Catzenellebogen town
and county.

Smalcald.

Schwalbach.

the

AP. the German nobility and gentry hither annually at the season. From one of the springs, the streams of vitriol, sulphur, and other minerals rise with that force, that they will almost choak a person who holds his head over them; and though the waters seem to boil continually, they are so cold that the natives usually cool their wine in them in summer. At certain times it throws up its waters with that vehemency, that in a few minutes the fountain is emptied, and does not recover its usual quantity of water in some days after; which sudden evacuation is said to proceed from a violent eruption of subterraneous spirits, which sometimes burst out like a storm of wind. 7. Embs, another town famous for its baths, impregnated with vitriol, allum, iron, and sulphur, which cure the gout, shortness of breath, weaknesses in the limbs, and a multitude of other distempers. 8. Rotenburg, pleasantly situated on the river Fulda, thirty miles south-east of Cassel, considerable for its collegiate church, consisting of a Dean, and twenty Canons, richly endow'd. 9. Homburg, twenty-five miles south of Cassel, and twelve to the westward of Rotenburg. 10. Alsfeld, fifteen miles to the east of Marburg, one of the antientest towns in Hesse; but taken notice of for little at present but its fine stadt-house.

The county of Waldeck, which geographers make a part of Hesse, is bounded on the north by the bishoprick of Paderborn; on the east and south by other provinces of Hesse; and on the west by the territories of Cologne; being about twenty-four miles in breadth, and as much in length. It is sufficiently fruitful in corn, and has wine enough for the use of the natives; some mines also they have, and plenty of sheep and venison. The chief town whereof is Waldeck, situate on the top of a high hill, thirty miles to the northward of Marburg; other towns of any note in this county are Wildenburg, Corbach, and Eyenburg.

The territories of the abbey of Fuld, sometimes called the country of Buchen, or Fagonia, lie to the northward of Hanau, and are about thirty miles in length, esteem'd a very rich country; the chief town whereof is Fuld, situate on a river of the same name, forty miles to the eastward of Marburg; here is one of the noblest monasteries in Europe, of the Benedictine Order, founded by St. BONIFACE, in the year 744, and endow'd afterwards with large privileges by several Emperors. The Abbot is a Prince of the Empire, and takes place in all general Diets at the Emperor's feet; he is Lord both of the town and country about it, and Primate of all the Abbots in Germany, and depends immediately on the Pope. The great church dedicated to St. BONIFACE is esteem'd a magnificent structure, and shews a great deal of the antient architecture. They have among their antiquities three manuscripts, contain-

ing the New Testament compleat; the four Evangelists distinct, and a treatise of the Trinity, which, according to tradition, were all written by St. BONIFACE. Other towns of any note in the territory of Fulda are Hamelburg, Bruckennau and Hunfield.

The town and monastery of Hirschfield stand twenty miles north of Fuld upon the same river. This convent was held to be one of the noblest structures in the Empire. The territories belonging to it are about twelve miles long, and as many broad; but these, with the other revenues belonging to it, were at the reformation seculariz'd, as 'tis called, and the Landgraves of Hesse enjoy them as administrators of Hirschfield to this day: for it seems at the reformation, when any temporal Prince seiz'd on a bishoprick or abbey in Germany, he called himself Administrator of it: and all the Protestant Princes confederating together, procur'd these ecclesiastical estates to be confirm'd to them by subsequent treaties with the Emperor, and the Catholick Princes of the Empire.

The county of Solms situate on the south of Hesse Marburg, is subject to its own Prince; the chief town whereof is of the same name, fifteen miles south-west of Marburg: the castle of Brunnsfeld, fifteen miles to the southward of Solms, being the usual residence of the Count. The Imperial city of Wetlar stands on the river Lohn, eighteen miles south-west of Marburg, and is remarkable for little, but the Imperial chamber's being remov'd hither after the French destroy'd Spire; it is by some placed in Weteravia, as well as the Imperial city of Friedburg, which stands fifteen miles to the south of Wetlar, and twelve north of Francfort, at the foot of a ridge of hills, called De Hohe, a rich town of good trade; where some of the German Emperors have formerly resided. The other towns of most note in Hesse, are Ziegenheim, the capital of a little county of the same name; Hazfeld, capital also of a county; Fritzlar, Frankenburg, Gießen, Granenburg, Nidden, Geraw, St. Goar, Wied, Sayn, Isenburg, Rumkel, Eschwege, Wilzenhausen, Suntra and Geysmar.

I come next to that part of Hesse which goes under the name of Veteravia, or the Weterau, which some reckon a distinct country from Hesse, the Landgraves being Sovereigns but of very little of it. The name Weterau is suppos'd to be derived from the river Wetter, which runs thro' part of the country, and it is bounded by Hesse Proper on the north; the county of Reineck on the east; by the river Maine on the south; and by the Rhine on the west: being about an hundred miles in length, and fifty in breadth. It yields both corn and wine, and is by some esteem'd one of the most fruitful countries of Germany; the

CHAP. XVIII. counties of Hanau and Nassau take up the greatest part of it. The county of Hanau is bounded on the north and east by the territories of the abby of Fuld, and by the dominions of the house of

County and town of Hanau. Nassau towards the west, extending north-east from the river Maine about forty miles, and is about fifteen in breadth, and govern'd by its own Earl: the chief town whereof is Hanau, pleasantly situated on the river Kuntz, ten miles to the eastward of Frankfort; the town is well-built and uniform, and has a very good trade, and the fortifications about it are after the modern way. **Budingen and Isenburg.** 2. Budingen, situate on the river Soam, five miles north of Hanau, a large city with a fine castle belonging to it, the capital of a county twenty miles long and eight broad, sometimes called the county of Upper Isenburg. **Gelnhausen.** 3. Gelnhausen, an Imperial city, twelve miles north-east of Hanau, a place of little trade at present, but before the civil wars in Germany of some reputation, being inhabited by many of the German nobility and gentry.

County of Nassau. The county of Nassau, strictly taken, is but of small extent, but in the last age grew up into a considerable principality, by the accession of the counties of Weilburg, Idstein, Wisbaden, Dillenburg, Beilstein, Gleiburg, Siegen, and Hadamar, which together are usually called the county of Nassau-Catzenellebogen. The several districts may be known, according to a late Writer, by their different soils and productions. Dietz, says he, is rocky and mountainous, and yields corn, wine, and venison. The county of Westerwald affords fat pastures, and a large breed of cattle. In Siegen and Dillenburg they have mines of iron, lead, copper, and other metals. And at Frensburg they make the greatest part of the steel which furnishes the German Empire. The chief towns belonging to the dominions of Nassau, are,

Nassau town. 1. Nassau-Nassovia, a little town and country, situate on the river Lohn, eight miles east of the Rhine, and twelve south-east of Coblenz, heretofore the seat of the first branch of the family of Nassau. **Dillenburg.** 2. Dillenburg, which gives name to a county situate on the river Dilla, from whence it derives its name, sixteen miles west of Marburg, defended by a castle which stands upon an adjoining hill, formerly the seat of the Counts of Dillenburg, a branch of the family of Nassau; it is a town of some trade, which consists in cattle and woollen manufactures. **Siegen.** 3. Siegen, the capital also of a county, situate on a high rock, and regularly fortified, thirty miles north-east of Nassau, gives a title to another branch of this family; here is a university, and an academy for training up young gentlemen in martial exercises, and a little distance from the city is a very good iron-mine. **Herborn.** 4. Herborn, two or three English miles below Dillenburg, on the same river, an university also, which

has some few exhibitions for poor scholars settled on the dissolution of monasteries at the reformation: the citizens have a tolerable trade in woollen cloth, which is wrought here. **Beilstein,** an old town, which gives name to a county, and was the inheritance of a younger branch of the family of Nassau, situate among rocks and mountains, about ten miles to the south of Herborn. **Dietz,** pleasantly situated on the banks of the Lohn, ten miles east of Nassau, the capital also of a county. **Wisbaden,** the capital of a county, situate five miles north of Mentz, and twenty south-east of Nassau, not very large, but much frequented on account of its baths. In these waters there may very sensibly be discern'd by the taste four minerals, as sulphur, allom, salt, and salt-petre; the first of which is most predominant, and renders the waters as hot as any in Germany. **Hadamar,** twenty miles north of Mentz, gives title to a Prince of the family of Nassau. The other towns mention'd by travellers in Nassau, are Idstein, Weilburg, and Hager, but of these I meet with nothing particular. Having taken a view of the towns in Hesse and Weteravia, it may be proper to enquire into the families of those Princes to whom most of them are subject, and these are the Princes of Hesse and the Princes of Nassau.

The Princes of Hesse antiently enjoy'd no other title than that of Schelt-Graven, or the lowest degree of Counts; the country of Hesse being then part of the principality of Thuringia. **LEWIS III.** was first created Landgrave of Hesse: **PHILIP** the Magnanimous of this family form'd the Smalcaldick league above-mention'd, about the year 1537, being a confederacy of all the Protestant Princes of the Empire against the Emperor **CHARLES V.** **CHARLES**, the late Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was esteem'd a very brave Prince; he was a general in the confederate army in the war between the allies and France, in the reign of **WILLIAM III.** between whom and the Landgrave, there seem'd to be very great intimacy. This Prince was born anno 1654, and married **MARY-AMELIA**, sister to **CASIMIR** late Duke of Courland, anno 1673; by whom he had issue **FREDERICK**, the present Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and King of Sweden, born anno 1676, and married 1699, to **SOPHIA-CHARLOTTE**, daughter to the late Elector of Brandenburg; since whose death he married the Princess **ULRICA ELEONORA**, now Queen of Sweden, anno 1715, and at her request was chosen King of Sweden, anno 1720, but has no issue either by his former consort or this: He is the eldest branch of the house of Hesse-Cassel, who, next to the Brandenburger, have been the greatest patrons of Calvinism in the Empire; but upon his accession to the throne of Sweden, he was compell'd by the States to renounce

CHAP. XVIII. Calvinism, and swear to promote Lutheranism with equal zeal; and this I do not see many Princes of that persuasion scruple when there is a crown in view, tho' till interest open their eyes, they persecute the Lutherans with as much passion as they would a Papist or an infidel: the territories possessed by this Prince are the lower landgravate of Hesse, in which are Cassel Zigenheim, and the lordship of Pless. 2. Marburg in the upper landgravate. 3. The principality of Hirschfeld. 4. Part of the county of Catzenellebogen. 5. The county of Scawenburg. 6. Smalcald in the county of Henneburg. And 7. the bailiwicks of Rottenburg and Saxenhagen.

Another branch of the house of Hesse is that of the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstat, a little inferior in point of territories to that of Hesse Cassel, for the present Landgrave of Hesse Darmstat possesses, 1. the upper landgravate in which are Giessen, Butzbach, Aendorff, Battenburg, Gleunda, Blamkerstein, Frankenau, Gera, Grunburg, and Konigsburg. 2. The county of Nidda. 3. The lordship of Itter. 4. The upper part of the county of Catzenellebogen, in which lies Darmstat. And 5. the county of Dietz.

A third branch of the house of Hesse is Rhinfield; this Prince possesses part of the lower country of Catzenellebogen, viz. Rhinfield, St. Goar and Gevernhausen, the bailiwicks of Rechenberg, Florustein and Braubach, with Rottenberg and its district.

The fourth branch of this house, is that of Hesse Homburg which possesses, 1. Homburg with its territory. 2. Wevelingen and Helmstadt with its dependancies. And 3. Bingham. There are still some other branches, which will be found in the pedigree of the family of Hesse in the appendix; I shall only take notice here, that the branch of Darmstat are Lutherans, and that of Rhinfield, Papists; that of Homburg as I take it, are Lutherans; as for the eldest branch of Hesse Cassel it has been already observed, that they have been for many years zealous Calvinists till the present Prince thought fit to embrace Lutheranism, in order to mount the throne of Sweden.

The arms of Hesse Cassel, and Hesse Darmstat are Azure a lion, part Argent part Gules, for Hesse. Or, a leopard, Gules armed and crown'd, Azure for Catzenellebogen. Gules, two lions spotted like leopards languid and armed, Azure for Dietz.

The family of Nassau is agreed to be very ancient, and some are so zealous for its antiquity, that they relate that two brothers of this family attended Cæsar in his conquest of Gaul; but however that be, credible historians give an account of one OTHO of Nassau made Earl of Guelderland in the year 1079. The late King WILLIAM descended from another OTHO, whose

son HENRY, about the year 1190, added Dillenburg, Wisbaden and Idstein, to the territories of his grandfather WALLERAN, which seems to be the antient name of the family: Nassau was the name of the castle or palace only where the eldest branch resided. From WILLIAM WALLERAN of the branch of Dillenburg, says a late writer, came the second branch of Nassau Orange, which ended in WILLIAM III. King of England; and from him also proceeded JOHN of Nassau who established the Protestant Religion in his territories, and died anno 1606, from whom descended the present Prince of Nassau Friesland, whom the late King WILLIAM left his heir; but I do not design here to give the entire pedigree of the Nassaus, which will be found amongst the rest of the German Princes in the appendix, only it may be proper just to mention the most considerable branches of it now being, which are those of Nassau Dietz, Nassau Dillenburg, Nassau Hadamar, Nassau Saarbruck, and Nassau Siegen, the last of which are Papists.

The arms of the Princes of Nassau, are, 1. Azure sprinkled with billets, Or, a lion of the same languid for Nassau. 2. Or, a lion gules crown'd, and languid Argent for Catzenellebogen. 3. Gules, two lions, or, leopard-wise for Dietz.

I come next to describe the landgravate of Alsatia, another part of the circle of the Upper Rhine; as to the Palatinate, though part of it be deem'd within this circle, yet as much the greater part is comprehended within the circle of the Lower Rhine: I choose to describe it all together when I come to that circle, rather than dismember the territories belonging to the Palatinate. Alsatia, or Elsass, is supposed to derive its name from the river Ell, which runs through it, tho' SHERRINGHAM supposes this to be a part of the territories of the antient Saxons, and to be called Edelfassen, as the richest and pleasantest country the Saxons were masters of; the fruitfulness of the soil giving some colour for this opinion. It is bounded by the county Palatine of the Rhine on the north, by the circle of Suabia, from which it is separated by the river Rhine on the east, by Switzerland on the south, and by the duchy of Lorrain on the west; and has been contended for by the French and Germans for an age past with the utmost fury; but is now entirely under the dominion of the French. As I have described the bounds for the Brisgow, and some other territories on the east side of the Rhine, which were heretofore look'd upon as part of Alsace; but as late treaties of peace have made the Rhine the boundary between France and the Empire, it seems much better to treat of the territories on each side of the Rhine as distinct provinces: the extent of this country from north to south is about an hundred miles, and the breadth at a medium

CHAP. dium about twenty five, tho' in some places it is XVIII. less, and at others it is more than thirty.

Upper Rhine. The soil is exceeding rich, producing plenty of corn and wine. Their hills are covered with chesnut groves, and afford also great quantities of copper, lead, and other minerals, and the meadows and pastures are scarcely to be equalled; add to which the agreeableness of the climate, and the temperature of the air, with the conveniency of the river Rhine, which runs the whole length of it, and it will not seem altogether unworthy of the blood and treasure which have been spent in the long wars between the Empire and France, the one to defend their possession, and the other to make a conquest of it. The whole country is usually divided into the Upper and Lower Alsace. The chief towns in the Lower Alsace are,

Straßburg, or
Argentoratum.

1. Straßburg, *olim Argentoratum*, pleasantly situated in the middle of a plain, at the conflux of the rivers Ill and Breusch, which a mile below fall into the Rhine, lying in the latitude of forty-eight degrees forty minutes, and near eight degrees of longitude to the eastward of London, a free Imperial city, till it was treacherously surprized by the French King in the year 1682. The trade of this place was great and flourishing, and the people enjoy'd the free exercise of their religion, which was generally Lutheran, till it fell into the hands of France; but with their liberties their trade is much declined; scarce any thing is improved of late but the fortifications, which the French have made as fine as possible, it being the most considerable frontier town they have on the side of the Empire. The town is of a large circumference, and so well built, that my author says the houses of the magistrates and merchants are fit to entertain Princes; and over the rivers which run through it are laid many handsome bridges. It is a Bishop's See, subject to the Archbishop of Mentz. Upon the reformation the Bishops and Canons were expelled, and the Roman Catholics had only one little church left them: but when it fell into the hands of the French, Popery, with the Bishops and Canons were restored, after they had been dispossess'd upwards of an hundred years, tho' as I have been inform'd, the French do still tolerate the Protestant religion here. Travellers who pass through this city admire the contrivance of their publick granaries, store-houses, wine-cellars, stadt-house, arsenal and cathedral, the last of which is esteem'd one of the wonders of Germany, and described at large in a treatise on purpose, by Os. SCHADÆUS, anno 1617. The height of the tower is four hundred eighty-nine feet, and eight junckes of admirable workmanship, and has a pair of folding-gates of brass at the west-end; but what is most admired is the great clock, wherein is a celestial globe, with all the motions of the planets, fixed

stars, &c. behind which there is a perpetual almanack, wherein the day of the month is pointed at by a statue standing by. The hours are crow'd by a Cock, and afterwards struck on a bell by an Angel; not far from which stands another Angel with an hour-glass in his hand, which turns round as soon as the clock has done striking. The first quarter is struck by a child with an apple, the second by a young man with an arrow, the third by a full-aged man with a tip-staff, and the fourth by an old man with his cane. On the out-side of the church are shewn the increase and decrease of the moon, with the motion of the sun through all the signs of the zodiack, and a multitude of other curiosities, which may be seen at large in the treatise above-mention'd. An university was founded here by the Protestant magistrates about the year 1538, on which the Emperor FERDINAND II conferr'd many great privileges and immunities. A late writer observes, that the women of this place are exceeding handsome, but as remarkable for their odd fantastical dresses as for their beauty.

By the last treaty of peace at Rastat, concluded anno 1714, and by several former treaties, Straßburg is confirm'd to France by the Emperor; but then it is thereby provided that Fort Keihl, erected by the French on the other side of the Rhine, at the end of the bridge of Straßburg, shall be yielded up to the Empire; and as to the Fort of Pile, and others erected in the islands of the Rhine near Straßburg, that they should be entirely razed, and never be re-establish'd by either party for the future, and that the navigation and use of the river Rhine should remain free and open for the subjects of either side. 2. Zabern, or Saveren Elsas, so called to distinguish it from another Zabern in the Palatinate, fifteen miles north-west of Straßburg, of which I meet with no other description than that it is defended by a strong castle situate on the top of an adjoining rock, where the Bishops of Straßburg used to hold their courts. 3. Haguenau, a strong town, situate ten miles to the westward of the Rhine, and fourteen north of Straßburg, formerly a free Imperial city, but taken by the French, and since confirm'd to them by the peace of Westphalia and other subsequent treaties. 4. Fort Lewis, situate ten miles east of Haguenau, on an island in the Rhine, almost over against Baden, built by Lewis XIV, and confirm'd to him by treaties with the Emperor, particularly by the last treaty of Rastat anno 1714. 5. Weissemburg, formerly an Imperial city, but now also subject to the French, situate on the river Lutra, ten miles west of the Rhine, and sixteen north of Haguenau. 6. Landau, situate on the Queich, ten miles north-east of Weissemburg, on the confines of the Palatinate, and formerly reckon'd a part of it.

The

CHAP. XVIII.
Upper Rhine.

Zabern

Haguenau

Fort Lewis

Weissemburg

Landau

HAP. The fortifications of this town are as fine as the nature of the ground will admit, and the consequence of possessing it esteem'd so considerable both by France and the Empire, that it was taken and retaken five or six times during the last war, with a vast expence of blood and treasure. The French last made themselves masters of it on the 20th of August N. S. anno 1713, after about two months open trenches, the Germans being in no condition to relieve it after they had separated from their allies; and the place was confirm'd to the French by the ensuing treaty of peace at Rastat. Tho' I don't doubt, if ever there should happen a rupture between France and Germany again, or the Germans should meet with a favourable conjuncture, they would endeavour the recovery not only of Landau, but of Strasburg, and all the other strong towns in Alsace; for when Princes are forced by the necessity of their affairs, as they term it, to give up and dismember part of their territories, they seem to think however that their rights can never be extinguish'd by such forced cessions, and make no manner of scruple of repossessing them again, whenever an opportunity offers. 7. Drusenheim, situate near the Rhine, about eight miles south-east of Haguenuau, remarkable for little but the ruins of an old fort, which it is supposed DRUSUS built here to prevent the incursions of the Germans. The other towns of any note in Lower Alsace are, Moltzheim, Rosenheim, Benfield and Schelstat, of which I meet with nothing particular.

The towns in the Upper Alsace, so stiled from its lying higher up the Rhine than the other, are, 1. Colmar, once a flourishing Imperial city, but almost ruin'd in the wars between France and Germany, and yielded to the French by the treaty of Munster. It stands about eight miles west of Brisac, and thirty south of Strasburg; and here the French establish'd their sovereign council for Alsace. It is supposed to have been built out of the ruins of the antient *Argentuaria*, conquer'd by the Emperor GRATIAN anno 378, and afterwards destroy'd by ATILLA the Hun. 2. New Brisac, a fortress erected by LEWIS XIV, on the west side of the Rhine, over against Old Brisac. 3. Murback, remarkable for its fine abbey, at the foot of the mountains which separate Alsace from Lorraine, fourteen miles south-west of Colmar. 4. Mulhausen, an Imperial city, fifteen miles south of Colmar. 5. Hunningen, a strong fortress, built by LEWIS XIV, on the Rhine, half a league below Basil. 6. Pfird, or Ferett, a small city, the capital of the district of Suntgow, thirty miles south of Colmar, and ten west of Basil, confirm'd to the French by the treaty of Westphalia. Other towns of any note in the Upper Alsace are, Keiserburg, Turchheim, Munster, Eufisheim and Befort, or Bettfort.

The duchy of Lorraine, the remaining part of the circle of the Upper Rhine, is bounded by the duchy of Luxemburg towards the north; by Alsatia, the duchy of Deuxponts, and the Palatinate on the east; by Franche Compte on the south; and by Champagne on the west; extending from forty-eight to forty-nine degrees, fifty minutes north latitude, and is upwards of an hundred miles in length, and about as much in breadth. The air of Lorraine is healthful and temperate, but the country is pretty much incumber'd with mountains and forests, particularly by the mountains of Vauge, which separate it from Alsace and Burgundy, and the famous forest of Ardenne. The soil in other parts is rich and fruitful, affording plenty of corn, wine and good pasture, in their hills also are found mines of silver, copper, lead and iron, but most iron; and their salt-springs are so numerous, that it is said the Duke draws a revenue of two hundred thousand crowns per annum from them. The principal rivers are, 1. The Maes, or Meuse. 2. The Moselle. 3. The Sar. 4. The Meurte. 5. The Soame. 6. The Selle. 7. The Voloy. And, 8. The Maidon.

Lorraine is usually divided into three parts, viz. 1. Lorraine Proper. 2. The duchy of Bar, or Bar-le-Duc. And, 3. French Lorraine and Bar, which consists chiefly in the bishopricks of Metz, Toul and Verdun.

The name of Lorraine is said to be derived from *LOTHARIUS*, second son of the Emperor *LOTHARIUS*, and formerly King of this country, from thence call'd *Lot-reich* by the Dutch, and *Lot-reigne* by the French, by an easy transition converted into Lorraine. It was antiently reckon'd a part of Belgium, and the first inhabitants we have any account of were the *Medionatrici*, since when it has been alternately subject to France and the Empire, being sometimes reckon'd a province of the one, and sometimes a province of the other; but as the Duke of Lorraine is a Prince of the Empire, and the duchy usually esteem'd part of the circle of the Upper Rhine, I chuse to describe it with the rest of Germany, especially since the French have been obliged by the treaty of Ryswick, anno 1697, to restore the greatest part of it to its proper Sovereign.

The natives, as they lie in the neighbourhood of France, imitate the fashions of that country, and scarce speak any other language. They are naturally brave, of robust constitutions, and esteem'd to have good natural parts, but more addicted to drinking than their neighbours the French, tho' not so much as some other provinces of Germany.

Lorraine Proper is subdivided into the bailiwicks of, 1. Nancy. 2. Vauge. 3. Vander-Vange. And, 4. The re-united countries in the bailiwick of Nancy. The chief towns are, 1. Nancy, the capital.

Lorraine
Duchy.
Situation
and extent;

Division of
the country;

The name.

Character
of the natives.

Lorraine Proper.
per.
Chief towns.

Nancy city.

CHAP. XVIII. pital of the whole duchy, situate in a large plain near the river Meurte, in forty-eight degrees forty-five minutes north latitude; six degrees to the Upper Rhine. eastward of London, thirty miles south of Metz, and sixty to the westward of Strasburg, divided into the Old or Upper Town, and the New or Lower Town. In the Old Town is the Duke's palace, the entrance whereof is very magnificent, and leads into a noble court, surrounded with a piazza, and adorn'd with statues; and the gardens about it are exceeding fine. The New Town is much larger than the Old, and better built: it has a handsome square, in which three large streets center, and in this part of the town are the stadthouse, the courts of justice, several good churches and monasteries, and a fine college of the Jesuits. The town was admirably well fortified after the modern way while the French were masters of it, but upon their relinquishing it at the treaty of Ryswick, the fortifications were agreed to be demolish'd. It was taken by the French King, LEWIS XIII. in the year 1633, and with the rest of the duchy remain'd in the possession of France most part of the last century; when they made it the seat of one of their parliaments, and establish'd a chamber of accounts, and a seneschal's court here; as in their other conquer'd provinces.

St. Nicholas.

Rosières.

Château Salins.

Luneville.

Nomeny.

Vaudemont. Blamant, &c.

Vaage Bailiwick.

2. St. Nicholas, a large open town, situate on the river Meurte, six miles south-east of Nancy, whither vast crowds of pilgrims resort to pay their devotions to NICHOLAS the Saint of the place, who according to tradition was Bishop of Myra in Lycia, and a great opposer of the Arian heresy at the council of Nice. 3. Rosières, on the Meurte, twelve miles south-east of Nancy, considerable for the salt springs about it. 4. Château Salins, situate on the Selle, considerable also for its salt springs. 5. Luneville, a pleasant town, seven miles south-east of Rosières. 6. Nomeny, on the Selle, honour'd with the title of a marquisate. 7. Vaudemont, an open town, the capital of a principality of the same name, usually given as an appennage to a younger son of the house of Lorraine. The other towns of most note in the bailiwick of Nancy, are, Blamont, capital of a county of the same name, Moyenwick on the river Selle, and Vezelise.

In the bailiwick of Vauge the chief towns are, 1. Mirecourt, situate on the Maidon, not far from the foot of Mount Vauge, twenty miles and upwards south-west of Nancy. 2. Neuschattel, situate on the Maes near the confines of Champagne. 3. Remiremont, situate on the Moselle, at the foot of Mount Vauge, between forty and fifty miles south-east of Nancy, remarkable for an abby of ladies who have the liberty of quitting their convent and marrying, except the Lady abbess, who is vested with the temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction of the town and country

about it. All the Ladies on their admission being required to prove their nobility for four descents. The other towns of any note in the bailiwick of Vauge are, Charmes, Espinal, St. Diey, Roan and Fontenay.

In the bailiwick of Vander-Vange the chief towns are, 1. Vandervange, situate on the Sar, thirty miles north-east of Metz. 2. Bitch, a little town on the frontiers of Alsatia, the capital of a county of the same name.

The chief towns in the re-united country are, 1. Saverden, situate on the frontiers of Alsace, and gives a title to a county, situate between forty and fifty miles north-east of Nancy. 2. Homburg, a city and castle the capital of the county of Sarbruck, sixty miles north-east of Nancy, formerly possess'd by a branch of the family of Nassau, to which it gave a title.

Ever since the year 1473, the duchy of Bar has been united to that of Lorraine, and is divided into four bailiwicks, viz. 1. Bar. 2. Basigne. 3. St. Michael, and 4. Clermont. The chief towns in the bailiwick of Bar are, 1. Bar-le-duc, the capital of the country, situate on a rising ground on the banks of the river Ornain, about forty miles west of Nancy, a handsome well-built city, with a collegiate church and seminary for students, and had a seneschal's court and chamber of accounts erected here while it was subject to the French. 2. Ligny, eight miles south-east of Bar-le-duc. 3. Comerey, situate on the Maes, the capital of a principality subject to the Prince of Lillebone of the family of Lorraine, twenty-five miles west of Nancy. 4. Damiris, on the Seaux, five miles south-west of Ligny.

In the bailiwick of Bassignie the chief towns are, 1. Mothe, built upon a rock, thirty-three miles south of Nancy. And, 2. Gondrecourt, situate on the river Ornay.

In the bailiwick of St. Michael the chief towns are, 1. St. Michael, situate on the Maes, twenty-seven miles west of Nancy, remarkable for a fine monastery of the order of St. BENNET. 2. Pontamousson, the capital of a marquisate of the same name, situate on the Moselle, twelve miles north-west of Nancy, an open handsome town, and has the advantage of a university, and professors in all sciences, with two considerable abbies, and several magnificent churches. 3. Hatton le Chattel, fifteen miles north-west of Pontamousson, the capital of a small territory which has the title of a marquisate.

In the bailiwick of Clermont the chief towns are, 1. Clermont, situate on the river Ayr, the capital of a county. And, 2. Varenne, situate on the same river.

In French Lorraine, which comprehends the three bishopricks of Metz, Toul and Verdun, the chief towns are, 1. Metz, the capital of French Lorraine,

CHAP. XVIII. Upper Rhine.

Vander-Vange Bailiwick and town.

Saverden, Homburg.

Bar-le-duc City.

Ligny, Comerey.

Damiris.

La Mothe, Gondrecourt.

St. Michael.

Pontamousson.

Hatton.

Clermont.

Varenne.

French Lorraine, Chief towns.

CHAP. XVII. Lorrain, situate at the conflux of the Moselle and Selle, twenty-five miles north of Nancy, formerly an Imperial city, but reduced to the obedience of France anno 1552, and confirm'd to the French King by the treaty of Munster anno 1648. It is a large wealthy city, and fortified after the modern way; the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Triers. The cathedral is an antient venerable pile of building, in which they have a font of porphyry one entire stone ten feet long: the town consists of sixteen parishes, seven nunneries, and several other monasteries, being about nine miles in circumference. The Protestants also had their churches formerly here, and a share in the government; but the Roman Catholic is now the establish'd religion of the place, and the Protestants barely tolerated. There are several arches and other Roman antiquities still remaining about this city.

Lewis. 2. Saar-Lewis, situate twenty-five miles north-east of Metz, a strong fortress erected by LEWIS XIV, anno 1680, and confirm'd to him afterwards by the treaty of Ryfwick.

Joan. The chief town in the bishoprick of Toul is of the same name, situate ten miles to the westward of Nancy, the Bishop whereof is suffragan to the Archbishop of Triers, and bears the title of Count. It is a large place, but has no other fortifications than a single wall. 2. Vaucoleurs, a small city on the Maes, near which stands the village of Arque, where the famous JOAN of Arque, or maid of Orleans was born, who revived the drooping courage of the French when the English had almost made a conquest of their country.

Verdun. Verdun, the capital of the bishoprick of the same name, is situate on the Maes, thirty miles west of Metz, whose Bishop has also the title of Count of Verdun, and Prince of the Empire. The place is tolerably well fortified.

Bar. In that part of Bar which is subject to the French the chief towns are, 1. Stenay, capital of the country, situate on the Maes, sixteen miles north-west of Verdun, the fortifications whereof have been put into a good condition since the French made themselves masters of it. And, 2. Jamets, a little fortified town situate on the frontiers of Luxemburg, between Stenay and Damvilliers.

Titles. The titles of the Duke of Lorrain are, Duke of Lorrain and Mercoëure, Duke of Calabria, Bar and Guelderland; Marquis of Pont-a-mousson and Nomeny; Count of Provence, Vaudemont, Blamond, Zutphen, Saar Werden, and Salm. His dominions are, 1. The duchy of Lorrain. 2. The duchy of Bar. 3. The marquisate of Pont-a-mouf-

CHAP. XVII. son. 4. The counties of Blackenburg, Falkenstein, Donnerberg, Clermont and Bielsstein. The provostship of Kummelsberg and of Hattonsburg, and the county of Salm. Upper Rhine.

The younger branches of this family are, the Prince of Vaudemont, the Prince of Elbœuf, and the Counts of Harcourt. *Younger branches of this family.*

The arms of Lorrain are, Or a bend Gules charged with three larks Argent: but according to others, with three allerions, which are, in blazon, small birds without feet. *Arms.*

The last Duke of Lorrain was CHARLES LEOPOLD, born in the year 1643, who being kept out of his dominions by the French, as his brother and predecessor had been, was made General of the Emperor's forces against France and Turkey. He had such success in the Turkish war, that he raised the siege of Vienna, and recover'd a vast extent of country from the infidels. He married ELEONORA-MARIA, sister to the late Emperor LEOPOLD, and widow of MICHAEL WIESNOWIZKI, King of Poland; and died the 18th of April, 1690, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, LEOPOLD-JOSEPH-CHARLES, the present Duke, had his dominions restored to him at the treaty of Ryfwick, anno 1697, except what is denominated the French Lorrain and Bar above described; and the French King before he relinquish'd the rest, caused the fortifications of Nancy, and every other strong place belonging to the Duke to be demolish'd. He reserv'd also to himself a liberty of marching his troops thro' Lorrain to Alsace whenever he saw fit. So that the present Duke, tho' his country be restored him, lies intirely at the mercy of the French, and was oblig'd to stand neuter in the last war, whatever inclination he might have to the cause of the allies. The Duke is absolute in his dominions, unless the French think fit to controul him; and tho' he be a Prince of the Empire, I do not find his country is liable to contribute to the general charges of the Empire, or that it is subject to its laws, any more than the electorates of Brandenburg and Saxony are. The religion establish'd in this duchy is the Roman Catholic. The rest of the pedigree of the Dukes of Lorrain will be found in the appendix, with those of the other German Princes. The present Duke seems to be much caress'd at the court of Vienna, and it is said one of the present Emperor's daughters is intended for him, which will entitle him to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, and give him a fair opportunity of standing candidate for the Imperial throne, if the Emperor should die without male issue. *The eldest branch of the family.*

CHAP.

XVIII.

Lower
Rhine

LOWER RHINE.

CHAP. XVIII.

Treats of the circle of the Lower Rhine, in which is comprehended the Palatinate of the Rhine, and the arch-bishopricks of Mentz, Triers and Cologn.

The Pala-
tinate of the
Rhine.
Its situation
and extent.

The air and
soil.

Religion.

THE Palatinate of the Rhine, in which I include the bishopricks of Spire and Worms, and the duchy of Zweibruggen or Deuxponts, is bounded by the archbishopricks of Mentz and Triers on the north; by Franconia and Suabia on the east; and by Alsatia and Lorrain towards the south and west: being upwards of an hundred miles in length from the south-east to the north-west, and from fifty to seventy in breadth; stiled the Lower Palatinate, to distinguish it from the Upper and Bavarian Palatinate already described. The air, the soil, and noble rivers which water this country, all contribute to render it one of the richest and pleasantest provinces of the Empire; only unhappy in being so desirable as to incite the ambition of the neighbouring powers to become masters of it; which has in the last age frequently render'd it a scene of blood and misery; most of its fine towns have been demolish'd, and the distress'd natives driven out of the country to make room for the hungry French, or other necessitous adventurers. The hills in the Palatinate, says a late Writer, are cover'd with vines, which yield that rich liquor known in other parts of Europe by the name of Rhenish wine. Their valleys afford plenty of all manner of grain and fruits, and deer and other game abound in their forests. The rivers Rhine and Neckar yield them fish in abundance, and their hills want neither metals or other minerals; and they have the convenience of water-carriage, and of transporting their merchandize every way by means of their navigable rivers. The religion of the Palatinate, says Dr. NICHOLSON, has been exceedingly changed and varied since the first introducing of Lutheranism by Count FREDERICK II; for FREDERICK III set up the doctrine and discipline of JOHN CALVIN. LODOWICK V expelled Calvinism, and restored the doctrine of LUTHER. His son FREDERICK IV brought the Calvinists once more into play, to oblige his avaritious ministers chiefly, who proposed to raise their fortunes by sacrilegiously seizing on the tythes and glebe, and other poor remainders of the church's patrimony; by which means, Dr. HEYLIN observes, the clergy being reduced to miserable short stipends, under the name of a competency, became so contemptible and neglected by all sorts of men, that at last the

church of the Palatinate was reduced to the same condition as the church of Israel was under JEROBOAM, when the priests were made out of the meanest of the people: and as a church brought into these straits was not like to be very durable, we find the Papists every day gain'd ground upon them till the idolatry and superstition of the church of Rome was again establish'd, and the nobility and gentry who had seized on the lands of the church were forced to resign their ill-acquired possessions to Popish Priests and Jesuits. The Protestant religion is now scarce tolerated in the Palatinate, though the generality of the natives are of this persuasion; and what is most to be lamented is, that in every peace that has been made the last forty years, the Protestants have given up their unhappy persecuted brethren, and consented to confirm and establish Popery in this and many other countries, where the Protestant religion was not long before triumphant.

The chief towns in the Palatinate are, 1. Heidelberg, or *Eidelburga*, situate in a fruitful plain on the river Neckar, at the foot of a mountain, forty miles south of Frankfort, and twelve north-east of Spire, in the latitude of forty-nine degrees twenty minutes. The name is said to be derived from a shrub resembling myrtle, call'd by the Germans *Heidelbeeren*, which grows on the hills about the city. It is encompass'd with mountains on every side, except towards the west, which way it has a good prospect over a large pleasant plain. The town is neither large nor very populous, consisting chiefly of one handsome street, and a spacious uniform market-place. The Elector's palace, which stands on the ascent of the hill Konigstul, and overlooks the town, is a magnificent fabrick; and not far from it is a fortified tower, hardly to be parallel'd for its height in the Empire. It was formerly call'd *Trutzkayser*, or a defiance to the Emperor; but since the restoration of the Elector Palatine, it has obtain'd the name of the Star-Fort, from some new works round it in form of a star. Another curiosity which all travellers who visit this country are full of, is a monstrous wine-fat, generally called the Tun of Heidelberg, which stands in an out-house near the palace, and was built by the Elector CHARLES-LODOWICK anno 1664, and contains two hundred tuns of English measure. Instead of hoops, it is encompass'd with large trees of knee-timber, like the ribs of a ship, which have several inscriptions painted and carved upon them, and are supported by carved pedestals. On one side of the vessel there is a handsome stair-case, leading to the top, into a gallery set round with ballisters, three and forty steps from the ground. Nor is this the only town in Germany, as has been observed already, where we meet with tuns, or wine-fats, of an uncommon size, carved and gilded, which seem

CHAP.
XVIII.
Lower
Rhine.

Chief towns
Heidelberg.

AP. seem to be built more for ornament than use ;
 VIII. which I take to proceed, not only from the vene-
 power ration the Germans have for the generous juice
 rhine. these vessels contain, but to shew that this is one
 of the most profitable branches of their trade in
 the provinces near the Rhine and Danube. The
 university of this city was founded by Count RU-
 PERT, about the year 1387, and has produced
 many valuable men. The Elector's library which
 was kept in the great church dedicated to the
 Holy Ghost, was esteem'd one of the best in Europe,
 both for the choice and number of books, great part
 of it having been compos'd of the libraries of the
 monastery of Sponheim and other religious houses,
 plundered at the reformation ; among which were
 many valuable manuscripts in the Hebrew, Greek,
 Latin, Chaldean, Arabic, Indian, Russian, Tar-
 tarian, Italian, French, German and Bohemian
 languages : but as many other places had been
 robbed to make this glorious collection, so the
 Spanish and Bavarian forces at the taking of Hei-
 delburg in the year 1622, after the unfortunate
 Palatine, stiled King of Bohemia, was defeated,
 trod under foot and destroy'd some part of them,
 and the rest were convey'd over the Alps to the Va-
 tican, or to the Imperial library at Vienna. This
 unhappy city was also taken and plundered by the
 French in the year 1683, and again in the year
 1692, when they almost entirely demolish'd it,
 committing the most unheard of barbarities on
 the miserable inhabitants ; and those who survived
 were driven from their dwellings with their fami-
 lies to starve in the open fields. What could in-
 duce the French to be guilty of these cruelties I
 can't conceive, unless they hoped to force the
 Elector to abandon his allies, or to express their
 implacable malice to the natives, on account of
 their religion, most of them being Protestants.

2. Mannheim, situate near the confluence of
 the Rhine and Neckar, twelve miles north-west
 of Heidelberg, formerly esteem'd a strong town
 'till burnt by the French in 1688, and the fortifi-
 cations demolished ; here the Elector lately erec-
 ted a magnificent palace, and made it his usual
 residence. 3. Frankendal, twenty miles west of
 Heidelberg, once a flourishing city, but taken
 and burnt also by the French in the year 1689.
 4. Altsheim, antiently the residence of the Elec-
 tor, twenty five miles north-west of Frankendal.
 5. Creutsnach, a good town situate on a hill
 near the river Nalle, eighteen miles north-west
 of Altsheim, under the joint dominion of the E-
 lector, the Marquis of Baden, and the Prince of
 Simmerin. 6. Keisar Lautern, situate on the
 river Lautern, thirty miles south of Creutsnach,
 a small city formerly Imperial, but now subject to
 the Elector. 7. Sintsheim, a small city twelve
 miles south-east of Heidelberg, where Marshal
 TURENNE obtained a signal victory over the Im-
 perialists, anno 1674. 8. Oppenheim, situate

on a hill on the banks of the Rhine, formerly an CHAP .
 Imperial town, but now subject to the Elector, XVIII.
 about ten miles south of Mentz, destroyed also Lower
 by the French in the year 1693. 9. Traerbach, Rhine.
 a strong fortress on the Moselle, taken by the
 French in the year 1702, but restored to the E- Traerbach.
 lector by the last peace. Other towns of any note
 in the Palatinate are Newstadt, Bacharach and Newstadt.
 Eberinburg.

The bishoprick of Spire lies on both sides Spire bi-
 the Rhine, surrounded by the territories of the E- shoprick.
 lector Palatine, extending about forty miles in length
 from east to west, and about fifteen in breadth,
 from north to south ; the chief town whereof
 is Spire, an Imperial city standing in a plain on Spire city.
 the west side of the Rhine, where the small river
 Spierbach falls into it, about twelve miles south-
 east of Heidelberg, and eight miles north of Phi-
 lipsburg ; the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the
 Archbishop of Mentz ; 'tis a large populous town,
 but not strong enough to sustain a siege. The
 French burnt it down to the ground, with a great
 many other places in the neighbourhood in the
 year 1689. Here the sovereign court of justice
 for the Empire, called the Imperial chamber, was
 held 'till removed to Wetzlar on the destruction
 of this place. To this court there lies an appeal
 from any Prince's court in the Empire, and the
 Electors themselves in some cases may be sum-
 mon'd to appear there. 2. Philipsburg, or U- Philipsburg.
 denheim, a little strong town situate in a morass
 on the east side of the Rhine at the mouth of the
 river Salta, ten miles to the southward of Spire, a
 place frequently taken and retaken during the late
 wars ; relinquish'd by the French, with the other
 places in the Palatinate, by the peace of Rastat.
 Other towns of any note in this bishoprick are
 Spirebach, Bruxal, Weibstat and Altrip. Spirebach.

The bishoprick of Worms lies also on both Worms bi-
 sides the Rhine, to the northwards of the bi- shoprick.
 shoprick of Spire, being of a very small extent,
 viz. about eight miles in length and two in breadth,
 considerably lessen'd at the reformation, by the
 Elector Palatine's seizing part of the territories
 which belonged to it ; the chieftown whereof is
 Worms, an Imperial city on the west bank of Worms city.
 the Rhine, twenty five miles north of Spire, a
 large flourishing town, 'till the French almost de-
 stroyed it in the year 1693. It is since great part
 of it rebuilt, but there are still, as formerly, large
 void spaces within the walls planted with vines,
 which yield two or three thousand hogsheds of
 excellent wine annually. The inhabitants are a
 mixture of Papists and Lutherans, but the Pa-
 pists are possessors of the cathedral and most of the
 churches. 2. Ladenburg, a small pleasant city, Ladenburg.
 under the joint dominion of the Elector Palatine and
 the Bishop of Worms.

The duchy of Zweibruggen, or Deuxponts, Deuxponts
 is surrounded by other parts of the Palatinate on duchy and
 the city.

CHA P. the east, north, and south, and bounded by Lorrain XVIII. on the west, being forty miles in length from the Lower north-east to the south-west, and in breadth Rhine. twenty five in some places, and in other places nine or ten; the chief town whereof is Deuxponte, forty miles south-west of Worms; a little well-built city, so named from the bridges over two little rivers whereon it stands. The crown of Sweden enjoy'd this duchy 'till the death of the late King CHARLES XII; on whose death without issue, it devolved on a Prince of the Palatine family. The duchy of Deuxponte contains the five following bailiwicks, viz. 1. Zweibruggen. 2. Meizenteim. 3. Lichtemburg. 4. New-castle. 5. Landsparg, with part of Guttenburg and Bischweiler.

Religion in Deuxponte. Calvinism was generally profess'd in the duchy of Deuxponte, 'till the Swedes became possess'd of it, and then Lutheranism began to flourish; the King of Sweden giving some of the best livings and preferments to the Lutheran clergy, which created great animosities between the disciples of both persuasions: but the late King of Sweden dying without issue, and that duchy devolving upon a Roman Catholick Prince, his Protestant subjects thought fit to unite and drop their party-quarrels, lest they should give an opportunity to their common enemies the Papists, to make an advantage by them; and I find there has been several projects set on foot by the King of Prussia, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other Protestant Princes of the Empire, for a comprehension or union of the Protestants of all persuasions, that they may be a match for the Roman-Catholicks; but the Lutheran clergy are apprehensive that these Princes design at bottom only to establish Calvinism throughout Germany, which they look upon with almost as much detestation as they do Popery.

Simmeren duchy and town. The duchy of Simmeren in the Palatinate was heretofore govern'd by its own Prince, but is now subject to the Elector Palatine; the chief town whereof is of the same name, situate thirty miles to the westward of Mentz in the lower county of Spanheim.

Birkenfield town and duchy. Birkenfield, with the territory about it, also enjoys the title of a duchy, and is situate in the upper county of Spanheim, twenty eight miles to the eastward of Triers.

Lauterach. Leningen, Rhingrave-stein, Veldentz, &c. The other towns of any note in the Palatinate are Lauterach, situate on the river Lauter, forty miles west of Worms; Leningen, capital of the county of Linage, twenty miles north-west of Spire; Rhingravestein, thirty miles north-west of Worms; Veldentz, capital of a county of the same name, twenty miles west of Simmeren; and Reipoltzkirk, the capital also of a small county thirty miles west of Worms.

Titles and territories of the Elector Palatine. The countries which belong to the Elector Palatine, are the greatest part of the Lower Pala-

CHAP. XVIII. Rhine. tinate, the bailiwick of Boechelheim, the duchies of Juliers and Berg, the city of Duffeldorp, and the lordship of Ravenstein: his titles are Count Palatine of the Rhine, Arch-Steward and Elector of the holy Roman Empire, Duke of Bavaria, Juliers, Cleves and Berg, Count of Veldentz, Spanheim, Marck, Ravensperg and Meurs, Lord of Ravenstein, &c.

His arms for the Palatinate are, a Lyon Or, drawn arm'd langued and crown'd Or, a Lyon Sable for Juliers. Gules, an Escutcheon Argent with rays of a carbuncle knotted, Or, for Cleves. Argent, a Lyon Gules, arm'd and crown'd Azure for Berg.

I shall here go no higher in the pedigree of the Palatine family than FREDERICK III, who succeeded to the electorate on the death of Otho without issue, anno 1559. This FREDERICK Duke of Simmeren was descended from STEPHEN Palatine of Deuxponte or Zweibruggen; he first introduced Calvinism into the Palatinate, and dying anno 1576, was succeeded by his son LEWIS V, who was as much devoted to Lutheranism as his father to Calvinism. FREDERICK the 4th son of LEWIS V, succeeded his father anno 1583, and dying in the year 1610, left his dominions to FREDERICK V, who married the Princess ELIZABETH, daughter of JAMES I, King of Great-Britain, who accepting the crown of Bohemia, to which the Emperor FERDINAND was before elected, he was attacked both by the Emperor and Spain; and being defeated at the battle of Prague, anno 1620, he lost not only the Bohemian crown, but was proscrib'd by the Emperor and the Electoral College, and deprived of all his own hereditary territories and dignities, and forc'd to fly for refuge with his consort the Princess ELIZABETH into Holland. The Lower Palatinate was conquered by the King of Spain, and assigned over to him; and the Upper Palatinate, with the Electoral dignity, conferred on the Duke of Bavaria, General of the Imperial forces in this war. This unfortunate Prince died at Mentz the 29th of November 1632, having been for some years subsisted with his family by the court of England. His son CHARLES-LODOWICK had the Lower Palatinate restored to him by the treaty of Westphalia; but the Upper Palatinate, with the dignity of Elector, was confirm'd to the Duke of Bavaria: the Palatine, however, was made an eighth Elector, and dying the 28th of August 1680, was succeeded by his son CHARLES-LEWIS, who dying without issue, in him ended the male line of FREDERICK III. PHILIP-WILLIAM Duke of Newburg succeeded to the Lower Palatinate and the eighth Electorate, anno 1688: he descended from LEWIS the black, brother of FREDERICK III, Duke of Simmeren, both sons of STEPHEN the younger son of RUPERT III,

CHAP. VIII. **AP. III.** Emperor of Germany : He was of the Roman Catholick communion, and exceeding zealous that way, which gave his subjects of the Palatinate, who were most of them Protestants, a very gloomy prospect. He married **ELIZABETH**, daughter of **GEORGE** Landgrave of Hesse, by whom he had issue the Princess **ELEONORA-MAGDALENA THERESA**, who was married to the Emperor **LEOPOLD**, anno 1676. The Palatinate being invaded by **LEWIS XIV.**, in the year 1688, the old Prince resigned the government to his son **JOSEPH**, as better able to defend his territories ; but the French notwithstanding the next year, anno 1689, burnt to the ground Heidelberg, Worms, Spire, Oppenheim, and Mannheim, with all the towns, villages and castles in this fine country, not sparing any thing sacred or prophane, which could be demolished by fire or gunpowder, and then were forced to abandon it.

The last Elector **JOHN-WILLIAM-JOSEPH-IGNATIUS**, was born the 19th of April 1658, and succeeded his father the second of September 1690. In the year 1678, he married **MARY-ANNE-JOSEPH**, daughter to the Emperor **FERDINAND III.** ; who dying some years after, he married anno 1686, **ANNE-MARY-LOUISE**, daughter to **COSMUS III.**, Great Duke of Tuscany, and left no issue by either of them ; but had no less than seventeen brothers and sisters, of whom the following survived him, viz. 1. The late Empress mother. 2. Prince **CHARLES-PHILIP** of Newburg, the present Elector born the fourth of November 1661. 3. **FRANCIS-SIGISMUND** Bishop of Augsburg, born anno 1663. **FRANCIS-LEWIS**, Great Master of the Teutonick Order, and Elector of Triers, born anno 1664. 5. The Queen Dowager of Spain, relict of **CHARLES II.**, born anno 1667. 6. The Duchess of Parma, born in 1670 ; and, 7. The Princess **AMELIA** married to Prince **JAMES SOBIESKI**, son to **JOHN** King of Poland. The late Elector was generally acknowledged to be a good Prince, but too much bigotted to the Roman communion, of which he was a member ; suffering his Protestant subjects to be insulted and ill used by the Romish zealots : but no Prince was more firm to the confederacy against France, or a greater sufferer on that account ; and to make him some amends upon the proscription of the Duke of Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate was conferred upon him, but by the peace of Rastat, he was obliged to relinquish it again to Bavaria, being promis'd an equivalent for it ; but I don't find any has been yet made to him or his brother and successor the present Elector **CHARLES-PHILIP**, who succeeded to the electorate on the 8th of June 1716, and has had three wives, viz. **LOUISA-CHARLOTTE** daughter of **BOGISLAUS** Prince of Radzevil, and widow of **LEWIS** Margrave of Brandenburg. 2. **THERESA-**

CATHERINA, daughter of **JOSEPH** Prince of Lubomirski. 3. **BENEDICTA-ERNESTA-MARIA d'ESTE**, daughter of the Duke of Modena ; by none of whom has he any issue living, except one daughter married to her cousin the Prince of Sultzbach ; and the electoral dignity will, on the death of the present Elector, devolve on his brother the Bishop of Augsburg ; but as he is an ecclesiastical person, and incapable of marrying without a dispensation, it will go next to his other brother the Archbishop and Elector of Triers ; who having also taken the vow of celibacy, the Prince of Sultzbach is not unlikely to succeed to the Palatinate, being next in blood : but as this Prince has yet no issue, I find the Protestants in great hopes that the Palatinate with the electoral dignity, will devolve on the Prince of Birkenfeld, a zealous Protestant, who is next in succession to the house of Sultzbach. The court of Rome, 'tis said, is so apprehensive of this, that they have tried all imaginable ways to persuade the Elector to marry again, and not having met with success here, are endeavouring to prevail with his brothers, tho' ecclesiasticks, to enter into the state of matrimony : for should the Palatinate descend to a Protestant, the whole Palatinate would be in some danger of renouncing the Roman communion. Notwithstanding the present Elector is a Papist, and charg'd with persecuting and oppressing his Protestant subjects, it is computed that there are still five parts in seven of them of that persuasion : which leads me to give a further account of the present state of religion in the Palatinate, and of the late differences between this Prince and his subjects on that head.

The great church of the Holy Ghost at Heidelberg, had for many years been divided between the Papists and Calvinists ; the Papists celebrated Mass in the choir and the Calvinists heard divine service in the nave, or body of the church ; but the Elector alledging that this city being the place of his residence, divine service ought to be perform'd in the principal church, according to the rites of that religion only, of which he was a member ; prohibited the Protestants to celebrate divine service in the church of the Holy Ghost, and actually put the Roman Catholics in the possession of the whole. Whereupon the Reform'd applied themselves to the Protestant Powers to procure a redress of this grievance ; at which the Elector was so exasperated, that he published a placart, requiring the magistracy to seize on and suppress the Heidelberg catechism, wherein he observed there were some questions and answers injurious to his Highness, and contrary to the decrees of the Empire, especially where the Elector's religion is represented as superstitious and idolatrous.

The Protestant Powers hereupon unanimously agreed to demand satisfaction for this infringement

CHAP. XVIII. Lower Rhine.

The state of religion in the Palatinate.

CHAP. of the treaty of Westphalia, which established the
 XVIII. Protestant religion in places where it was profess'd;
 Lower and the courts of Great Britain, Prussia, the States-
 Rhine. General, &c. each of them sent a minister to
 the Palatine court, to represent the injustice of this
 proceeding. To whom his Electoral Highness an-
 swer'd, that he allow'd his Reform'd subjects to en-
 joy his protection, and was far from disturbing them
 in their liberty of conscience, but that the 80th
 question and answer of the Heidelberg catechism,
 reflecting on the superstition and idolatry of those
 of his communion, could not be look'd upon as
 a symbol or principle of religion; that it was
 added to that catechism in 1684, and that the re-
 jection of that question was founded on the consti-
 tutions of the Empire, which prohibited all re-
 flections and provocations of this nature; that the
 taking of the church of the Holy Ghost from the
 Reformed was of absolute necessity, because those
 of his communion had not room to celebrate mass
 in the choir; and that his Electoral Highness was
 building the Reformed another church more com-
 modious for them; that in these two points he had
 done nothing contrary to the constitutions of the
 Empire, or the treaty of Westphalia, which his
 Electoral Highness would religiously observe; that
 he should justify himself before the Emperor and
 Empire, who were the only judges in things of
 this nature: and that he would order the other
 grievances of his Reformed subjects to be inquired
 into, and redress'd in such a manner, as they
 should no longer have any just cause of com-
 plaint.

To this the ministers of the Protestant Powers
 replied, that they could not believe their reite-
 rated representations in the name of their masters
 had been reported with due weight to his Electro-
 ral Highness, or his commissaries would not have
 treated on so weighty an affair in so trifling a
 manner: they agreed with them, that the Em-
 peror and Empire are the only judges of the laws
 they have made; but when foreign Powers are
 concern'd in a treaty, they also claim a right of
 interpreting them; that they look'd upon the
 prohibition of the Heidelberg catechism, the seiz-
 ing the church of the Holy Ghost, and several o-
 ther things which had pass'd of late years in the
 Palatinate, as manifest infractions of the treaties
 they were oblig'd to maintain.

While the Protestant Princes were soliciting a
 redress of the grievances of the Reformed, some
 accidents happen'd which alarm'd them afresh,
 and occasion'd their being still more importunate
 on that head; the coach of the Dutch Minister
 standing before the door of the Resident of Hesse,
 as the Host was carrying by to a sick person, the
 guards which attended the Host oblig'd the coach-
 man to come down and kneel; at the same time
 military execution was order'd against the shoe-

makers, who refused to contribute to the masses
 of St. CRISPIN, and the Reformed in general
 were forbid working on popish holidays, even in
 harvest-time, under great penalties; some eccle-
 siasticks also were turn'd out of their churches
 and possessions, on pretence of their having been
 built and founded by Roman Catholics, which
 would have serv'd for a pretence to turn out all
 the rest.

The Protestants further complain'd, that in
 marriages between Protestants and Papists great
 hardships were put upon them; for though by the
 Elector's declaration, parents were permitted to
 educate their children in that religion, which was
 stipulated by contract before or after marriage,
 yet the Roman Catholick magistrates pretended,
 that they were impower'd to direct the education
 of children as they thought fit; the popish priests
 (who alone seem authorized in the Palatinate to
 solemnize matrimony, where one of the parties
 is a Roman Catholick) also scrupled to marry a
 man of their religion, unless the Protestant bride
 would declare herself of their communion; and
 Roman Catholick husbands were severely fined,
 if they did not educate their daughters in the po-
 pish religion, in violation of prior contracts with
 their wives, sworn before publick notaries, by
 which they stipulated, that their wives should
 have the liberty to bring up their daughters in
 their own religion. That though by the Elector's
 declaration, where no matrimonial compacts are
 made, the children are to conform to the head of
 the family; children are frequently taken by force
 from their Protestant parents, and bred up in Ro-
 man Catholick seminaries: that Protestant burghers
 have been confined and imprisoned, for having
 their children baptized by Protestant ministers
 where the wife was a Papist: that other Prote-
 stants have been prosecuted for educating their
 children in Protestant schools, where the wife was
 a Papist. That notwithstanding by the Elector's
 declaration it is provided, that children when they
 come to years of discretion should have full liberty
 of conscience to embrace which religion they saw
 fit, the government never came to any determi-
 nation, what should be accounted years of discre-
 tion; and parents have been treated with great se-
 verities, who have suffer'd their children to de-
 clare themselves Protestants at fifteen or sixteen
 years of age, and troopers have been sent to quar-
 ter on them at discretion, for this pretended of-
 fence, 'till the people have been ruin'd: and al-
 though the surviving father or mother are by the
 said declaration allow'd to breed up their children
 in their own religion, the Protestant widow and
 minister have both been fined for baptizing a child
 in the Protestant way, and the woman afterwards
 obliged to carry her child to a Jesuit to be bap-
 tized with popish ceremonies. And lastly, not-
 withstanding

AP. III. withstanding most of the subjects of this country are of the Reformed religion, and endeavour to bring up their children in the liberal arts and sciences, as many of them are, in order to render them capable of preferment, and by the edict of Hall, are assur'd that they shall not be excluded from preferments on account of their religion; yet the most inconsiderable places are refused them, until they will turn Roman Catholics, or marry wives of that religion, and engage to have their children bred Papists. And here, for the reader's satisfaction, I shall recite the question and answer in the Heidelberg catechism, which occasion'd its being prohibited by the Elector, as an unmannerly reflection on his Highness, and all others of the Roman communion, viz.

“Quest. 80. What difference is there between the Lord's Supper, and the Mass of the Papists?”

“Ans. The Lord's Supper is a testimony to us, that we have full remission of all our sins, by the only sacrifice of Jesus Christ, which he himself has once fulfill'd upon the cross, and that we are incorporated by the Holy Ghost in Jesus Christ, who with his real body is now in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, and requires our worship. But the Mass of the Papists teaches that neither the living nor the dead obtain remission of their sins by the death of Jesus Christ, unless he be again offer'd up daily for them by the hands of the priests. It teaches also that Jesus Christ is corporeally under the species of bread and wine, and by consequence ought to be ador'd. So that the Mass is at the bottom nothing less than blaspheming the only sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and a cursed idolatry.”

The Protestant Powers finding that his Electoral Highness was not to be mov'd to redress the grievances of his Protestant subjects, by any other means than retaliating on the Papists in their dominions, the like usage their brethren underwent in the Palatinate; the King of Prussia seiz'd on some ecclesiastical estates in his territories, declaring with the Dutch, that they would sequester the revenues of all the Roman Catholics in their dominions, if justice was not done to the Reformed. This proceeding had so good an effect upon the Elector, that he relinquish'd the body of the church of the Holy Ghost, and restor'd the catechisms, declaring also that no person should be molested in the streets, for not kneeling when the Host pass'd by. But then to shew his resentment against the Heidelbergers, who had in a manner extorted these orders from him, he declar'd his intention of abandoning that city, and removing to Mannheim, with all the courts of justice; and accordingly laid the foundation of a new palace there, which is since finish'd, and become the place of

his usual residence, which has very much improv'd the city of Heidelberg.

The Elector also, it seems, had order'd the bibles in the hands of the Reformed to be seiz'd, as well as the catechism, but I don't find them mentioned in the order for restoring the catechisms.

The condition of the rest of the Protestants in Germany, where the Sovereign is of the Romish communion, is much the same with those in the Palatinate; but 'tis said, the French allow the towns in Alsace, inhabited by Protestants, better terms than any of the Popish Princes of Germany, tho' they are so severe upon their Hugonots at home.

The remaining part of the circle of the Lower Rhine consists of the three spiritual electorates, or archbishopricks of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne. These Electors have the precedence of the other six secular Electors; and of these the Elector of Mentz, Dean of the electoral college, is the chief; who, by virtue of his office, appoints the time and place for a new election, on a vacancy of the Imperial throne. He is also Archchancellor of Germany, Guardian of the archives and matriculation, Visiter of the aulick council at Vienna, and of the chamber, or sovereign court of Spire, to whom all foreign Princes and States address themselves, who have any propositions to make to the Empire; and to him the Princes and States apply for a redress of their grievances. He is elected to the archbishoprick by twenty-four capitulary Canons of the church of Mentz, of noble extraction.

The archbishoprick of Mentz lies on the banks of the river Maine, being bounded by Veteravia, or the Weterau, on the north; by Franconia on the east; by the Palatinate on the south; and by the electorate of Triers on the west; extending in length about fifty miles from the north-west to the south-east, and about twenty in breadth; besides which tract of land, there are other territories belonging to this archbishoprick in Hesse, Thuringia, the counties of Waldeck and Veteravia, in the Palatinate, &c. The chief towns belonging to the archbishoprick of Mentz are, 1. Mentz, or Mayence, the *Moguntiacum* of the Latins, situate near the confluence of the Rhine and Maine, twenty miles west of Frankfort on the Maine, fifty miles north of Spire, and twenty-five north of Worms, a very antient city; but those who make it to be built thirteen hundred years before our Saviour, seem to have but a slender authority for their opinion: others, who look upon Drusus as the founder, are thought to have much more probability of their side, it being very certain that he built several fortresses on the Rhine; and a better situation could not well have

CHAP. XVIII. Lower Rhine.

The three spiritual electorates.

Mentz archbishoprick and electorate. Situation and extent.

Mentz city.

CHAP. have been pitch'd upon than this, where the
 XVIII. Maine falls into the Rhine; and here are still the
 Lower ruins of a trophy erected to the memory of DRU-
 Rhine. sus. It is a fortified town, of no great strength,
 but large and populous, and the publick buildings,
 as their churches, monasteries, and palace of the
 Elector, make a good appearance; the streets are
 generally narrow, and the private houses mean.
 In the cathedral are several magnificent tombs of
 the Electors; and the habits and ornaments in
 which the Elector says mass, are admir'd for their
 richness. The canopy, under which they carry
 the host at publick processions, is in a manner cov-
 er'd with pearl. Protestants are permitted to
 live and trade in this city, but are not allow'd the
 publick profession of their religion. It was an
 Imperial city, till ADOLPHUS of Nassau, Arch-
 bishop of the place, deprived them of their privi-
 leges, about the year 1462, and his successors have
 ever since been absolute masters of it, as they are
 of the whole archbishoprick; the temporal as well
 as ecclesiastical jurisdiction being vested in them.
 Their university, founded by CHARLEMAIN
 about the year 800, is not in any great reputation
 at present. It is pretended that gun-powder was
 first invented hereby BARTHOLDUS SCHWARTZ,
 a Franciscan Fryar, but it has been shewn already
 that Fryar BACON of Oxford was long before ac-
 quainted with it. They also claim the invention
 of printing, which I shall enquire farther into
 when I come to Holland, where it is also said to
 be first invented. 2. Bingen, pleasantly situated
 on the Rhine and Nahe, which here unite their
 streams, sixteen miles to the westward of Mentz,
 mention'd by TACITUS as a Roman fortress, since
 an Imperial city, but now subject to the Dean
 and Chapter of Mentz. Travellers who visit this
 place are full of a story of an Archbishop of this
 diocese, eaten up by rats, in a tower he built to
 defend himself against them in an island of the
 Rhine over-against Bingen, which they look upon
 as a judgment upon him for his covetousness and
 cruelty to the poor: but it seems to me to
 have too much the air of a fable to be recited at
 length.

Rhingau
country.

Elfeld.

Erbach.

Rodesheim.

In the Rhingau, a narrow tract of land, ex-
 tending about twenty miles in length, along the
 banks of the Rhine, are a great many fine towns;
 as, 3. Elfeld, a town of some strength on the
 north side of the Rhine, fifteen miles west of
 Mentz. 4. Erbach, remarkable for its magnifi-
 cent monastery, where are the tombs of the old
 Counts of Nassau, and some of the Archbishops
 of Mentz. 5. Rodesheim, famous for the growth
 of the best vines; and indeed the whole country
 of Rhingau abounds in the choicest vines, and
 seems but one intire city, interspers'd with gardens
 and vineyards within its walls.

Eichfeld
country.

The county of Eichfeld, or Eschfeld, sur-

rounded by the territories of Hesse, Thuringia, CHAP.
 and the duchy of Brunswick, belongs also to the XVIII.
 Elector of Mentz; wherein are the towns of, Lower
 6. Heiligenstat, antiently the seat of King DA- Rhine.
 GOBERT, but remarkable for little at present Heiligen-
 but a college of the Jesuits. 7. Trefurt, situate Trefurt.
 on the Weser, in a pleasant fruitful coun- Duberdtz
 try. 8. Duberstat. 9. Wormbys. 10. Fritz- &c.
 lar, a strong fortress in the landgravate of Hesse. Aschaff-
 11. Ommenburg, or Amelburg, situate on the burg.
 river Ohm, near Marburg in Hesse. 12. Aschaf-
 fenburg, situate on the Maine, where it is join'd
 by the river Aschaff, forty miles east of Mentz,
 esteem'd the strongest fortress in the Elector's do-
 minions; here the Elector has a palace, where
 he frequently resides. 13. Hochst, situate on the Hochst.
 Maine, having the privilege of taking toll of the
 vessels which pass up and down that river, for the
 use of the Elector. 14. Konigstein, a little forti- Konigst.
 fied town, which gives title to a county, nineteen
 miles north-east of Mentz. 15. Reinech in Fran- Reinech.
 conia; Steinheim, Epstein, and some other places
 in the same circle; Erford in Thuringia; the Erford.
 Bergrafs in the Lower Palatinate; the county of
 Lohr on the banks of the Maine; the city of Urb
 in Spoffart, considerable for its salt-springs, and
 several other towns and places of less note belong
 to the electorate of Mentz. The present Elector,
 LOTHARIUS-FRANCIS, Archbishop of the holy
 See of Mentz, and Bishop of Bamberg, is of the
 house of Schonborn, born the fourth of October,
 1665, and succeeded ANSELM-FRANCIS of In-
 gelheim, anno 1695. His revenues are computed
 to amount to an hundred thousand pounds per
 annum.

The electorate of Triers is bounded by the dio- Triers
 cese of Cologne and the duchy of Burg towards torate.
 the north; by Veteravia on the east; by Lorrain,
 the Palatinate, and part of Hesse towards the south;
 and by the Austrian Netherlands on the west, ex-
 tending in length from the south-east to the north-
 west above fourscore miles, but of a very unequal
 breadth, being in some places fifty, and in others
 not five and twenty miles over. The face of the
 country, and the nature of the soil, is very differ- The soil
 ent in one part from what it is in another. The
 south and western parts of the country are moun-
 tainous and barren, incumber'd with woods and
 forests, the air cold, and but few towns or people
 to be met with, or indeed any thing but wild
 beasts, deer, and other game, which usually a-
 bound in such desert places. On the contrary,
 near the Rhine and the Moselle the country is
 exceeding pleasant, abounds in corn and wine, and
 is crouded with people. The chief towns in this
 electorate are, 1. Triers, or Treves, the capital
 city, the *Augusta Trevirorum* of the Latins, plea-
 santly situated on the river Moselle, in the latitude
 of forty-nine degrees, fifty minutes, six degrees

AP. to the eastward of London, sixty miles to the southward of Cologne, and about the same distance to the westward of Mentz. The city is of a square figure, but neither large or populous, having but four collegiate and five parish-churches, two great abbeys, and some other religious houses, with an university, which, till the late wars, was esteem'd equal to most in Germany. It is encompass'd with a wall and other fortifications, but not sufficient to sustain a siege. The French and the allies were alternately masters of it in the late war, as they happen'd to be masters of the field on this side. In the years 1704 and 1705, the allies threw up lines for the defence of the place, and erected vast magazines here, designing to have carried on the war against France through this country, where there are not so many fortified towns as in Flanders, and would probably have soon brought the war to an end, if they had kept steady to this resolution; but old LEWIS XIV, appriz'd of the consequence of being attack'd from hence, made his utmost efforts, and brought a prodigious force into the Low Countries, while the Duke of Marlborough and the grand army of the Allies were upon the Moselle, which put the Dutch into such a panick fear, that they compell'd the Duke to return on a sudden to defend their frontiers, who leaving his magazines behind him, and General D'AUBACH with seven or eight thousand men, to defend the lines before Triers, the next intelligence he receiv'd was, that the body of troops left at Triers had abandon'd the place, on the approach of the French, destroy'd his magazines, and left the country to the mercy of the enemy, whereupon the French immediately took possession of Triers again; which put an end to all the schemes that had been laid for attacking France on the side of the Moselle, where their frontiers are weakest; and the Confederates carried back the war again into Flanders, where they yearly threw away thousands of brave fellows against stone-walls to very little purpose; and the campaign of 1705 concluded with little action. This city having been frequently plunder'd and pillag'd by the French in the late war, occasion'd the removal of the principal inhabitants, and consequently a great decay of their trade. The private houses also were lately in a ruinous condition. The churches, monasteries, and the Elector's palace are esteem'd magnificent buildings, though these have not altogether escap'd the fury of the war. As Triers is one of the most antient, so it was in the time of the Romans one of the most considerable cities in Europe; for here several of the Roman Emperors kept their courts, insomuch that it acquir'd the name of *Roma altera*, and in the ruins of the old city are still daily found Roman coins, medals, and other antiquities; it was afterwards an Imperial city, till reduced by their Archbishop, who was

formerly Metropolitan of Mentz, Cologne, Liege, Utrecht, Strasburg, Worms, and Spire; but Pope ZACHARY exempting these cities from his jurisdiction, he is now the least Metropolitan in Germany, having no other suffragans than the Bishops of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which are under the dominion of the French. He is however the second Elector in the Empire, and Arch-chancellor of the Empire in France. He gives the first voice in all elections and general assemblies, and his seat is in the middle of the hall, over-against the Emperor. As the Elector of Mentz always takes the votes of the rest of the Electors, he has the privilege of voting last, of which those prelates have frequently made great advantages. 2. The second city in the electorate of Triers is Coblenz, or *Confluentia*, in a wonderful pleasant situation, at the conflux of the Rhine and the Moselle, and surrounded with vineyards, being fifty miles north-east of Triers, and about forty south-east of Cologne, of a triangular form, two of its sides being wash'd by the said rivers, and the third inclos'd with a wall and fortifications after the modern way. The convenience of its situation has render'd it a town of good trade, especially in corn, wine, wood, and iron. The houses are well-built, and the streets uniform. The publick buildings of any note mention'd by travellers, are two great churches, some monasteries, and the palace of the Elector, who sometimes resides here. There is also a stone-bridge over the Moselle, and a bridge of boats over the Rhine at this place; and on the opposite side of the Rhine a castle on a hill, which commands the town and the passage of both rivers, and at the bottom of the same hill stands the Elector's palace, the front whereof and two large wings look towards the river: this, in the time of the Romans, 'tis suppos'd, was the station of the first legion. 3. Meyn, situate on the river Nette, fifteen miles west of Coblenz, a walled town with a castle, and gives name to a large territory about it, in which stands the little town of Munster-Meynfeld, so call'd to distinguish it from Munster in Westphalia. 4. Cochem, a fortified town on the Moselle, three miles north-east of Triers. 5. Saffich, the capital of a county of the same name, about a league distant from the Rhine. 6. Boppard, a town and castle situate on the Rhine, ten miles to the southward of Coblenz, formerly Imperial, but granted by the Emperor HENRY VII to BALDWIN, Archbishop of Triers, held to be one of the forts antiently erected by DRUSUS on the Rhine. Here the vessels which pass this river pay a toll to the Elector. 8. Engers, a handsome town upon the Rhine, seven miles north of Coblenz, and gives name to the territory of Engersaw. 9. Berncastel, a town of good trade, where they make great quantity of wine, pleasantly situated on the Moselle. 10. Oberwesel, a fortified town,

CHAP.
XVIII.
Lower
Rhine.

Coblenz

Meyn

Cochem

Saffich

Boppard

Engers

Berncastel

CHAP. town, situate on the west side of the Rhine, twenty
 XVIII. miles west of Coblenz. 11. Zell, or Zell, situate
 Lower on the Moselle, thirty miles north-east of Triers, a
 Rhine. town that has a good trade in wines, the product
 of the neighbouring country. 12. St. Vendel, a
 Cell. little fortified town on the confines of the Palati-
 St. Vendel. nate. 13. Sarbrug, a small fortress on the river
 Limburg. Sar, eight miles south of Triers. 14. Limburg,
 situate on the Lohr, the territories whereof, great
 part of them, belong to the Landgrave of Hesse.
 Montroyal. 15. Montroyal, situate on a peninsula made by
 the Rhine, twenty miles north-east of Triers, es-
 teem'd a strong place, but taken by the French
 in the war between the Confederates and France,
 and restor'd to the Elector again by the peace of Ryf-
 wick. Other towns of any note mentioned by geo-
 graphers, are Ulmen, eight miles north-west of Co-
 cheim, St. Maximin, Phaltz, Witlich, and Prum.

State of the
 German
 frontiers to-
 wards
 France.

The revenues of the Elector of Triers, in time
 of peace, when his country is not liable to the
 depredations of an enemy, as it was for many years
 together before the last peace, are computed to a-
 mount to near an hundred thousand pounds per
 annum. This Elector, and other German Princes
 who lie upon the frontiers of France, and have
 neither strong towns, or forces sufficient to resist that
 formidable power, are under very dismal circum-
 stances, whenever a rupture happens between the
 Empire and that kingdom, their territories are
 sure to be made a scene of blood and rapine. It
 seems strange therefore, that these Princes have
 not already yielded up their countries to the French,
 who can better protect them, rather than remain
 subject to the Empire, whose armies are always
 so slow in their motions, and so ill provided, that
 the frontier provinces are sure to be destroyed be-
 fore their forces enter upon action, or attempt to
 oppose the enemy. But then it is to be consider'd
 on the other hand, that the Elector of Triers,
 and the other Electors on the frontiers, while they
 remain a part of the Empire, are Sovereign Princes,
 and have the privilege of electing the Emperor;
 besides many other great advantages, which would
 be entirely lost, if they should come under the do-
 minion of France. That crown would use them as
 she does her own nobility, and they would in a little
 time have nothing that they could call their own,
 which is the worst that can befall them, let the
 event of the war be what it will; whatever they
 may suffer during the fury of war, they have found
 by long experience is usually restor'd to them by a
 subsequent peace; and as the Empire is now more
 powerful than it has been for some ages past, by
 the acquisition of such large territories on the side
 of Turkey, by the addition of the Austrian Ne-
 therlands, the Milanese, Naples and Sicily, possi-
 bly they may for the future be better secured from
 the insults of the French than they have been.
 But to return to Triers: The present Elector is

FRANCIS-LEWIS, brother to the Elector Pala-
 tine, born the 24th of July, 1664, and elected
 into this See, anno 1716: His title is FRAN-
 CIS-LEWIS, by the grace of God Archbishop of
 Triers, Archchancellor of the Empire in France,
 (for France the reader will observe was once part
 of the Empire) Prince and Elector of the Holy
 Roman Empire, Count Palatine of the Rhine,
 Great Master of the Teutonic Order, Bishop of
 Breslaw and Worms, Administrator of the abbacy
 of Praym, Judge of the Imperial chamber of
 Wetzlar, or rather Spire, &c. The chapter of
 Triers consists of sixteen capitular Canons, who
 have the election of their Archbishop, and of
 twenty-four Domicil'd; and none are admitted in-
 to the chapter, who cannot prove their nobility
 for four descents, both by father and mother.

The archbishoprick and electorate of Cologne, the
 antient seat of the Ubii, lies on the western
 side of the Rhine, being bounded by the duchy
 of Cleves on the north; by the duchy of Berg,
 from which it is separated by the Rhine, on the
 east; by the electorate of Triers on the south;
 and by the duchy of Juliers and the Netherlands
 on the west; extending about forty miles in length,
 but not above seven or eight in breadth, a plea-
 sant fruitful country, abounding in corn and wine,
 and all other necessaries of life. The Archbishop
 also has several other large territories in West-
 phalia, and other parts of the Empire appropriated
 to his See, being esteem'd more rich and powerful
 than either of the other two spiritual Electors,
 though he yields them the precedence. In the
 diocese of Cologne, strictly so called, the chief
 towns are, 1. Cologne, or Colen, the capital of
 the electorate, the *Colonia Agrippina* of the Ro-
 mans, taking its name from AGRIPPINA, daugh-
 ter of GERMANICUS, wife of CLAUDIUS, and
 mother of NERO, who was born here. It was
 the metropolis of *Germania Secunda*, and seems to
 have obtain'd the name of *Colonia*, by way of e-
 minence, as being the most considerable Roman
 colony in these parts. This town is built in form
 of a crescent, and pleasantly situated in a plain
 near the western bank of the Rhine, in the lati-
 tude of fifty degrees, fifty-five minutes, six de-
 grees and a half to the eastward of London, forty
 miles north-west of Coblenz, and twenty south-
 east of Dusseldorp. The fortifications are so in-
 considerable, that whoever is master of the field
 may be master of the place without a formal
 siege. The city itself is one of the largest, most
 beautiful and populous in the Empire; and yet
 the walls enclose large spaces of ground, which are
 not built upon; and particularly three hundred
 acres planted with vines. Here it was King
 CHARLES II of England spent the two last years
 of his exile. Some travellers number four and
 twenty gates in the walls, thirteen to the land-
 ward,

CHAP. XVIII.
 Lower Rhine.
 The present
 Elector of
 Triers, title.

Archbishoprick
 electorate
 Cologne

Cologne

ward, and eleven on the Rhine. The streets are large and well paved in the middle of the town; and there are two spacious market-places. Among the publick buildings there are eleven collegiate churches, nineteen parish-churches, besides the cathedral, thirty chapels, twelve monasteries, twenty-two nunneries, and four large hospitals; besides which, the Lutherans have a church allowed them. The cathedral, dedicated to St. PETER, is a magnificent structure, wherein they shew three tombs, and as many skulls richly enshrined, which, according to the tradition of the place, belong'd to the three wise men, who came from the east to worship our Saviour, from hence called the three Kings of Colen; and the superstitious pretend the very touch of them has cured many diseases. They were, as the story goes, first brought to Constantinople by HELEN, the mother of CONSTANTINE the Great, from thence remov'd to Milan; and upon the taking of that city by the Emperor FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, in the year 1164, removed again to Colen by REYNOLD, Archbishop of this See. In the church of St. GERON they also expose to view the heads of a thousand saints, who are said to have suffer'd martyrdom under the Emperor MAXIMIN, ador'd by the common people as most sacred reliques. In the church of St. URSULA also is shewn the tomb of that saint, and some of her associates, who, if their records may be credited, came over from the island of Britain with eleven thousand virgins, her companions, to convert the infidels of this country, and all suffer'd martyrdom by the Huns. Upon many of these tombs are old crosses and lamps, but upon that of St. URSULA there is an inscription, importing, that it was discover'd by St. COLUMBA, a native of North Britain. From the multitude of relicks of saints and martyrs, churches and religious houses in this city, it has obtain'd for several years past, the name of *The Holy City*; and notwithstanding it is a great town of trade, we meet almost as many ecclesiasticks as laymen in the streets. The rich endowments of their cathedral and collegiate churches, induces many Noblemen, and even Princes of the Empire, to become Prebends and Canons here, who have generally magnificent houses, or rather palaces, with large vineyards and gardens contiguous to them.

The Elector also has two palaces in the city, but resides generally at Bon. It is contrary to the constitution of their government to suffer him to reside long here: this people being apprehensive his presence might endanger their liberties. For the same reason some other free cities of the Empire look upon it as a breach of their privileges, whenever their Diocesan comes to reside amongst them for any time, and make loud complaints on this head. The convent of the Carmelites is a noble commodious building, where was held a congress of Ambassadors Plenipotentiaries from

most of the Powers of Europe to treat of peace, in the year 1673. Those from Britain being Sir LEOLINE JENKINS and Sir JOSEPH WILLIAMSON; and from France the Prince of Furstenburg, who set all Europe in a flame, and was one occasion of the ensuing war. He was it seems originally a Count of the Empire, but afterwards educated in a French monastery, of which he became Abbot. His zeal for the Grand Monarch LEWIS XIV, induced him afterwards to lay aside his religious habit, and accept of a post in the army, where he gain'd the esteem of the French King to that degree, that he made him his Plenipotentiary in this important negotiation at Cologne, where he had the address to defeat all the measures of the Confederate Princes for the obtaining peace on the terms they propos'd; which so exasperated the Emperor, whose subject he was born, that he caus'd him to be seiz'd in the streets of Cologne, and hurried to Vienna, where he was made a close prisoner; and it was expected he would have been executed as a traitor to his country; but this was thought too dangerous a step by the Imperial court, lest the French King should take a severer revenge on the Princes of the Empire who lay most expos'd. This accident however broke off the treaty for the present; and Furstenburg remain'd a prisoner till the peace of Nimeguen, when LEWIS XIV advanced him to the bishoprick of Strasburg, and afterwards procured him a Cardinal's cap. And it may be observ'd of that Prince in general, that those who serv'd him zealously never fail'd of his protection and a suitable reward; which may be one reason his ministers and officers were so entirely devoted to his service, during the whole course of his long reign, that we have scarce an instance of his councils being betray'd, or a town surrender'd while there was a possibility of defending it: while his enemies suffer'd more from the treachery of their Ministers and Generals, than from all the forces of this Grand Monarch. But to return to Cologne, which still remains a free Imperial city, under some limitations, settled by the Emperor MAXIMILIAN I. on a dispute between the Archbishop and the Burghers, it was decreed, that the magistracy of the city should have the determination of all civil causes; but in criminal, none should be executed or pardon'd but with the Archbishop's concurrence.

The government of the city consists of six Burgomasters, seven Aldermen, and an hundred and fifty Common-council Men, who all continue for life, only two of the Burgomasters are Regents annually by turns; the Aldermen are appointed by the Archbishop, and the Common-council men elected by the trading companies of the city, fifty of the Common-council only acting in one year, taking it by turns; if a Burgomaster dies, the Common-council elect another. The inhabitants

CHAP. XVIII. of Cologne are for the most part Roman Catholics, but many of the principal merchants and tradesmen are Protestants, of whom the Lutherans have a church in the city, as has been intimated already, but the Calvinists are obliged to go as far as Mulheim, two miles on the other side of the Rhine, to their publick worship. This city was antiently one of the principal Hans-Towns, and capital of their fourth province. This is what I could meet with most material concerning the city of Cologne; there is an idle story indeed mentioned by most writers, of a Lady's being buried with a ring of value on her finger, in a church at Cologne, who upon the sexton's coming to steal it, revived at the opening of the coffin, frighten'd the fellow, and went home to her house, where she lived seven years after; but it is related with so many other foolish and incredible circumstances, that it will not bear a recital at large.

Bonn. 2. The second city in the Archbishoprick of Cologne is Bonn, a small but strong town, pleasantly situated on the Rhine, ten miles to the southward of Cologne, supposed to be the *Castra Bonensia*, where the Roman forces sometimes had their winter quarters, near which place JULIUS CÆSAR built a bridge cross the Rhine. Here the Elector has a palace suitable to his dignity, where he usually resides. It stands at the end of that long ridge of mountains which shuts in both sides of the Rhine from hence as far as Bingen. The vineyards in the neighbourhood afford plenty of good Rhenish wine, and the forests variety of game. It is supposed from its happy situation, to have obtain'd the Latin name of *Bona*, and was an Imperial city, but is at present under the dominion of the Elector. The town was taken and retaken several times during the late wars, but the confederates remain'd in possession of this and the whole archbishoprick at the end of the war; the late Elector and his brother of Bavaria being forced to take refuge in France, (with which kingdom they sided) till their dominions were restored to them by the peace of Rastat. Besides the Elector's palace, the gardens and water-works whereof are much admired as well as the building, the stadthouse is said to be a magnificent structure, and adorned with the finest paintings. In the collegiate church they shew some antient tombs, where, according to tradition, PIUS-CASSIUS, FLORENTIUS, MALUSIUS, and several others of the Theban legion were buried, who suffered martyrdom under the Emperor MAXIMIUS. 3. Andernach, eight miles to the northward of Coblenz, at the limits of the two electorates of Trier and Cologne, where the Elector of Cologne has a custom-house. 4. Broel, in the midway between Cologne and Bonn, where the Elector has a hunting seat. 5. Lintz, an antient city on the east-side of

the Rhine, eighteen miles to the northward of Coblenz. 6. Nuys, the *Novesium* of the Latins mentioned by TACITUS, four and twenty miles to the northward of Cologne, seated on the river Erp, where the Romans built a fort to secure the boundaries of their Empire, now a large fortified town, several times taken and retaken in the late wars. 7. Zous, seven miles to the southward of Nuys, situate on the Rhine, in a country which produces plenty of corn, with which they supply the neighbouring cities, who seem to want it pretty much. 8. Rhinberg, situate on a hill near the Rhine, forty miles to the northward of Cologne, and separated from the Elector's other dominions; it is a fortified town, the capital of a county which affords plenty of wine. 9. Meurs, ten miles south of Rhinberg, and thirty north-west of Cologne, a neat little city, which belong'd to the Prince of Orange, and claim'd by the King of Prussia, as heir to King WILLIAM III. 10. Keyserwaert, a small but strong town, on the east side of the Rhine, five miles north of Dusseldorp, and twenty north-west of Cologne, endured a siege of two months in the year 1702, before it surrendered to the Imperialists. 11. Kempen, or Kerpen, a fortified town and castle on the confines of Guelderland and Juliers, situate on the river Erp, thirty-four miles north-west of Cologne. On the east side of the Rhine, between the bishoprick of Munster and county of Marck, lies a narrow tract of land, which is a peculiar subject to the Archbishop of Cologne, containing several large manors and lordships; the chief towns whereof are, 12. Recklinghausen, a fortified town, the capital of a county twenty miles long, and ten broad, wherein there is a nunnery, the Abbess whereof is vested with sovereign power in the town and country about it, and she only makes a perpetual vow of virginity; the other nuns being allowed to marry after a certain term of years. And 13. Dorsten, a strong place, situate on the Lippe. The Elector of Cologne is also Bishop and Prince of the diocese and territory of Hildesheim, being near fifty miles in length, surrounded by the dominions of the Elector of Brunswick, the inhabitants whereof are most of them Lutherans, tho' subject to a Popish Bishop; the chief town whereof is Hildesheim, situate on the river Innerste, fifteen miles south-east of Hanover, and twenty-five south-west of Brunswick, a neat old town, but the buildings are not so considerable, as to deserve a particular description. It is an Imperial city, antiently one of the Hans-Towns, and has still a pretty good trade in corn. 2. Peina, another small city on the river Euse, twelve miles west of Brunswick, the castle whereof is said to be the strongest fortress in the bishoprick. Other places mentioned by Geographers in this territory,

HAP. are the towns of Marienburg, Popenburg, Dassel, Bokenem, Woldenburg, Eltz, Sarstede, and the abby of Gondersheim.

XVIII. The archbishoprick and electorate of Cologne, has been possess'd for three generations, by a younger son of the house of Bavaria, as appears by the following account of the late Elector's death, viz. On the twelfth of November 1723, died **JOSEPH CLEMENT**, brother to the Elector of Bavaria, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was chosen Bishop of Ratisbon in the year 1685, which bishoprick he resign'd to his nephew **CLEMENT-AUGUSTUS** of Bavaria anno 1716, (who resign'd it also in favour of **JOHN THEODORE** of Bavaria, his youngest brother.) He was elected Archbishop and Elector of Cologne on the tenth of July 1688, seven days after the death of his cousin **MAXIMILIAN** of Bavaria, whom he succeeded not only in the electorate, but also in the principality and provostship of Berchtolsgaden. He was chosen Coadjutor to the Bishop of Hildesheim anno 1694, whom he succeeded in that See on the 13th of August 1702, and was elected Bishop of Liege on the 20th of April 1694. This Elector, with his brother of Bavaria, taking the part of France in the late war, was expelled from his electorate and other territories till the peace of Baden, as has been intimated already; and did not receive the investiture of the temporalities of the archbishoprick of Cologne, the bishoprick of Hildesheim, or of the provostship of Berchtolsgaden, until the 12th of April 1717. The present Elector of Cologne, **CLEMENT AUGUSTUS**, younger brother to the present Elector of Bavaria, succeeded his uncle **JOSEPH CLEMENT** in the archbishoprick of Cologne on the 12th of November 1723, having been elected Coadjutor to him on the 9th of May 1722, and is the third son of **MAXIMILIAN-EMANUEL-MARY**, late Elector of Bavaria, who died on the 26th of February 1725-6. He was born in the month of August 1700, elected Bishop of Munster on the 26th, and Bishop of Paderborn the 27th of March 1719. Notwithstanding he succeeded his uncle **JOSEPH CLEMENT** in the electorate and archbishoprick of Cologne, he could not prevail with the chapter of Liege to elect him their Bishop; these Gentlemen being determined to chuse one of their own number, who should reside amongst them; but he was afterwards chosen Bishop of Hildesheim.

Lower Rhine. The present Elector's titles are, **CLEMENT AUGUSTUS** by the grace of God Archbishop of Cologne, Arch-chancellor of the Empire in Italy, Prince Elector of the holy Roman Empire; Bishop of Hildesheim, of Munster and Paderborn; Administrator of Berchtolsgaden, Duke of Engern and Westphalia, Duke of the Upper and Lower Bavaria, &c. His great chapter consists of sixty Canons, who are all Princes and Counts; but

the Archbishop is elected by the four and twenty **CHAP.** Seniors. He crowns the Emperor by virtue of his **XVIII.** office, unless the coronation be performed in the Lower diocese of the Elector of Mentz, or in the diocese of the Elector of Triers. The directors of this circle are the Archbishop of Mentz and the Elector Palatine.

WESTPHALIA.

CHAP. XIX.

Treats of the city of Westphalia: comprehending the duchy of Westphalia, the bishopricks of Liege, Munster, Paderborn and Osnabrug; the duchies of Juliers, Cleves and Berg; the principality of Minden; the Counties of Marck, Ravensburg, Lippe, Schawenburg, Hoya, Diepholt, Oldenburg, Delmenhorst, Embden, Bentheim, Tecklenburg, Pyrmont, Lingen and Steinfort, Corbey Abbey; and the Imperial towns of Aix la Chapelle, Dortmund, &c.

THE circle of Westphalia is bounded by Situation the German Ocean on the north; by the and extent. circle of Lower Saxony on the east; by Hesse on the south; and by the Netherlands towards the west. Extending in length about two hundred miles from north to south, and an hundred and fifty, and in some places two hundred miles from east to west.

The air of this country towards the north is very cold, and the soil almost one continued morass or barren sand: but here however, they feed the best bacon in Europe, with the chesnuts and other fruits which their forests produce. The southern part of this circle has a warmer air, and a much better soil, as will appear in the description of the particular provinces.

The principal rivers are the Weser, the Ems, Rivers. the Lippe, the Roer, the Aa, and the Hunt. Travellers who visit this country complain much of their coarse bread, bad beer, hard lodging, and long dirty miles, as well as of their way of travelling in post-waggons, as they are called, which move no faster than a snail: but the reader will be better able to judge of the country from a description of the particular provinces.

The name of Westphalia is, by some German The name. writers, derived from *Weissenpholen*, which signifies a white Horse: for Westphalia, as well as the circle of Lower Saxony, going antiently under the general name of Saxony; as the Duke of Lower Saxony, whose territories lay to the eastward of the Weser, carried a black horse in his standard; so the Duke of that part of Saxony, now called Westphalia, which lay to the westward of the Weser, had a *Weissenpholen*, or white Horse, painted

CHAP. painted on his standard, from whence his territories were called *Westpholen*, which was easily changed afterwards into Westphalia. Others affirm, that the country to the eastward of the *Weser* was called *Eastfelt*, or Eastfield; and that to the westward of the river, *Westfelt*, or Westfield, which with a Latin termination was easily converted into Westphalia. I must confess, that both of these accounts have so fair a shew of probability, that I can't tell which to incline to, and therefore leave the reader to his own judgment, and proceed now to a particular description of the provinces of this great circle. And first I shall endeavour to describe Westphalia Proper, or the duchy of Westphalia, because great part of it is subject to the Elector of Cologne, whose other territories were last treated of; for notwithstanding Westphalia is the general name of the whole circle, it is however restrain'd and specially apply'd to this particular province.

Westphalia
duchy.
Situation
and extent.

Soil.

Rivers.

Mines.

Arnsburg.

Werle.

The duchy of Westphalia is bounded by the bishopricks of Munster and Paderborn on the north; by the landgravate of Hesse on the east; by Veteravia on the south; and by the county of Mark and duchy of Berg towards the west: being about fifty miles in length from the south-west to the north-east, and about forty broad. This country is for the most part mountainous and woody, except towards Lipstat, where the soil is tolerably fruitful, nor does there want good corn or pasturage in the valleys among the hills, at least enough to supply the inhabitants, who are not very numerous. Their rivers run from the mountains with an impetuous torrent, the chief whereof is the Roer, which falls into the Rhine near Duyfburg: and tho' they have mines of silver, copper and lead in many places, they can make but little advantage of them, they are so subject to be flooded by the rivulets which fall from every side of their mountains. This dukedom was taken from HENRY THE LYON, Duke of Saxony, and conferred on the Archbishops of Cologne by the Emperor FREDERICK-BARNAROSSA about the Year 1170, by way of punishment, for Duke HENRY's having confederated with the Pope against that Emperor.

The chief towns of this duchy are, 1. Arnsburg, a pretty town pleasantly situated on the river Roer, about fifty miles north-east of Cologne, adjoining to which is a fine castle, where the Elector frequently resides in the hunting season. It was antiently subject to its own Count, by whom it was sold to the Archbishops of Cologne, with Hovestat, Geseck, and other towns in the neighbourhood. Near this town stands the fine monastery of Wedinghausen. 2. Werle, a pleasant town between the Roer and the Lippe; where the supreme court of justice is held for the duchy of Westphalia, which occasions it sometimes to

be called the capital of the duchy. 3. Geseck, a fortified town, situate at the bottom of a hill near the banks of the Lippe, in a fruitful country, about five and twenty miles north-east of Arnsburg; where the head of St. CYRIACUS, a Saint of this country, is preserved as a very precious relique. His body also was long kept here in a golden coffin, till the Count de Oberstein robb'd them of it. And, 4. Brilon, near the head of the river Moens.

The bishoprick of Liege, or Luyick, the antient *Leodium*, or *Legia*, is supposed to derive its name from a little rivulet called Liege, which runs thro' this country and falls into the Maes. The diocese of Liege is bounded by Flanders and Brabant towards the north and west; by the duchy of Limburg on the east; and by Luxemburg and part of France on the south: being near seventy miles in length from north to south, and five and twenty in breadth from east to west, and in some places twice as broad. It is in general a pleasant fruitful country, having large corn fields, and a great deal of rich meadow and pasture ground. They have also some mines of lead and iron, and quarries of marble; but what it is most particularly remarkable for, is the great quantities of brimstone and vitriol which are made in this country. The chief towns in the bishoprick are, 1. Liege, the capital, situate in the latitude of fifty degrees, forty minutes, twelve miles south of Maestricht; a large populous city, of a triangular figure. There are several hills and valleys within the walls, and some islands made by the river Maes, two branches whereof run through the town. The streets are neither clean nor regular, and most of the private houses built of wood; but there are some however which make a handsome appearance, a clear stream generally runs thro' the middle of the streets, besides which, many of the best houses have fountains in their courts and gardens. In the city and suburbs are upwards of an hundred churches: the Bishop's palace and the cathedral are magnificent structures, the last built with red stone, and dedicated to St. LAMBERT: according to some travellers, no city in Germany or France can equal it in fine churches, convents, and other religious foundations. The country about it also is so extremely agreeable, that it has obtain'd the name of *The Paradise of Ecclesiasticks*. The English Jesuits have a college here, proudly situated on the top of a hill, with a most delightful garden, in which is seen variety of dialling; not far from it is a convent of English Nuns. In the monastery of St. WILLIAM, without the walls of the city, lie the remains of that famous English traveller Sir JOHN MANDEVILLE, who having taken a view of most of the great cities in the world, preferr'd Liege to any of them; and accordingly spent the latter part of his life here, after

Mandeville
buried at
Liege.

H A P. ter he had finish'd his travels. Near his tomb are
 (IX. placed his saddle, spurs and knife; and the fol-
 est- lowing inscription, viz. *Vos ki passeis for mi pour*
 alia. *l'amour Deix proies por mi*; i. e. You who pass
 over me, for the love of God pray for me. The
 university of this place was once so considerable,
 that it is said, there were at one time in it, nine
 King's sons, four and twenty sons of Dukes, and
 nine and twenty Counts. MEIBONIUS relates, that
 in the year 1131, there were one and twenty
 King's sons resident in this university: the rest of
 the town also was so populous, that the Duke of
 Burgundy when he took it by storm, according
 to Dr. NICHOLSON, put an hundred thousand of
 the inhabitants to the sword. At present the for-
 tifications of the city are but mean, and being
 commanded by the hills which surround them,
 are not capable of resisting a royal army; but
 the citadel, which is situate on a hill, is a place
 of some strength. The late Elector of Cologne,
 who was also Bishop of Liege, deliver'd it up to
 the French in the beginning of the last war; but
 the Duke of Marlborough took it in the year 1702.
 It was again besieged by the French in the year
 1705, and upon the point of being taken, when
 the grand army of the confederates returning sud-
 denly from the Moselle, the French thought fit to
 retire. Liege is stiled an Imperial city, under the
 protection of its Bishop: but this Prelate is really
 Sovereign of the city and diocese; and the citi-
 zens for disputing his authority, have more than
 once suffer'd very severely; tho' Mr. RAY af-
 firms, that he can lay no taxes on the people
 without the consent of the Clergy, Gentry and
 Commons, whom he calls the three estates. The
 chapter of Liege consists of sixty major Canons,
 who are most of them of noble extraction, and
 have the power of electing their Bishop. There
 are twelve other Canons, called *Canonici Medio-*
cres, and twelve more *Canonici Minores*, who
 have no share in this election. The present Prince
 and Bishop of Liege is GEORGE LEWIS Count
 de Berghes, elected on the 7th of February N. S.
 anno 1723-4, who was then sixty-five years of
 age, and lived in a mean house, with only one
 man servant, and an old maid. He was the last
 of the family of JOHN III, Duke of Brabant,
 and had been a Lieutenant-Colonel of horse in
 his youth. He is the third of this family, who
 have been advanced to this See, and was prefer-
 red before three other powerful candidates, viz.
 the Elector of Cologne, the Cardinal of Saxzeits,
 and the Prince of Auvergne Archbishop of Vien-
 ne in Dauphiné, by a majority of the Electors,
 who enter'd into an engagement to give their
 votes to one of their own members who would
 reside amongst them; being morally sure none
 of the other candidates would. Before this last
 choice the Electors of Cologne were generally cho-

sen to this See: and it was a fine addition to CHAP.
 the power and revenues of that Elector; for the XIX.
 Bishop of Liege is one of the most considerable West-
 ecclesiastical Princes in Germany, having, as is phalia.
 computed, within his diocese, or rather principa-
 lity, fifty-two baronies, eighteen wall'd towns, and
 four hundred villages, very well peopled, which
 yield him an annual revenue of three hundred
 thousand ducats. The second city in the diocese
 of Liege is, 2. Tongres, or Tongren, *olim Tun-* Tongren.
grorum oppidum, situate on the little river Jecker,
 ten miles north-west of Liege; a very consider-
 able town in the time of the Romans, when
 there was a road pitch'd with stone, reaching
 from hence to Paris, near two hundred miles in
 length, some parts of which are still to be seen:
 there are also still remaining here the ruins of
 some of their temples and other monuments of
 antiquity; particularly in the great church they
 shew an image supposed by some to be the statue
 of Minerva, but by others the image of Hercules,
 who was antiently worship'd here by the Pagan
 inhabitants. It was very early made a Bishop's
 See, and had an hundred churches in it when de-
 stroy'd by ATTILA the Hun; but the bishop-
 rick was remov'd from hence to Maestricht, and
 afterwards to Liege; and the town has now very
 little remaining of its former grandeur. It is ge-
 nerally held that the old castle and the wall on
 Bishop MATERNUS's chapel were standing before
 the time of our Saviour. The great church is a
 handsome Gothick structure, and has a Dean and
 two and twenty Canons belonging to it. The
 French took this town by surprize in the year
 1703, but abandon'd it again in 1705, on the
 approach of the confederate army, without ven-
 turing a siege; from whence it is evident the
 town is a place of no great strength at present.
 3. Hoy, or Huy, situate on the east side of the Huy.
 Maes, twelve miles south-west of Liege, and six-
 teen north-east of Namur. The iron mines in
 the neighbourhood find employment for most part
 of the inhabitants. The town and castle are for-
 tified after the modern way, but were taken by
 the French in the year 1693, and retaken by the
 allies in 1703. It was formerly governed by Counts
 of its own, the last of whom transferr'd it to the
 Bishops of Liege, who are now Sovereigns of it.
 4. Buillon, or Bullion, situate on the river Se- Bullion.
 may, thirty miles south of Dinant, and forty west
 of Luxemburg; the capital of a small duchy,
 which gives the title of Duke to the Bishop of
 Liege; and was formerly the inheritance of the
 famous GODFREY of Bullion, who sold it to the
 Bishops of this See, anno 1096, in order to en-
 able him to raise forces to carry on the war a-
 gainst the infidels in the Holy Land: in which
 expedition he met with such success, that within
 the space of three years he made himself master
 of

CHAP. of Jerusalem and the greatest part of Palestine; XIX. and was thereupon crown'd the first Christian King of that city and territory. Historians who West-phalia. have written of these transactions generally relate, that this Prince was so extremely modest he could hardly be prevail'd on to accept the regal dignity, alledging that he thought it a presumption to wear a crown of gold, where our Saviour wore a crown of thorns. 5. Dinant, a fortified town, situate thirty-five miles south-west of Liege, and twelve south of the city of Namur. It is an antient town, and a place of some trade, particularly in the manufactures of brass and iron. 6. Franchemont, fifteen miles from Liege, antiently a large populous city, and still the capital of a marquisate, whereof the Bishop of Liege is Sovereign; but is no more than an open village at this day, and considerable only for the lead-mines near it. 7. The Spaw, or Spa, situate in a bottom inclosed with hills, and to the north with craggy mountains, fourteen miles south-east of Liege, and seven south-west of Limburg; famous for its mineral waters now, as it was antiently. The account PLINY gave of them was, that they tasted of iron, and were purgative; that they cured tertian agues and the stone, and when boil'd grew turbid, and at last of a reddish colour. Modern travellers relate, that there are four mineral fountains much in esteem in and near this place: the first call'd Geronster, is in the middle of a thick wood two miles south of Spa, being the best kept, and built up with stone, with a pavilion over it supported by four stone pillars, and near it stands a little house for the patients to warm themselves in. This spring hath a strong sulphureous smell, and causes vomiting in some, but works chiefly by urine, as do all the rest. The second spring, call'd Saviniere, lies as far to the east of the Spaw, whose waters are not so strong as the former. The third is called Tonnet, and rises in a meadow near the Spaw, which contains more nitre than the rest, but is very cold in the mouth and stomach. The fourth of these fountains, called Pohunt, in the middle of the village, (for the Spaw is but a village) which supplies most of the water that is sent into foreign parts, and is beautified with a fine stone building, over which there is an inscription, importing that these waters remove obstructions, dissolve hard swellings, dry up a superfluity of moisture, and strengthen weaken'd limbs, if drank according to the advice of the learned. There are vast quantities of these waters sent abroad to all countries in Europe. The season for filling bottles with it is either in the heat of summer when it is very dry, or in the hardest frosts in winter, then the water is observed to be the strongest, brisk and sparkling. It is observed that they weigh two grains in three ounces more than Tunbridge, and

four grains more than the Islington waters, and yet less than the common water by several grains. XIX. Other towns of any note mention'd by Geographers in the bishoprick of Liege, are, 1. Borchloen, or Loots, twelve miles north of Liege, which formerly gave title to a Count, and was the capital of the territory of Loots. 2. St. Tron, or Truden, five miles west of Borchloen. 3. Bilsen, taken notice of for a runnery of Ladies of quality there, who have the liberty of leaving their convent and marrying if they please. 4. Hasselt, where the Bishop has a palace. 5. Mayesick, eighteen miles north of Maesricht, considerable for being a pass over the Maes. 6. Horn, capital of a county of the same name. 7. Couvin. And 8. Verviers.

The bishoprick of Munster lies on both sides the river Ems; being bounded by the counties of Bentheim and Steinfurt on the north; by the bishoprick of Osnabrug and Paderborn towards the east; by the county of Marck on the south; and by the duchy of Cleve, and some part of Zutphen towards the west: extending an hundred miles in length, and in breadth in some places sixty, in others forty, and in others scarce twenty miles. Munster is a barren country, but no part of Westphalia produces better bacon, which they export all over Europe; so much admired, that it bears double the price of any other. The name of Munster is said to be derived from *Monasterium*, there having been a noble monastery erected in the place where the capital city now stands; which was converted into a bishoprick by CHARLES the Great about the year 785. The Bishop of this diocese is a Count of the Empire, and absolute Sovereign of the territories belonging to it: the present Bishop is the Elector of Cologne, brother to the Elector of Bavaria, of whose election to this See an account has been already given in treating of the electorate of Cologne. The chief towns in this bishoprick are, 1. Munster, *Monasterium*, the metropolis of Westphalia, situate on the river Aa, in a pleasant fruitful plain, in the latitude of fifty two degrees, seventy miles to the northward of Cologne, and twenty-five south-west of Osnabrug. The town is generally well built of free stone. The cathedral and Jesuits college are noble structures; besides which, there are four other collegiate churches. The Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church have the election of the Bishop, whose revenue is computed to amount to near an hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum. Munster was an Imperial city, and preserved its liberties till the year 1661, when their Bishop reduced them under his power. The Roman Catholick is the establish'd religion, tho' the Protestants were very numerous here after the reformation, till some Enthusiasts and bigotted people brought a disgrace on.

on this persuasion by their extravagant behaviour and insurrection against the government. Of which transaction Dr. NICHOLSON gives the following account: The first captain of these bigotted zealots, says he, was BERNARD ROTHMAN, a Lutheran Minister, who had the cure of St. MAURICE's church in the suburbs, who by his railing at the superstitious follies and innovations of the church of Rome in the year 1533, rendered himself exceeding popular. To this gentleman JOHN BUCKHOLT a taylor born at Leyden in Holland, associated himself; he had been bred an Anabaptist, and thoroughly instructed in their doctrines, being withal naturally bold and ambitious, and a man of bright parts. By a cunning use and improvement of these qualifications he became in time a man of so much credit as to win over ROTHMAN, who before had only maintain'd LUTHER's tenets, to his opinion, and with him all the Protestants of the place immediately professed themselves Anabaptists. Their faction afterwards increased to such a degree as to alarm the government, and the senate endeavour'd in vain to apprehend the ringleaders: their numbers became so formidable that they compell'd the magistrates to grant them a toleration. Hereupon JOHN of Leyden's inferiour agents began to pretend to divine inspiration; and getting a croud about them in the streets, declared they had an immediate command from heaven to call men to repent, and to be rebaptized; and most part of the city coming over to them, they seized on the town-hall and the magazines, and invited the people of the neighbouring towns and villages to join them: and having thus filled the city with Anabaptists, they deposed the Popish magistrates, and all others who refused to come into their schemes, supplying their places with those of their own faction. Whereupon the Bishop raised a body of forces and laid siege to the city in the year 1534, but was obliged to rise from before it; which so flushed their great leader JOHN of Leyden, that he caused himself to be proclaim'd King, and made one of his concubines Queen, tho' upon her disapproving some of his extravagant projects he afterwards cut off her head. The year following, anno 1535, the Bishop being re-inforced by the troops of the Elector of Cologne and the Landgrave of Hesse, surprized the city by a stratagem, and took the anabaptist King Prisoner, who having been carried in derision to most of the courts of the German Princes, he was the year following torn in pieces with red-hot pincers, and his bones hung in an iron cage on the top of a steeple *in terrorem*.

At Munster also was concluded that treaty in the year 1648, which establish'd the Protestant religion in those parts of the Empire where it was profess'd, and put an end to a war of thirty years standing, viz. from the year 1618, to that time,

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between the Protestant Princes of Germany and the Swede on one side, and the Emperor and the Popish Princes of the other, and has been made the basis and foundation of almost every subsequent treaty, especially as to the religion of the Empire. This is sometimes called the treaty of Westphalia, having been negotiated in that circle; and at others the treaty of Osnabrug, because the Protestant Plenipotentiaries held their conferences at Osnabrug, as the Popish Princes did theirs at this city of Munster. The Swedes had been engaged in the German war eighteen years, and had possess'd themselves of an hundred strong towns in the Empire; and by this treaty procured the duchies of Bremen and Verden, Western Pomeran, the isle of Rugen, and the city of Wisnar to be confirm'd to them; and might have had better terms, it is said, if they had not prefer'd the interest of the Protestant Princes of Germany to their own. 2. Meppen, a fortified town on the frontiers of Friesland, forty-three miles north of Munster. 3. Haselunen, another fortress on the Hase, ten miles east of Meppen. 4. Vecht, the capital of a county, situate thirteen miles south-east of Kloppenburg. Other towns mentioned by geographers in this bishoprick are, Kloppenburg, sixteen miles north-east of Haselunen, Warenberg on the Ems, Stromberg, Coesfelt, Ahusen, fifteen miles north-west of Meppen, capital of a large barony, Tilligt on the Ems, and Rheyne a small city on the river Ems, eighteen miles north of Munster.

The next division of this circle is the bishoprick of Paderborn, bounded by the county of Lippe towards the north; by the duchy of Brunswick on the east; by the county of Waldeck on the south; and by the duchy of Westphalia on the west; being about forty miles in length and twenty in breadth, containing in it twenty castles, twenty-four market-towns, fifty-four other parishes, and sixteen monasteries, subject both in spirituals and temporals to its Sovereign, the present Elector of Cologne, who was chosen Bishop of this See anno 1723. This country is remarkable for the variety of salt-springs and other fountains in it. In the transactions of the Royal Society, publish'd in December 1665, there is an account of a spring in this territory, which loses it self twice in twenty-four hours, returning with a great noise, and such force, as to turn three mills not far from its source, and is called by the inhabitants *Bolder Born*, or the Boisterous Spring. And in the transactions of January following, there is an account of another remarkable fountain in this diocese called Methorn, which is a treble spring, two springs whereof, not a foot and half distant from each other, have very different qualities, the one limpid, bluish, lukewarm, bubbling, and containing sal-armoniac, ochra, iron, vitriol, alum, sulphur, nitre, and orpiment: the other cold

CHAP. XIX.
Westphalia.
insurrection of German Anabaptists.

Meppen.

Haselunen.

Kloppenburg.

Ahusen.

Tilligt, &c.

Paderborn, bishoprick.

CHAP. XIX. cold as ice, turbid and whitish, much stronger in taste, and heavier than the other, containing much orpiment, salt, nitre, iron, and some sal-armoniac, allum and vitriol; of which water all fowls that drink of it die soon after in convulsion-fits, but giving them some common salt immediately they die not so soon, and vinegar will recover them. Those that have been open'd after drinking this water, their lungs have been found quite shrivel'd up, and yet 'tis a perfect cure for people troubled with worms. The third spring or stream which issues from this fountain, and is about twenty paces distant from the others, is of a greenish colour, very clear, and tastes both sour and sweet, pleasant enough, and from its weight is supposed to be a mixture of the other two. This bishoprick was founded by **CHARLES** the Great, about the year 777, to which he was incited by a miracle, according to the tradition of the place; for being about to encamp on that spot of ground where the city of Paderborn now stands, and in some distress for water for his army, on the knocking down the first tent-pin of his pavilion, there issued, it is said, a plentiful spring, upon which fountain the Emperor caused the cathedral church to be built. But springs being so common in this country, it is observed there was little occasion for the expence of a miracle, tho' it is generally allow'd that **CHARLES** the Great was the founder of this See. This territory being generally barren, they have little to boast of besides their hogs-flesh, deer and other venison. The chief towns of this diocese are, 1. Paderborn, the capital city, so named from the head or fountain of the river Pader, which springs in a torrent near the cathedral of this city, and falls into the Lippe near Neinhus. At this fountain, according to the Magdeburg chronicle, most of the inhabitants of Saxony and Westphalia were baptized about the year 780, by the order of **CHARLES** the Great, the natives being Pagans before he conquer'd this country. The city of Paderborn stands on the river Pader, thirty-two miles north-west of Cassel, and fifty south-east of Munster, a large populous and well-built town, regularly fortified, formerly a free Imperial city, but subject to the Bishop, the present Elector of Cologne, at this day, as it has been to the Bishops his predecessors ever since the year 1604. The citizens many of them embraced the doctrine of **LUTHER** at the reformation; but **HERMAN**, Elector of Cologne, being chosen their Bishop, executed sixteen of the principal burghers who had turn'd Protestants, and compelling the rest to abjure their principles, the Roman catholick religion prevail'd, and still remains establish'd here. 2. Lippe-spring, or Lippe-sburg, five miles north of Paderborn, so call'd from the head of the river Lippe, which arises here in a large stream, six or

Paderborn
city.

Lippe-sburg.

eight paces in breadth, turning three or four miles before it leaves the town. Here the Dean and Chapter of Paderborn have a fine castle, or rather palace. 3. Warburg situate on the Diemel, eighteen miles south-east of Paderborn, in a fruitful country, considerable for the iron and lead mines about it, and a strong palatable beer which they brew and vend to their neighbours. 4. Lude, or Ludge, twenty-five miles north-east of Paderborn, (usually reckon'd part of the county of Pyrmont, but subject to the Bishop of this See;) and twenty-seven miles north-east of Paderborn, remarkable for its holy well, said to be a remedy for most distempers, and in the days of superstition, held to have effected miraculous cures. The remaining towns of any note in this bishoprick are, Pecklesheim, Boreatrick, Buren, Soltkot, Hersel and Welsburg.

The bishoprick and principality of Osnabrug has the county of Diepholt on the north; the counties of Minden and Ravensberg on the east; and Munster, Steinfort and Bentheim, on the south and west, extending about forty miles in length, and thirty in breadth where broadest, esteem'd one of the most fruitful parts of Westphalia, and subject to its Bishop, who is a Count of the Empire. This was the first bishoprick founded by **CHARLES** the Great, who dedicated the cathedral to St. **PETER**, and the two martyrs **CRISPIN** and **CRISPIANUS**, and granted extraordinary privileges to this See, exempting them from all manner of service and homage, even to the Emperor himself. Lutheranism prevailing here at the reformation, it was at length agreed by the treaty concluded anno 1648, (frequently stiled the Munster and Westphalian treaty; and at others the treaty of Osnabrug, from the Protestant Plenipotentiaries residing here,) that this bishoprick, with the territories and revenues belonging to it, should be enjoy'd alternately by a Protestant and Papist, and that the Protestant Bishop should always be a Prince of the house of Brunswick, in consideration that the principality of Halberstat had been taken from this house, and conferr'd on the Elector of Brandenburg. When they have a Popish Bishop he is suffragan to the Archbishop of Cologne, but the Protestant Bishop is indeed a temporal Prince, and has little to denominate him an ecclesiastick but the title. The present Bishop is **ERNEST-AUGUSTUS**, Duke of York, his British Majesty's Uncle. The chief towns are, 1. The city of Osnabrug, or Osenbruck, the capital, so named from a bridge over the river Ose at this place, situate in a fine plain, and beautified with several noble publick buildings. They are said to have the best bread and beer here which is to be met with in Westphalia, and they have a tolerable trade in bacon and linen. The cathedral is in the hands of the Roman Catholics,

Osnabrug
bishoprick.

Osnabrug
city.

licks, with the church and monastery of the Dominicans in the old city, and the collegiate church of St. JOHN in the new, (for the city is divided into the old and new town by the river Ose.) The Protestants are masters of the great parochial church of St. MARY in the old city, and both Protestants and Papists have a voice in the election of their magistrates; but of the five and twenty Canons which belong to the cathedral, eighteen are Papists, and the revenues of four more are enjoy'd by the Jesuits for the support of their college; so that there are but three Protestant Canons, who have no voice in the election of the Popish Bishop, that succeeds every other turn, as the Popish Canons have. The Bishop's palace is fortified like a castle. Here it was that his late British Majesty King GEORGE the First was born on the 28th of May 1660, his father ERNEST-AUGUSTUS being then Bishop and Prince of the place: and here the same King GEORGE died in the night of the tenth of June 1727, and some relate in the very room where he was born. 2. Iburg, situate ten miles south of Osnabrug, in the castle whereof the Bishop formerly resided. 3. Quakenburg, on the river Ose, twenty-five miles to the northward of Osnabrug. Other towns mention'd by geographers are, Vordé, Forstenaw, Whitlag, and Mello; but these are not thought worth a description.

Until the year 1609, the duchies of Juliers, Cleves and Berg were subject to the same Sovereign; but upon the death of JOHN-WILLIAM, the last Duke, without issue male, the Emperor RODOLPH II granted these dukedoms, together with the counties of Marck and Ravensberg, and the Barony of Ravenstein, dependant upon them, to the house of Saxony, with a proviso however for saving the rights of all other claimants. And in the reign of CHARLES V, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Newburg, the Duke of Deuxponts, and the Marquiss of Burgow, having all married sisters, or daughters of the sisters of the last Duke WILLIAM, claim'd their shares in the said territories; but the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Newburg obtaining the possession of these countries by their arms, the other powers desisted from their pretensions, and it was at length agreed that Juliers and Berg, with the territory of Ravenstein, should be enjoy'd by the Duke of Newburg, and that the Elector of Brandenburg should have for his share the duchy of Cleve, with the counties of Marck and Ravensberg; and these Princes still remain possess'd of the territories respectively allotted to them, retaining each of them the titles to the whole, as do the posterity of the other pretenders.

The duchy of Juliers is situate between the Maes and the Rhine, and bounded by Guelder-

land on the north; by the duchy of Berg, and CHAP. part of the electorate of Cologne towards the east; by Limburg on the south; and the Netherlands West- on the west; extending sixty miles in length, and phalia. thirty in breadth, a plentiful country, abounding in corn, cattle, and rich pastures, and plentifully supplied with wood; but what it is most remarkable for is, a fine breed of horses, and wood for dying, which is gather'd here in large quantities. The chief towns are, 1. Juliers, or Gulick, called by the Romans *Juliacum*, and said to be so named from JULIUS CÆSAR, its supposed founder, situate on the river Roer, twenty-five miles east of Maestricht, and as many west of Cologne. It is a small fortified town, neatly built with brick, the citadel large and strong, wherein is the palace of the antient Dukes. 2. Aken, or *Aquis Granum*, usually called Aix la Chapelle, a large Imperial city, fifteen miles south-west of Juliers, and twenty south-east of Maestricht, supposed to have taken its antient name from SERENIUS GRANUS, Lieutenant-General of *Gallia Belgica*, in the reign of the Emperor ADRIAN, who having discover'd the hot springs here about the year 53, first built and beautified them after the manner of the Roman baths, and then erected himself a palace in the place; in confirmation whereof, the natives still shew a piece of antient architecture, which they call *Turris Grani*, and relate that it is a part of the ruins of that General's palace. This town is called by the French, *Aix la Chapelle*, from a chapel in the great church much resorted to by pilgrims, containing a multitude of reliques in high veneration among the Roman Catholics. The town is situated in a fruitful valley, encompass'd with mountains and woods, and yet the air is esteem'd exceeding wholesome. It may be divided into the inward and outward city: the inward city is surrounded by a wall about three quarters of a league in circumference, having ten gates; and the outward wall about a league and a half in circumference, in which there are eleven gates. Some rivulets run thro' the town, which keep it very clean, and turn several mills; besides which there are twenty publick fountains, and many private ones: and as the stone quarries in the neighbourhood furnish them with excellent materials, their buildings are suitably magnificent, of which the Senate-house, or the Stadthouse, and the Cathedral are the chief; besides which there are thirty other parochial or collegiate churches. The Stadthouse is a stately fabrick, built in the year 1533, adorn'd with the statues of all the Emperors since CHARLES the Great, and consists of three stories, the two first divided by several partitions, but the upper story is one entire room, of an hundred and sixty-two feet in length, and sixty in breadth, where the new-elected Emperor used to entertain the

CHAP. XIX. the Electors and all the Princes of the Empire at their coronation; for here the Emperor formerly received his first crown of iron, as he did a second of silver at Milan, and a third of gold at West-phalia. **Rome.** In this hall are several fine pieces of painting, particularly one of the resurrection, and another of **CHARLES** the Great, giving the charter to the city of Aken. In the middle of the market-place before the Stadt-house is a noble fountain, admired for the largeness of its dimensions and curious workmanship, being supplied by four springs, which fall into a copper basin, thirty foot diameter, from whence it is convey'd quite thro' the city, and on the top of the fountain is a large brass statue of **CHARLEMAIN** in armour gilt, with his face towards Germany. On the edges of the brass cistern is an inscription importing that **GRANUS** a Roman Prince, first discover'd and built the hot baths in this city. The cathedral is of Gothick architecture, having a high steeple at the west end, adorn'd with pyramids, and cover'd with a cupola in the middle. On the inside are a vast number of pillars of brass and marble, gilded statues, brazen doors, and a great deal of Mosaic work. Over the place where **CHARLES** the Great was first interred, hangs a very large crown, made of silver and brass gilt, the gift of the Emperor **FREDERICK I.**, surrounded with forty-eight statues a foot high, and thirty-two lesser statues, all of silver. The same Emperor **FREDERICK** removed the body of **CHARLEMAIN**, and buried part of it under the altar in the choir in a silver coffin, and the other part near the wall of the old building, and cover'd it with the same tombstone of white marble, which it had before, with the bust of **PROSERPINA** upon it, supposed to have cover'd **JULIUS CÆSAR**'s tomb. The principal reliques which pilgrims resort hither to adore, are, 1. The Virgin **MARY**'s gown, in which she was dress'd at the incarnation of our Saviour, made of wool, says **Dr. NICHOLSON**, not unlike that which grows on the coco-tree; but this description is altogether unintelligible to me, who could never discover any thing like wool on a cocoa-tree; but certain it is the gown must be of very durable materials to last so long, or it must have been preserved by a miracle as great as any that are ascribed to it. 2. The cloth girt about our Saviour when he suffer'd, being of very coarse linen. 3. A piece of the cord with which he was bound when he was deliver'd to **PILATE**. 4. Some of the blood of the first martyr **St. STEPHEN**, enchased in gold and precious stones, on which the Emperors are sworn at their inauguration. 5. The picture of the Virgin **MARY** with our Saviour in her arms, emboss'd upon a jasper two inches in breadth, found in the Emperor **CHARLES** the Great's tomb, and said to be the work of **St. LUKE**. 6. A manuscript of the Gospels

found in the same tomb, which with a great many other reliques, it is said, were procured by **CHARLES** the Great of **AARON** King of Persia, and of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople. At the east end of the cathedral is a throne, upon which our Saviour is represented sitting majestically in a long robe, and round the throne a representation of the four animals mention'd in **EZEKIEL**'s vision. Over his head is a circle of golden stars, and underneath them the symbol of the cross, said to have appear'd in the air to the Emperor **CONSTANTINE**, when he conquer'd **MAXENTIUS**. Here is also a representation of the four and twenty elders rising from their seats, laying down their crowns, and prostrating themselves before the throne. In this church also is a pulpit cover'd with plates of gold, as is the altar in the choir, whereon is represented our Saviour's passion. In the upper part of the church over against the Prince's altar, is a throne of white marble, where the Emperors used to sit, and is supposed to be the same which **CHARLES** the Great placed there nine hundred years ago.

This city is govern'd by a Mayor, two Burghomasters, fourteen Aldermen, and a hundred and twenty Common-council-men. The Mayor presides among the Aldermen, and is constituted by the Duke of Juliers; the Burghomasters, Aldermen and Council, are chosen by the companies of the city, of which there are fourteen or fifteen; and the territories of this city are so large, as to comprehend two hundred villages.

The hot baths of Aken occasion it to be much resorted to, whereof three are within the inner wall. 1. The Emperor's bath. 2. The little bath. And, 3. The bath of **St. QUIRINUS**. The first of these is in the same place, and supply'd by the same springs as that was which **CHARLES** the Great so much delighted in, and used to invite his nobility and great officers to bathe with him in it; for it was the custom antiently to bathe an hundred together, though now the bath is divided by several partitions. These baths rise so hot that they let them cool twelve hours before they are used; but those which rise without the inner wall of the town are not so hot. The smell of the latter is offensive, and the water in the cisterns not transparent. Here is also a fountain of warm water, which is drunk in summer mornings for many chronical distempers. Less than a quarter of a mile from the south gate of the city, stands the village of Porcetum, so called from the droves of wild hogs which formerly frequented the woods near it, where is a nunnery, the Abbess of which is a Princess of the Empire. The village in general is well built, and has four handsome churches in it. The hot springs here lie on each side a small cool rivulet, which

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The hot baths at Aix.

AP. which runs through the town, and are by pipes conveyed into fourteen houses, forming eight and twenty baths. The water of these springs is clear and pleasant, without any offensive smell, but much hotter than that of Aken, being usually cool'd eighteen hours before it can be endured. There are several mines of lead, coal, vitriol, calmey or lapis calaminaris, near this place. With the calmey they make brass, by mixing eight and twenty pounds of the best Swedish copper, with an hundred pounds of this mineral, to which they add some broken pieces of brass, and a good quantity of dross of both the simples above mentioned. These they melt in crucibles over a hot furnace twelve hours, then putting eight of these crucibles into one, they let the drossy parts boil over, the purer subsiding at bottom; then they pour the liquid metal into a frame of stone bound with hoops of iron, and thus run it into large brass plates, which are afterwards cut in pieces with a kind of scissors or shears.

Those who have describ'd the virtues of the baths of Aken, and particularly Dr. BLONDEL, relate that they are good against all affections of the nerves; such as convulsions, palsies, numbness, tremblings, gout, sciaticas, contractions, swellings, distempers of the bowels, stomach, spleen, inveterate head-aches, vertigo's, nephritical distempers, cold affections of the womb, stoppage or flux of the menses, barrenness, abortion, and scabs of all sorts. The waters of the city and those of Porcet, may both of them be drank, and thus taken are said to be good against, 1. Hot distempers of the liver, spleen, reins and bowels. 2. Against obstructions of the mesentery, pancreas, liver, spleen and reins. 3. The yellow jaundice, cachexy and dropsy proceeding from thence. 4. Inveterate and stubborn fevers, new tertians and quartans. 5. The whites in women. 6. Bleeding at the nose and flux of the menses. 7. Against worms, which they kill of all sorts. 8. They help conception, and dry over-moist parts. 9. They purge the urinary vessels of all impurities. 10. They cure stoppage of water and stranguries. 11. They cure the gout, scurvy, rheumatism, cholick, scrophulous distempers, imposthumes of the mesentery, &c.

The city of Aken profess'd the Protestant religion soon after the reformation, on which account the people were miserably harass'd by the Imperialists during the civil wars of Germany, till at length Popery was again establish'd, and is now the only religion publicly profess'd by the natives: but Protestants are permitted to reside here, and to go to a church in the neighbourhood under the dominion of the States General, when they celebrate divine service.

The Emperors were usually crown'd in this city for five hundred years after CHARLEMAIN, and

by the Golden Bull made in the time of CHARLES IV, the Emperor was to receive his first crown here; but that custom of crowning him with three crowns hath been long since disused; and at every coronation the magistrates who have the custody of CHARLEMAIN's sword, shoulder-belt, and the gospel in golden letters, which are used at that ceremony, deliver them to the Elector of Mentz, and the Emperor declares that his being crown'd elsewhere shall not prejudice the privileges of the city of Aken.

3. Duren, situate on the river Roer, ten miles south of Juliers, a little uniform well-built city, with rivulets running through the streets. This place pretends to great antiquity, and in the church of St. MARTIN, the finest building in the town, they shew the head of St. ANNE, mother to the Virgin MARY, which admired relique formerly brought crowds of Pilgrims hither. It was an Imperial city, but is now subject to the Duke of Newburg, Elector Palatine. Other towns in the duchy of Juliers mention'd by Geographers, are, Munster-Eifel, Bedbur, Enskirchen, Nideck, Boissar, Linnich, Dalen, Wasenberg, Sittard, Tudder and Sasteren; but it seems they do not merit a particular description.

The duchy of Berg, having been allotted to the Duke of Newburg Elector Palatine, and now subject to this Prince, as well as the duchy of Juliers, naturally comes to be described next. Berg, or *Montium Ducatus*, as the Latins call'd it, from its being a mountainous country is bounded by the county of Marck on the north; by the duchy of Westphalia towards the east; by Cologne on the south; and by the Rhine which divides it from the duchy of Juliers on the west: extending near fifty miles in length upon the banks of the Rhine, and about twenty miles in breadth where broadest. The country being for the most part rocky and mountainous, affords very little arable or pasture, and is consequently thinly peopled. The chief towns are first Dusseldorp the capital of the duchy, a large fortified town, pleasantly situated near the eastern bank of the Rhine; twenty-five miles to the northward of Cologne, and six to the southward of Keyserwaert. The town receives its name from the little river Dussel, which here unites its streams with the Rhine. It is generally well-built, and the publick buildings make a handsome appearance from the river, among which are the Duke or Elector's palace, who frequently resides here: the collegiate church of St. MARTIN is a handsome structure, where are the tombs of the ancient Dukes of Juliers and Berg; and the Jesuits college is esteemed a very fine building. It was antiently an Imperial city, but now subject to the Elector Palatine; the principal trade of the place consists in corn, which they import from the Low Countries and transport to Cologne, and

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Westphalia.

CHAP. and other towns in Germany. 2. Essen, fifteen miles north-east of Dusseldorp, where stands a noble nunnery, to which the best part of the town, with several adjoining manors belong. Only ladies of noble descent are admitted here, who are at liberty to leave the convent and marry if they think fit. The natives of Essen are reckon'd excellent artificers in iron, and particularly in fire-arms. Other cities of any note in the county of Berg, are Bensburg, Solingen and Wipperford.

Bensburg,
&c.

Ravenstein
barony.

Cleve duchy.

Cleve city.

The remaining part of the territories allotted to the Duke of Newburg in the dispute between him and the Elector of Brandenburg is the lordship of Ravenstein, a small barony between Guelderland and Brabant, receiving its name from the castle of Ravenstein, a fort on the Maes four or five miles below Grave.

The territories allotted to the Elector of Brandenburg, as has been observ'd already, were the duchy of Cleve, with the counties of Marck and Ravensberg. The duchy of Cleve or Cleef, lies on both sides the Rhine, and is bounded by part of the United Provinces, towards the north; by Munster on the east; by the duchy of Juliers on the south; and by Guelderland and Brabant towards the west: extending upwards of forty miles from north to south, and about five and twenty from east to west. The chief rivers are, 1. The Rhine which passes through the middle of it to Schencken Schans, a fort belonging to the United Provinces, where it divides itself into two branches, whereof that which runs by Arnheim retains the old name, but the other which passes on to Nimeguen, is called Wale. 2. The Roer, which rises in the county of Marck, and falls into the Rhine between Duisburg and Roerort. 3. The Lippe, which rises in Westphalia, and unites its waters with the Rhine near Wesel. And 4. The Nierse, which rises in the dukedom of Juliers, and joins the Maes near Gennep. The country is generally mountainous and woody; but is not destitute however of corn and cattle. The chief towns are, 1. Cleve, or Cleef, the *Clivia* of the Latins, said to be so named from its situation on the declivity of a hill between the Rhine and the Maes, and surrounded by cliffs and craggy rocks, about twelve miles south-east of Nimeguen, and sixty north-west of Cologne. It is supposed by some to be the old *Colonia Ulpia Trajana*, and by the ruins about it appears to have been of much larger extent than it is at present. There is an inscription also here on the south gate under the monument of EUMENIUS-RHETOR, who is said to have taught oratory in this city, importing that he resided here in the time of JULIUS CÆSAR, who founded the castle; of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, who had a garrison in it; of ULPIUS TRAJANUS, who made it a colony; and of ÆLIUS ADRIANUS,

who enlarged it and reduced it into the form of a city: but whether this inscription be not of a later date than it pretends, I find is very much disputed. This city is at present small, but very well peopled: neither the town nor castle of any great strength. On the west side of the town lies the park of Prince MAURICE of Nassau, admired for the fine water-works, canals and grotto's in it; and above these is a high hill called the Sternberg, from whence 'tis said Utrecht may be discern'd at fifty miles distance, with forty more cities and great towns, twelve whereof are seen thro' so many vists, at the end of each of which appears a fine city. The private houses in Cleve are but mean; and the only publick buildings mentioned by travellers are, 1. The great church, a monastery of Capuchins, and another of Franciscans. As the Elector of Brandenburg, the present King of Prussia, is Sovereign of the country, the religion countenanced by the government is Calvinism; but most of the churches are possess'd by the Papists in this city as well as in the rest of the duchy, by virtue of the agreement abovemention'd with the Elector Palatine on the division of the country, who in consideration thereof promised not to disturb the Protestants in that part of the country allotted to him. 2. Embrick, situate on the eastern side of the Rhine to the northward of Cleve, taken by the French in the year 1672, when they invaded the Netherlands; but restor'd again in 1674. 3. Gennep, situate at the conflux of the Nierse and Maes, near the confines of Guelderland, ten miles south-west of Cleve, antiently a large fortified town, and well situated for trade; but the fortifications were demolished by the French in 1674, on their restoring it; and lying exposed in every war to the ravages of the armies on both sides, has entirely lost its trade, and is little better than a village. 4. Wesel, situate in a plain on the eastern bank of the Rhine near the mouth of the river Lippe, twenty five miles south-east of Cleve, a fortified town, esteemed the largest and best-peopled of any in the duchy, and well situated for trade, but miserably harrass'd by the French in the late wars. The only publick building here mention'd by travellers is a fine hospital richly endowed. 5. Rees, a large fortified town twelve miles north-west of Wesel, taken by the French in 1672, and restored in the year 1704. 6. Roerort, a little fortified town at the mouth of the river Roer. 7. Duisburg, supposed to be the antient *Teutoburgum*, situate on the confines of Cleve and Berg, fifteen miles north-west of Dusseldorp; once an Imperial city, but now subject to the King of Prussia as Duke of Cleve. It had formerly a great trade, since removed from this, as from several other German cities, to Frankfort. An university was founded here by the Elector of Brandenburg, anno 1655. The publick buildings of any consideration are the churches

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West-
phalia.

Embrick.

Gennep.

Wesel.

Rees.

Roerort.

Duisburg.

A P. of St. SALVADOR and St. MARY, with the monasteries and nunneries, of which there are several in the place. The remaining towns mention'd by geographers in the duchy of Cleve, are Griet, Goch, Calcar, Santen, Burick, Alphen, Orsoy, and Dinslaken.

Another of the counties allotted to the Elector of Brandenburg, on composing the differences between him and the Duke of Newburg, was Marck, the largest county in Westphalia; so named, as is supposed, from having been the antient boundary of Germany towards *Gallia Belgica*, and is situate between the rivers Lippe and Roer, upwards of forty miles in length, and about the same in breadth; containing fifteen bailiwicks or lordships, which derive their names from as many towns; the chief whereof are, 1. Hamm, twenty-five miles south of Munster, situate in one of the most fruitful parts of Westphalia, which produces plenty of corn and flax. It was antiently a Hans-Town, but the principal business of the natives at present is the entertainment of travellers, who usually lie here in their passage from the duchy of Cleve and the Netherlands to Brandenburg and Brunswick. 2. Unna, situate in a large plain, ten miles south of Hamm, formerly also a Hans-Town, and a place of trade; but suffer'd so much in the wars between the houses of Brandenburg and Newburg, that it has not yet recover'd itself. 3. Altena, which antiently gave a title to the Counts of Hamm, and was then a large city, but does not merit a description at present. 4. Werden, situate on the Roer, ten miles north-east of Dusseldorp, where vast quantities of Westphalia bacon is cured and transported into foreign countries. 5. Soest, a fine Imperial city on the river Arse, fifteen miles east of Hamm, the largest town in Westphalia next to Munster, consisting of ten parishes, with many more churches and chapels, among which the collegiate church of St. PATROCLOUS is under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Cologne.

The county of Ravensberg, the remaining part of the territories allotted to the Elector of Brandenburg, is bounded by the bishoprick of Osnabrug on the north; by the county of Lippe on the east and south; and by the bishoprick of Munster on the west; taking its name from a fortress, situate on a high hill, sixteen miles south of Osnabrug; and here Dr. NICHOLSON observes, that most of the antient seats of the German Princes and Nobility are thus situated upon high hills, which is the reason that so many counties and lordships in Germany terminate in *berg*, which, in the language of the country, signifies a hill; and we may further observe, that the reason so many towns in Germany end in *burg* is, that *burg*, or *barsh* as the natives pronounce it, is High-Dutch for a city or town. Ravensberg is a rocky mountainous

country; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Bilevelt, a fortified town, seven miles south-east of Ravensberg, situate at the bottom of a high hill, which commands it. 2. Hervorden, or Herfurt, pleasantly situated at the conflux of the Aa and Wehre, seven miles north-east of Bilevelt, in which is a noble nunnery, the Abbess whereof is a Princess of the Empire, and has a vote by her Deputy in the Diet. One of the Abbesses since the reformation was the Princess ELIZABETH, sister to the famous Prince RUPERT and the late Princess SOPHIA, niece of CHARLES I, King of England. The miracle of her sex, says Dr. NICHOLSON, as is evident from the letters which pass'd between her and DESCARTES, publish'd in that great man's works. The nuns of this convent, according to the same author, soon after the reformation embrac'd the Protestant religion; and since the Elector of Brandenburg became their Sovereign have profess'd the doctrines of CALVIN. On the top of the hill, a little without the city, stands another convent of religious ladies, which is only a nursery to the former, to the Abbess and nuns whereof it owes its foundation. They have here all sorts of offices in our collegiate churches, as Deane's, Treasure's, &c. all which are in the disposal of the Abbess of Herfurt, as supreme Governess of the place. Of the first foundation of the church here take the following story, says my author, as I had it from one of the Vicars in the choir. The nuns at Herfurt having resolved to build a church, were inform'd by a poor shepherd, that the Virgin MARY, their Patroness, had appear'd to him in the likeness of a dove, sitting on the stump of a tree, and commanded him to declare, that she had a mind it should be built upon this hill. The holy sisters not giving credit to his words at first, wish'd that (to attest the truth of what he reported) he should first hold a red-hot iron in his bare hand, and afterwards go bare-foot over some glowing plough-shares; both which ordeals he having perform'd without harm, the miracle was confirm'd, and the church built as it now stands. Near the altar they shew you the foremention'd stump guarded with bars of iron: and they have yearly a great fair on this hill, which, in remembrance of this miracle, they call vision-market.

3. Engern, the antient *Angrivaria*, where King WITEKIND kept his court, and lies interr'd; formerly a considerable city, but now reduc'd to a village. The Elector of Cologne however still styles himself Duke of Engern. And, 4. Vlotowe, situate on the Weser, fifteen miles east of Herfurt, said to be well situated for trade, because the river is deep enough here for ships of burthen; which I am apt to believe a mistake, because the river

CHAP. XIX. Westphalia. Bilevelt. Herfurt.

Engern.

Vlotowe.

ver

CHAP. ver Wefer is unnavigable much lower for large
XIX. vessels

West- The duchy of Minden also belongs to the King
phalia. of Prussia, being given with Halberftat and some
Minden other territories by the treaty of Munfter, anno
duchy. 1648, in lieu of that part of Pomerania then
yielded to the Swedes. This country lies between
the county of Hoy on the north, and the county
of Lippe on the fouth, extending about five and
twenty miles in length, and twenty in breadth;

and towards the fouth yields plenty of corn, of
which they export great quantities; but on the
north it is pretty much incumber'd with woods
and mountains. The chief towns are, 1. Min-
den, the capital, fuate on the weft bank of the
Wefer, thirty-five miles eaft of Osnabrug; a large
city, and a Bifhop's See at the reformation, but
feculariz'd by the treaty of Munfter, and the re-
venues of the bifhoprick assign'd to the Elector of
Brandenburg, who ftill enjoys it under the title of
a dukedom. The cathedral, according to tradi-
tion, takes up the place where King WITTE-
KIND's palace flood, which, 'tis faid, he defir'd
might be converted into a church on his being
being baptiz'd. 2. Petershagen, fuate on the
fame river, about three miles below Minden,
where the Bifhops of this See formerly had a pa-
lace.

The little county of Lippe lies between the du-
chy of Weftphalia and the county of Ravensberg,
being fomewhat more than thirty miles in length,
and ten in breadth, govern'd by its proper Counts,
an antient family, who pretend to derive their
pedigree from MANLIUS, who defended the Ro-
man Capitol againft the Gauls; but however that
be, it is generally agreed they are of Roman
extraction, and are at prefent divided into the
branches of Diethmold, Brackel, and Buchenburg.
The chief towns in their territories are, 1. Dieth-
mold, or Dietmelle, where the eldeft branch of
this houfe have their refidence, twelve miles north-
eaft of Paderborn, fuppos'd to derive its name
from TEAT, or DITH, a pagan deity, wor-
fhipp'd here before the conquest of the Saxons by
CHARLES the Great, from whence CLUVERIUS
concludes this to have been the antient *Teutobur-
gum*, a word of the fame import as Diethmold.
It is at prefent but a fmall place, and has little o-
ther trade than what is occafion'd by the refidence
of the court. 2. Lippe, or Lippeftat, call'd *Lip-
pia* by the Latins, and takes its name from the
river Lippe, on which it is fuated, twenty miles
weft of Paderborn; the chief trade of the inha-
bitants being in timber and planks, for the build-
ing fhips and barges on the Rhine. 3. Lemgow,
a free city, fuate on the river Pega, fifteen miles
north of Paderborn, in a plentiful country, abound-
ing with corn, the natives an ingenious induftrious
people, and generally Lutherans 4. Horn, not

far from Diethmold, fuppos'd to be the place CHA
where the Roman General QUINTILIUS VARUS XIX
was defeated by the Germans, and the legions un- West
der his command cut in pieces; antiently fubject to phalia
its own Counts, till annex'd to the territories of
Lippe, about the year 1567. 5. Uffen, or Saltz Uffen
Uffen, fuate between Lemgow and Herfurt, con-
fiderable for its falt-fprings and a manufacture of
cloth.

The county of Pymont was alfo annex'd to Pymont
the territories of Lippe, upon the death of the county
laft Count of Pymont and Spiegelburg without town
male iffue, who was kill'd at the battle of St.
Quintin, about the year 1557, the chief town
whereof is of the fame name, and fuated fixteen
miles to the eaftward of Lemgow. It is famous
at prefent for its mineral waters, which occafions
a great refort of the German nobility hither,
thele being preferr'd even to the waters of the
Spaw, and exported to the moft diftant countries
in Europe.

The county of Ritberg alfo had a Count of Ritberg
its own till the year 1562, when the family be- county
came extinct; and it is now under the dominion of town
the Counts of Lippe. The chief town is Ritberg,
fuate near the head of the river Ems, ten miles
north-weft of Lippe, of which I meet with no par-
ticular defcription.

The county of Schawenberg is bounded by the Schawen-
dominions of Brunfwick on the north, eaft and berg
fouth; and by the county of Lippe and prin-
cipality of Minden on the weft; now alfo fubject,
part of it to the Counts of Lippe, and the other
to the Prince of Hefle, being about thirty miles
in length, and fixteen in breadth, a country af-
fording plenty of good corn and pasture, and well
water'd with rivers; particularly the Wefer, the
Hammel, the Awe, the Caspaw, and the Exter.
Here is alfo a great lake which goes by the name
of the Steinhudderfee, five miles in length and two
in breadth, which yields them plenty of fifh, ef-
pecially perch. Their principal commodities are
falt, timber, coals, allom, chalk, and venifon; and
the free-ftone in their quarries is fo good, that 'tis
daily exported to Holland, Flanders, Lubeck,
&c. They had alfo formerly fome copper-mines,
which yielded gold and filver, but they are either
exhausted or loft at this day. The chief places
in this county are, 1. The old fortrefs of Schawen- Schawen-
berg, fuate on the top of a high hill on the eaft- berg
fide of the river Wefer, fixteen miles eaft of Min-
den, the antient feat of their Counts. 2. Bucken- Bucken-
burg, twelve miles fouth of Schawenberg, confi-
derable at prefent only for being the refidence of
the fecond branch of the houfe of Lippe. Other
places of any confequence in this county are, Stat-
hagen, feventeen miles weft of Hanover; Oldendorf,
five miles fouth-eaft of Scawenberg; and Saxon-
hagen, fixteen miles north-weft of Hanover.

The

CHAP. XIX. Westphalia. The county of Hoyer is bounded by Bremen on the north, by Lunenburg on the east, by Minden on the south, and by Diepholt on the west. It was govern'd by its own Counts till the death of ORHO, the last Count, anno 1582; upon whose decease the greatest part of this county devolv'd on the houses of Brunswick and Lunenburg, and is now the inheritance of his British Majesty. The house of Hesse enjoy'd another small part of this county, wherein the towns of Ucht and Frenenburg are situated, but transferr'd their interest in it to the Counts of Bentheim. The chief towns are, 1. Hoyer, situate on the east side of the Weser, thirty miles north of Minden, a small fortified town, with a strong castle adjoining to it. 2. Nyenburg, situate on the east-side of the Weser, a fortified town, ten miles east of Hoyer. The rest of the towns and places of any consequence in this county, are Stoltzenow, Erenburg, Sierk, Steigerberg, Sidenburg, Depenaw, Burenburg, Lavenhaw, and Bruckhausen, all which are situated in that part of Hoyer which belongs to his British Majesty.

The small county of Diepholt is bounded by Delmenhorst on the north, by the county of Hoyer on the east, and by Munster on the west, extending thirty miles in length, and about fifteen in breadth, subject to his British Majesty as Duke of Lunenburg. The chief town whereof is Diepholt, situate on the Dummer-Lake, twenty-five miles west of Hoyer.

The county of Delmenhorst lies on the south-west of Bremen, being about sixteen miles in length and eight in breadth, now subject to Denmark, as was intimated in the description of that kingdom, but formerly govern'd by its own Counts; the chief town whereof is Delmenhorst, a small place situate on the river Delm, ten miles west of the city of Bremen.

The county of Oldenburg is bounded by the German Ocean on the north, the duchy of Bremen on the east, and by the county of Embden on the west, being about fifty miles in length, and five and twenty in breadth, a barren country, consisting chiefly of vast marshes, where are bred a small sort of cattle, less than those of Wales or North Britain. The inhabitants are a poor miserable people, and their dwellings of clay and turf, suitable to their condition. The King of Denmark has been their Sovereign ever since the death of their last Duke ANTHONY GUNTER, anno 1656. The chief town is Oldenburg, situate on the river Hund, about sixteen miles west of Delmenhorst, a fortified town of some trade.

The county of Embden, or Emmerland, sometimes called East-Friesland, is bounded by the German ocean on the north, by the county of Oldenburg on the east, and by the province of

CHAP. XIX. Westphalia. Groningen on the west, extending about fifty miles in length and thirty in breadth, part of the kingdom of the antient Frizons, and made a province of Germany by CHARLES the Great: UL-RICH the Governour was made the first Count of it by the Emperor FREDERICK IV, in the year 1453, whose posterity still continue in possession of great part of it. The people are said to be of the Belgick race as well as the Hollanders, but they are at present a slothful generation, and want very much of the industry of a true Dutchman. The soil is generally marshy, much of the same nature as the adjoining county of Oldenburg, and the natives as remarkable for their rusticity. The chief towns are, 1. Embden, or *Amasia*, the capital, situate near the mouth of the river Ems, on the Dollaert Bay, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees twenty minutes, sixty miles to the westward of Bremen, and twenty-five to the eastward of Groningen, a large populous city, and a place of trade, having a very good harbour. From hence they have a fine prospect of the ocean and the adjacent country. The houses are high and well-built, and the town-hall a magnificent structure. They are at present a free state, under the protection of the Dutch; but were subject to their Count till the year 1595, when, taking an advantage of his absence, they publish'd an act of Common-Council, That he should no longer have his residence in the city, and decreed themselves to be a free state, independent of this Prince. This revolt was occasion'd by the Count's professing Lutheranism, the inhabitants being generally zealous Calvinists. Here the English had a mart for cloth, till upon some disgust taken it was remov'd to Hamburg, since which Embden has been upon the decline. 2. Norden, a well-built town, pleasantly situated on the sea, ten miles north of Embden, formerly a good harbour, but not capable of receiving ships of burthen at present. 3. Aurich, ten miles north-east of Embden, which gives name to the territory called Auricherland, considerable for seven great fairs of cattle which are annually kept here, and a castle, the usual residence of a branch of the house of Embden, where is also held the supreme court of judicature for the county, consisting of a President, who is a nobleman, a Stadtholder, or Chancellor, who is a Doctor of law, and nine Assessors, three of whom are noblemen, and the other six civilians. In a vacancy of their sessions the President follows the Count's court, and determines all controversies within the verge of the palace. 4. Jever, or Jevern, a handsome trading town, thirty miles north-east of Embden, the capital of a barony, forty miles in circumference, containing several fine seats of the nobility and gentry. The Barons antiently pretended to an independency, but were brought under the dominion of the Counts

Emden city.

Norden.

Aurich.

Jever.

CHAP. of Oldenburg, and consequently are now subject
XIX. to Denmark. 5. Esens, the capital of the district
West- called Harlingerland, situate on a river of the
phalia. same name, twenty-four miles north-east of Embden,
formerly an independent principality, but
Elens. annex'd to the territories of the Counts of Embden
Wittimund. by marriage, about the year 1581. 6. Wittimund, the capital of a barony, five miles to the
Leer. eastward of Esens. 7. Leer, or Lera, a fine market-town, situate on the Ems: and, 8. Fredeburg, about thirty miles north-east of Embden.

The counties of Bentheim and Steinfort were antiently subject to different Lords, but are both at present under the dominion of the Count of Bentheim. The county of Bentheim is bounded by the United Provinces on the north and west, and by Steinfort on the south; being about forty miles in length, and ten in breadth; both counties, like the rest of Westphalia, are cover'd with forests, but have very few hills, except near the towns of Bentheim and Neinhus. The only town of any consequence is Bentheim, the antient seat of their Counts, which stands in the middle of a forest, thirty miles north-west of Munster.

The county of Steinfort lies to the southward of Bentheim, about twelve miles long and six broad; the chief town whereof is Borchstenfort, situate on the river Aa, fifteen miles north-west of Munster.

The county of Lingen, subject to the Bishop of Munster, has Osnabrug on the east, and Bentheim on the west, extending about fifteen miles in length, and ten in breadth; the chief town whereof is Lingen, subject to the late Princes of Orange, and claim'd by the King of Prussia, as heir to that family; tho' the Bishop of Munster is Sovereign of the country about it. The town of Lingen is situate on the river Ems forty miles north of Munster, the inhabitants generally Calvinists.

The county of Tecklenburg lies on the west of Osnabrug, extending about sixteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, and is subject to the Counts of Bentheim. The capital of the same name is a large open town, ten miles to the westward of Osnabrug, said to be the antient *Teselia*, the city of the *Angriveri*, but not very considerable at present.

Dortmond, said to be an Imperial city, under the protection of the King of Prussia, is sometimes stiled the capital of the county of Marek, but being omitted there, I take the opportunity of mentioning it in this place. It is a small, but populous city on the river Empster, thirty-five miles to the southward of Munster, and about as much to the northward of Cologne; and however it may pretend to be a free Imperial city, the King of Prussia claims the sovereignty of it, and is in effect master of the place.

With the abbacy of Corbey I shall conclude

this tedious, but necessary description of the German territories, which lie between the bishoprick of Paderborn on the west, and the river Weser on the east, extending about sixteen miles in length, and eight in breadth. The town of Corbey, in which the abbey is situated, stands on the river Weser, twenty-five miles to the eastward of Paderborn, and, with the whole territory, is subject to the Abbot, who is a Prince of the Empire. The town of Hoxter, or Huxer, situate on the banks of the Weser, five miles to the southward of Corbey, is subject also to this abbey, a handsome city, and a place of some trade.

THE Circle of Burgundy, which made the tenth Circle of the Empire, consisting of the seven-teen provinces of the Netherlands and the Franche Comte, being now subject to other Princes, and independent of the Empire, I shall describe hereafter in its present state: in the mean time I shall add some things in relation to Germany, which have been but lightly touch'd upon, and may need some particular description. And first the matriculation-book so often mention'd, which is a register kept by the Chancellor of the Empire, the Elector of Mentz; containing the names of all the Princes and States who are members of the Empire, with the time of their investiture, the forces and treasure every one is obliged to contribute for the defence or support of it. Here also are enter'd the admission of all persons to honours or offices in the Empire, which is called a matriculation, and gives them the possession of their estates and dignities.

By this matricula every Circle was at first oblig'd to contribute the following forces, or a sum of money in lieu of them, viz.

	Horse	Foot or Florins.
The Circle of Austria	174	907 5714
Circle of Bavaria	231	1060 6934
Circle of Franconia	249	1219 8100
Circle of Upper Saxony	278	1167 7972
Circle of Lower Saxony	321½	1053½ 8992
Circle of Suabia	341	2100½ 12623
Circle of the Upper Rhine	433	1950 12280
Circle of the Lower Rhine	190½	885½ 5828
Circle of Westphalia	309	2019 8964
Circle of Burgundy	180	831 5484
Total	2707	13192½ 82891

N. B. Every German florin is forty pence, which is double the French florin or livre.

There is another tax the States of the Empire are obliged to pay towards the charges of the Imperial chamber or sovereign courts of Spire and Vienna, amounting to 48925 florins.

The

AP. IX. The Empire was at first divided into six Circles only, by the Emperor MAXIMILIAN I, anno 1500, namely, into the Circles of Franconia, Bavaria, Suabia, the Upper Rhine, Westphalia, and Lower Saxony; and twelve years afterwards he added the Circles of Austria, Upper Saxony, the Lower Rhine, and Burgundy. This last division of the Empire was confirm'd by CHARLES V, at the Diet of Nuremburg, anno 1522; and by the matricula above-mention'd, he appointed what each Circle, and every Prince and Member of each Circle, should contribute towards the defence and support of the Empire: and those who did not send in their quota of troops, instead thereof, for each horseman were to pay twelve florins, and for a foot-soldier four florins: afterwards it was enacted, that sixty florins should be advanc'd in lieu of every trooper wanting, and twelve for every foot-man: and these payments obtain'd the name of Roman months, on account that the forces or money above-mention'd, was at first applied towards the raising a body of horse and foot, to guard the Emperor in his progresses to Rome, and probably was rais'd monthly. This tax the States of the Empire at this day augment or alter as they see occasion. There are, as hath been intimated, in every Circle one or two directors, who summon the States of their Circle, and have the command of the above-mention'd militia, regulating their march, quarters, &c. and putting the decrees of the Empire in execution, where any Prince or Member refuses to comply with their resolutions. The States of each Circle, besides a General, (who is usually their Director) elect five Lieutenants to assist him, or supply his place in his absence. They chuse also a Treasurer, a Receiver, and a Secretary, for the service of each Circle. When all the Circles meet it is called a general assembly; but usually the Circles which lie nearest together meet every year, from whence they are called the corresponding Circles; of which there are three classes, viz. 1. The Upper Rhine, Lower Rhine, and Westphalia. 2. The Upper and Lower Saxony. And, 3. Franconia, Suabia, and Austria. That of Upper Saxony assembles usually at Leipzick; that of Franconia at Nuremburg; and that of Suabia at Ulm. They treat of the regulation of their coin, the publick peace, their treasure, magazines, fortifications, and commerce, rectifying the matricula, putting the decrees of the Empire in execution, and appointing Judges of the Imperial chamber of Wetzlar or Spire, and of the Aulick council at Vienna, and have a power of enacting laws which are not inconsistent with the constitutions of the Empire.

As to the forces, which the several Princes of the Empire are able to maintain and pay, the author of the Atlas Historique seems to have made

a very moderate calculation. Beginning with the ecclesiastical Princes, he supposes, that

	Men
The Elector of Mentz may maintain	6000
The Elector of Triers	6000
The Elector of Cologne	6000
The Bishop of Munster	8000
The Bishop of Liege	8000
The Archbishop of Saltzburg	8000
The Bishop of Wurtzburg	2000
The Bishop of Bamberg	5000
The Bishop of Paderborn	3000
The Bishop of Osnabrug	2500
The Abbot of Fulda	6000
The other bishopricks of the Empire	6000
The abbeys and provostships of the Empire	8000

Total of the ecclesiastical Princes 74500

The Emperor for Hungary	30000
—For Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia	30000
—For Austria, and his other dominions	30000
The King of Prussia	40000
The Elector of Saxony	25000
The Elector Palatine	15000
The Duke of Wirtemberg	15000
The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel	15000
The Prince of Baden	10000
The Elector of Brunswick	30000
The Duke of Holstein	12000
The Duke of Mecklenburg	15000
The Princes of Anhalt	6000
The Prince of Lauenburg	6000
The Elector of Bavaria	30000
The Dukes of Saxony	10000
The Princes of Nassau	10000
The other Princes and Imperial towns	50000

The secular Princes 379000
The ecclesiastical Princes 74500

Total 453500

If we reflect on the vast addition which has been made to the Emperor's hereditary dominions since this computation, on the frontiers of Turkey, in the Netherlands, Italy, and Sicily, we may very well throw in 50000 men more to his share; and then the forces of the Empire will amount to 500000 men and upwards, two thirds whereof are usually kept in pay, tho' they are in a profound peace. A body of troops sufficient to give laws to the rest of the world, if they were united under one head; but a country divided among so many petty Princes, of different religions and interests, can never be formidable to the neighbouring Powers, or endanger the liberties of Europe; they may sometimes be unanimous in opposing foreign invasions, but will scarce ever unite in an offensive war.

T H E P R E S E N T S T A T E O F T H E N E T H E R L A N D S.

C H A P. I.

Treats of the Netherlands in general, and shews how the seven United Provinces came to be separated from the other Ten, and form a distinct State.

CHAP. I.

Of the Ne-
therlands in
general.

Their situa-
tion and ex-
tent.

The antient
name.

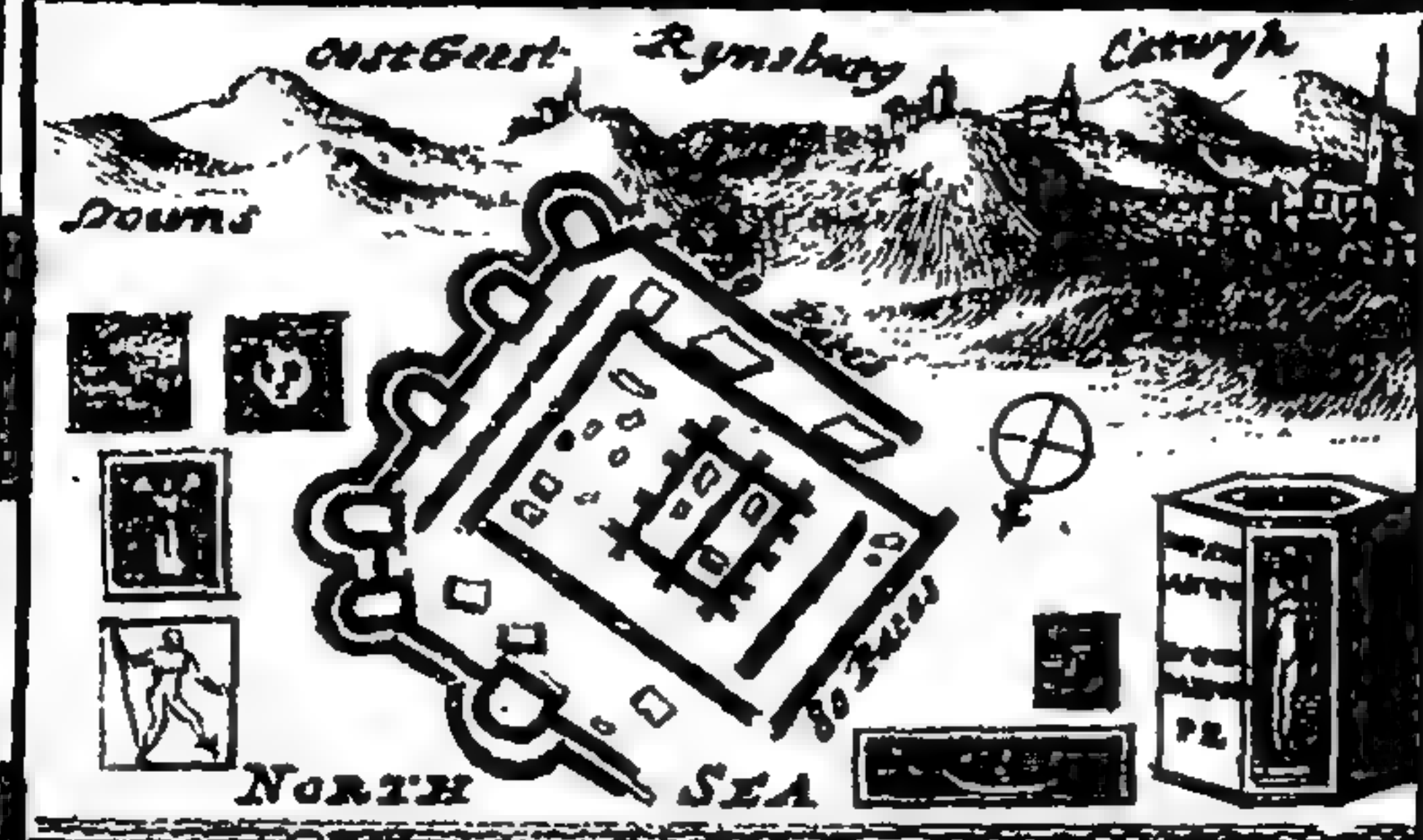
The Batavi.

FROM Germany, travelling westward, we meet with the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, or Low Countries; so denominated from their low situation, at the mouths of several great rivers; the maritime provinces whereof were almost one continued morass, till drain'd of late years by the industry of the numerous people, who retired hither for shelter, from the persecutions and oppressions of their respective Princes.

These provinces are bounded by the German Ocean on the north; by the circle of Westphalia, the bishopricks of Triers and Liege, and the duchies of Juliers and Cleve on the east; by France and Lorrain, towards the south; and by the British seas, and other provinces of France, on the west: and are situated between the fiftieth and fifty-third degrees, thirty minutes north latitude; extending three hundred miles in length, viz. from the confines of Picardy to the mouth of the river Ems, in East-Friesland; and two hundred miles in breadth, viz. from Gravelin to Triers, but in many places they are not of half that breadth. The antient name of this country was *Belgia*, so called from the *Bellovaci*; whom it is supposed were the most considerable people here when Cæsar wrote, and probably might have the rest of the provinces under their dominion: These provinces were antiently divided between Gaul and Germany, as they were situated south-west or north-east of the Rhine; those of them which were situated south-west of the Rhine, were with the rest of Gaul reduced under the obedience of the Roman Empire by JULIUS CÆSAR: afterwards the *Batavi*, the Hollanders, and Zealanders submitted also to the Romans, but were look'd upon rather as allies than subjects. When the Franks of Germany establish'd a new kingdom in Gaul, these provinces were at first united to it; but when Germany was afterwards

separated from France, most of them fell to Germany. The northern nations (says a celebrated writer) having broken in upon the Roman Empire, and extended themselves beyond the Rhine; by their marches and counter-marches, so wasted and harraß'd that tract of land now call'd the Low Countries, as they pass'd by them to greater conquests, that the inhabitants grew thin: and being secure of nothing, fell to seek the support of their lives, rather by hunting or violence, than by labour and industry: whereby the grounds came to be uncultivated, and in course of years either turn'd to forests or marshes. Flanders, under which name was comprehended most of the provinces which belong'd to Gaul, was for many years before the reign of CHARLEMAIN one great forest. And Holland, an island made by the branches of the Rhine, (then call'd *Batavia*) was only a great marsh or fenn, and esteem'd rather a part of Germany than Gaul, in regard of its being planted by the Catti, an antient people of Germany: this island, says the same writer, probably changed its inhabitants, and customs, upon the irruptions of the northern nations; but chiefly of the Normans and Danes, from whose countries and language the names of Holland and Zealand seem to be deriv'd.

The Franks, having made an entire conquest of Gaul, distributed most part of the lands among their Generals and Officers; to one of whom great part of the Low Countries were given, under the title of Forester of Flanders, which officer continued for several descents, who having suppress'd the robbers and banditti who infested the country, and in some measure civilized the inhabitants, CHARLEMAIN, or rather CHARLES the Bald, made Flanders a county, and changed the title of Forester into that of Count, or Earl, without interrupting the succession. But what the extent of this country was, or how far the jurisdiction



A Draught of Arx Britannica or t'Huys te Brittain.

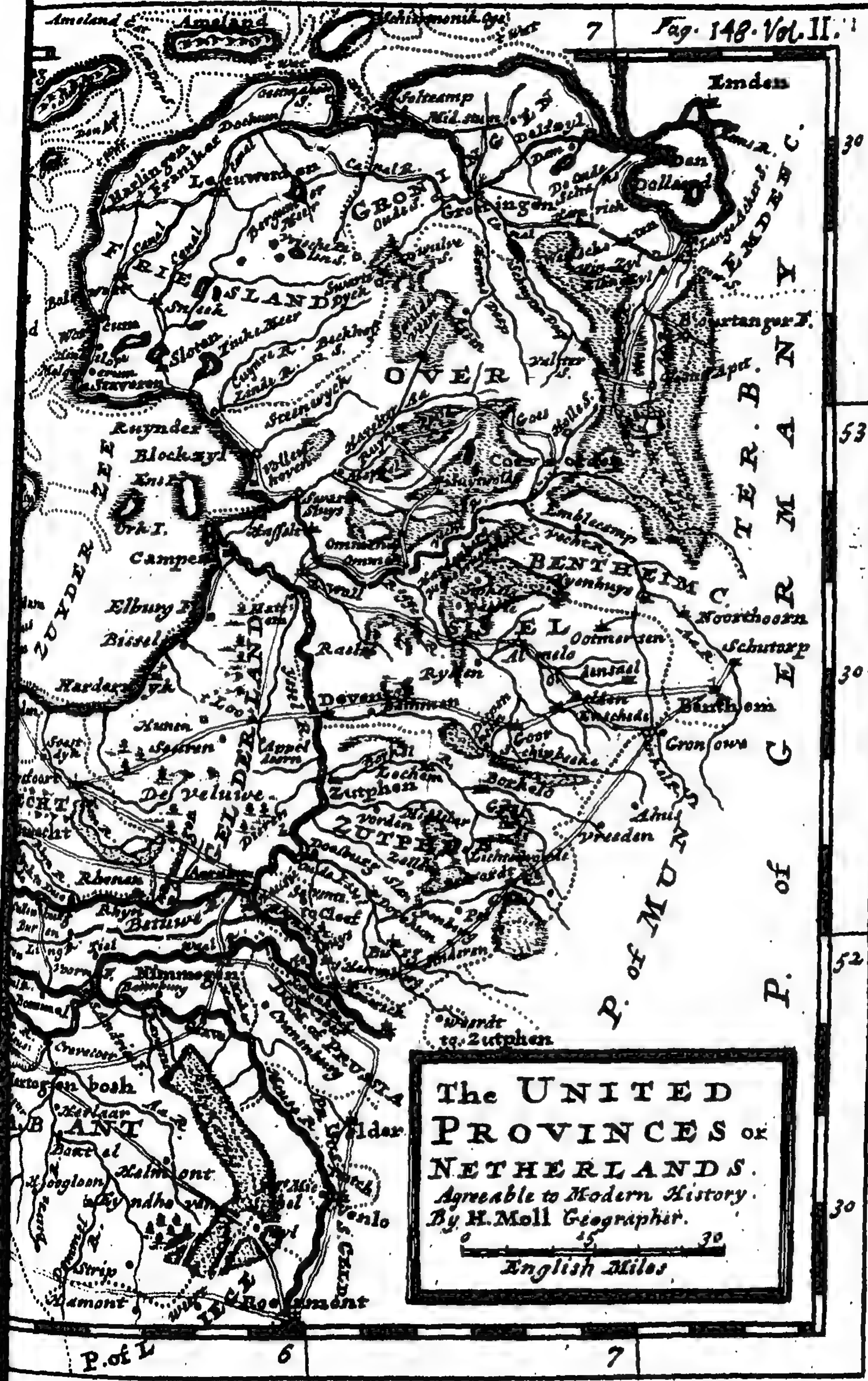
This Fortress was built by y^e Roman Emperor Caligula, upon y^e German Ocean at y^e mouth of y^e R. Rhine, then a Famous Port, but now quite choaked up with Sand. Ortallius says that y^e very Foundation of it was seen in the Year 1552 and was found to be Square, it also was seen for 20 Days together in y^e Year 1562. and lastly in y^e Year 1588.

The greatest Length of the 7 United Provinces is about 182, and Breadth 110 miles. The Inhabitants are computed at about 4 Millions, which is near 7 times more populous than England in proportion to the quantity of Land in each Country.

Distances of Amsterdam from Amsterdorp

- Amsterdorp 80 miles
- Utrecht 91
- Leyden 91
- The Hague 98
- Rotterdam 31
- London 20
- Paris 250
- Copenhagen 380
- Vienna 560
- Madrid 810
- Rome 750





The UNITED
PROVINCES or
NETHERLANDS.

Agreeable to Modern History.
By H. Moll Geographer.

English Miles

AP. I. diction of the Forester reached, my author says is very uncertain : it is generally agreed, however, that it bordered upon or included part of that famous forest of Ardenne, which in the time of CHARLEMAIN extended beyond the city of Aix-la-Chapelle in Germany.

The antient Foresters (in imitation of their northern ancestors) subdivided the country, and parcelled it out among their creatures and dependants ; reserving certain services from the Grantees, obliging them to bring into the field a certain number of troops when required, or to defend their castles and fortresses against the invasions of enemies, or by some such military tenure. Another constitution which the northern people establish'd, it is observed, where-ever they came, was the erecting three estates or orders ; consisting of the nobility, clergy, and people ; under the limited sovereignty of one person, stiled King, Prince, Duke, or Count : which kind of government had prevail'd for time immemorial in the Low Countries, before the Spaniards endeavour'd to subvert it. Several other privileges were granted to the cities and inferiour districts of this country by their Princes, such as the choice of their magistrates, civil judicature, and exclusion of all foreigners from places of trust and profit, and an exemption from all taxes and impositions but what were consented to by the States. Their Princes also agreed, never to introduce foreign troops among them.

The provinces which enjoy'd these great privileges and immunities were seventeen in number, and were long govern'd separately by distinct Princes under various titles : the provinces of Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelderland, had each of them a Duke for their Sovereign ; Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Namure, and Zutphen, were Earldoms ; Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overysse, and Groningen, had the title of lordships ; and Antwerp, that of a marquissate of the Holy Roman Empire. These in a long series of time, by inheritance, marriages, or contracts, became united under one head, and first in the house of Burgundy : PHILIP the Good, about the year 1430, enjoy'd the titles of Duke and Earl of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant, Limburg, and Luxemburg ; Marquiss of the Holy Roman Empire ; Earl of Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Artois, and Namur. CHARLES the Warlike, his son, succeeded him anno 1467, on whom devolv'd the duchy of Guelderland and Zutphen : who being kill'd in a battle against the Switzers anno 1475, left issue only one daughter, MARY, who married MAXIMILIAN of Austria, son to the Emperor FREDERICK III, to whom he succeeded anno 1482 : PHILIP, the son of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN and MARY, married JOAN the daughter and

Heir of FERDINAND and ISABEL King and Queen of Spain, the first Monarchs of that whole kingdom : CHARLES their son, afterwards elected Emperor, by the name of CHARLES V, succeeded to the duchy of Burgundy, of which the Low Countries were part, in the right of his father, anno 1506, to which he added Overysse and Utrecht ; and succeeded to the kingdom of Spain, in the right of his mother anno 1516 ; and to the Empire (as has been mention'd already) anno 1519 : constituting the countries above-mention'd one of the circles of the Empire, by the name of the Circle of Burgundy.

These provinces being extremely well situated for trade, and the natives living under a mild and gentle government, extended their commerce far and near, Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp were the great marts of Europe ; when CHARLES the warlike or hardy, as he was called, being engaged in the war against France, and the Switzers demanding larger taxes and contributions of his subjects than they had been used to pay, gave some interruption to their prosperity, and occasioned discontents amongst them. In the reign of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN their privileges were again invaded by the bringing German troops into the Low Countries on pretence of defending them against France : and in the time of CHARLES V, greater forces, consisting of Spaniards and Italians, as well as Germans, were introduc'd into Flanders on the like occasion, which was a thing scarce ever practis'd in preceding times ; but the Emperor CHARLES V, being a fortunate Prince, and beloved by the people for his generous actions ; and having the advantage of being born amongst them, and versed in their customs and language, and conferring on them many posts of honour and profit throughout his large dominions ; there was scarce any murmuring either at the numbers of foreign troops kept up in the Low Countries, or at the taxes levied to maintain them, in his reign. And upon the resignation of his dominions he left the Low Countries to his son PHILIP II, in as peaceable and settled a condition as could be wish'd ; but PHILIP determining to retire into Spain, and leave the Low Countries under the government of a Viceroy, which had till CHARLES the Fifth's time been the constant residence of their Princes, being also a Spaniard born, and partaking of the severity and gravity of his nation, which the Flemings denominated pride and reservedness ; and taking only Spaniards into his councils even in Flanders, continuing also the Spanish and Italian forces on foot, and insisting on supplies to maintain them even after the peace with France was concluded, he soon ceased to be belov'd, says my author, and became dreaded by his Flemish subjects : while he thinking it beneath him to attend to the grievances and discontents of so inconsiderable

Made part
of the circle
of Burgundy.
The trade of
Europe cen-
ter'd here.

The causes
of the revo-
lutions in
the Nether-
lands.

CHAP. I. siderable a people, or to be limited by their antient forms of Government, created in them such a disgust to his person and administration as render'd that people ripe for a revolt. Nor did WILLIAM Prince of Orange, a crafty and ambitious man (according to PUFFENDORF) a little contribute to foment their discontents. For when King PHILIP had resolved to go into Spain, and to commit the administration of the Netherlands to a governour; the Prince of Orange proposed the making CHRISTINA Duchess of Lorrain Regent, hoping to marry her daughter, and to have the direction of all affairs of state; but miscarrying in both his designs by King PHILIP's constituting his natural sister the Dutchess of Parma Regent of the Netherlands, and refusing his consent to the match with the Duke of Lorrain's daughter, the Prince of Orange became a malecontent, and only waited for an opportunity of being revenged. The Counts of Egmont and Hoorn, and many others of the nobility, were extremely dissatisfied also on account of the Spaniards being preferred to the most beneficial employments, and influencing all their councils. Nor were the clergy less offended with the King for taking away the revenues of the abbeys, and endowing several new bishopricks which he had erected, with their revenues. For before this time it seems there were but three bishopricks in all the Low Countries, to which King PHILIP added fourteen more, making the number of Sees equal to the number of provinces. But what contributed more than any thing to inflame this people, was the great change of religion which happen'd about this time: many of the Flemings had forsaken the Popish communion, some professing the Lutheran doctrine, some that of Calvin, and others the errors of the Anabaptists, &c. which CHARLES V had endeavour'd to check by severe proclamations, that served only to exasperate the minds of the people; and his son PHILIP determin'd by still more violent methods to root out these heresies, as they were called. In order to which he revived his father's proclamations, and was about setting up a court of justice, resembling that of the Spanish inquisition; the very mention whereof created the utmost horror in the minds of the Flemings; for in this court they understood the lives, estates and reputation of every subject were to be put into the hands of unmerciful Priests, who gloried in the inhumanity and rigour of their proceedings, and might punish any man on suspicion without producing his accuser, or acquainting him with the charge against him. While they were under these dismal apprehensions a religious war breaking out in France, compelled great numbers of Calvinists to fly that kingdom and retire to the Netherlands, as great numbers of Lutherans had already done from Germany, and English from Britain on ac-

count of the persecution there in Queen MARY's CHAP. I. reign. These accidents filling the Netherlands with swarms of Protestants; the admiration of their zeal, compassion for their sufferings, or the humour of the age, gain'd them many profelytes daily among the nobility, as well as the meaner sort of people, but principally in the cities, where trade and riches were much increased by these new inhabitants, who brought their fortunes with them. This gave frequent opportunity to the judges of the inquisition to exert their authority, and inflict the severest punishments on the unhappy Protestants; with which proceedings the Flemings were the more terrified, because in this court none of their privileges, the indulgences of the King, or intercessions of the Grandees could avail them, and they were conscious they had given a great deal of liberty to their tongues, and thereby rendred themselves obnoxious to their enemies. The Spaniards, 'tis said, were not ill satisfied to find the Flemings oppose these violent proceedings, whereby they were furnish'd with a handle to reduce them under their absolute dominion, and by suppressing their liberties and privileges proposed to make them subservient to their designs against England and France, which King PHILIP had determin'd to invade. Whereupon Queen ELIZABETH of England, who had discover'd his intentions, 'tis said, fomented the divisions of the Low Countries, in order to find the Spaniard employment, and divert him from his intended descent upon England: for Spain was at this time arrived to that height of power as to become terrible to all her neighbours; and universal monarchy, as generally dreaded from this quarter, as it was afterwards in the reign of LEWIS XIV from the side of France.

Thus, says Mons. PUFFENDORF, were the seeds of civil discord sown among the Flemings, when PHILIP II went into Spain, having left the government in the hands of the Regent and council of State, whereof the Prince of Orange, the Earl of Egmont, and others were members; but Cardinal GRANVILLE, a Burgundian, a subtle Statesman, was most relied on by the King: and the Regent had positive orders to govern solely by his advice, which the rest of the Lords of the council observing, oppos'd the Cardinal in whatever he moved, especially when he press'd the putting in execution the King's orders concerning the establishing the new bishopricks, and extirpating the Protestant religion; the Flemish Lords ever advising a toleration, and that the people might be treated in a milder manner: and so universal was the hatred of the people against the Cardinal, that the Earls of Egmont and Hoorn wrote to the King, that unless he was removed it was impossible to preserve the peace of that country.

Whereupon his Majesty so far comply'd with them

HAP. I. 564. them as to remove the Cardinal, but at the same time directed the Regent to be guided by the president of the council VIGILIUS and the Earl of Barlemont, who in every respect pursued the Cardinal's rules: insomuch, that it was commonly said, tho' the body of the Cardinal was removed, his spirit still remain'd in the council; and proclamations and acts of state still continued to be publish'd against the new religion, which the people opposed, and would not suffer them to be put in execution; the Earl of Egmont thereupon was sent into Spain by the Regent and the Senate, to represent the state of affairs to his Majesty: but the King would remit nothing of the severities he had directed to be used in relation to religion; and it was given out in the Low Countries, that he had agreed with CHARLES IX of France to extirpate all hereticks (Protestants) out of their dominions, which put the Flemings in the utmost consternation, and occasion'd their coming to a resolution to oppose the Spanish court with all their might.

566. Several of the nobility enter'd into an association, which they stiled a compromise, whereby they engaged to suppress the inquisition, and stand by each other in the defence of their religion: protesting however at the same time, that they had no other end in view but the glory of GOD, the grandeur of the King, and the peace of their native country. This association was subscribed by four hundred persons of quality, among whom the chief were the Lords HENRY BREDERODE, LEWIS Earl of Nassau, brother to the Prince of Orange, the Earls of Cuylenburg and Berg, &c. who met at Brussels, and deliver'd a petition to the Regent, desiring that the proclamations concerning religion might be recalled. She answer'd them in courteous and general terms; but promised no more than that she would know the King's pleasure in the matter; and it was commonly reported that the Earl of Barlemont, who stood near the Regent, acquainted her that they were a parcel of beggars, and that she had nothing to fear from them; which rendred the name of *Grusen*, or beggars, very famous afterwards, the malecontents taking for their arms a beggar's pouch.

In the mean time several pamphlets were publish'd on the subject, which still more exasperated the people, who finding the King inexorable in the point of religion, assembled in a tumultuous manner, plunder'd the churches, and broke down the images they found there; and tho' the Prince of Orange and the Earl of Egmont did their utmost to appease the tumult, King PHILIP could never be persuaded but that they were at the bottom of it, who finding themselves suspected, held several consultations for their own safety, but came to no resolution. The Regent in the mean

while having raised some troops either by threats or fair words, prevail'd with most of the malecontents to submit and reconcile themselves to the King, others fled into foreign nations, and some few were exemplarily punished, whereby the country was restored to its former tranquillity, and the Prince of Orange retired into Germany.

The Regent hereupon advised his Catholick Majesty to come into the Netherlands in person without many forces, and endeavour to reconcile his Flemish subjects to him: but his Majesty being influenced by the Duke of Alva, determined to take this opportunity of reducing the Netherlands entirely under his power, and accordingly sent D'Alva with a body of veteran troops from Italy into the Netherlands, where he was no sooner arrived but he took the Earls of Egmont and Hoorn into custody, whom he charged with being the authors of the late insurrection, declaring all that had been concern'd in the late association, and the demolishing of images, to be guilty of high treason.

He proceeded also to erect a court of judicature, consisting of twelve judges, for the trial of these matters, from the severity of whose proceedings this court obtain'd the name of *The Bloody Council*. Before this tribunal the Prince of Orange, and some other Lords who had fled, were summon'd, and on their not appearing were declared traytors, and their estates confiscated; nor were the common people treated with less severity, which so terrified the inhabitants, that they quit- ted their dwellings in crouds, and fled to foreign countries; while Duke D'Alva erected citadels in several great cities, the better to awe the people and prevent any future insurrection.

The Prince of Orange in the mean time assembled a considerable force in Germany, with part of which he detach'd his brother LEWIS to fall into Friesland, where he defeated Count Aremberg the Governor of the province; but Duke D'Alva having caused the Earls of Egmont and Hoorn to be beheaded, march'd against him in person, and having routed his troops, fell upon the Prince of Orange, who had invaded Brabant, and entirely dispersed his forces. Upon which success D'Alva erected a magnificent statue of himself at Antwerp, in memory of his victories, where he was represented trampling on the States of the Netherlands; and having formed a design of subduing this people with their own money, he levied a tax upon them of the hundredth penny of their whole estates, the twentieth penny of their immoveables, and the tenth of all moveables, as often as they were sold, which provoked the Netherlanders to the last degree; and while he was busy in raising these taxes by force on the inhabitants of Brussels, who refused to pay them, he received advice that the exiled Flemings, de- nominated

CHAP. nominated the *Sea Geusen*, being turn'd privateers, I. had with twenty-four ships under the command of the Earl of March, surprized the city of Briel in 1571. Holland, and that many other towns in Holland had revolted from the Spaniards; and it is look'd upon to be one of the greatest errors in the Duke of Alva's conduct, that he did not in four years of his regency make any provision for the security of the sea-coasts.

But to return, the revolted towns having chosen the Prince of Orange for their General, and sworn allegiance to him as the King's Stadtholder, were join'd by many privateers from England and France; insomuch, that in the space of four months they increased to a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, who had their rendezvous at Flushing in Zealand, and distress'd the Spaniards more than all the forces of the malecontents by land.

About the same time the Earl of Berg took several places in Guelderland, Friezland, and Overijssel; and LEWIS of Nassau, with the assistance of the French, surprized the city of Mons, which the Duke D'Alva soon after retook, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Prince of Orange to relieve it, who found himself oblig'd to retire into Holland. D'Alva afterwards repossess'd himself of Mechlin, which city had declared for the Prince. He also retook Zutphen, and having made himself master of Naerden and Haerlem, treated the citizens with the utmost barbarity; and if D'Alva be not misrepresented, he used to boast that besides the numbers he had destroy'd by the sword during his six years administration, he had caused eighteen thousand of the natives to be executed by the hangman; but the Spanish court finding that the Netherlands were never like to be reduced by these violent methods, thought fit to recall D'Alva in the year 1573, and to appoint LEWIS REQUESENES, a man of a milder temper, to succeed him.

1573. REQUESENES at his entry on the government of the Netherlands, finding the city of Middelburgh besieged by the Prince of Orange, sent a fleet to its relief; but had the misfortune of seeing it destroy'd, and the town soon after surrender'd to the Prince. On the other hand the Princes LEWIS and HENRY of Nassau, brothers to the Prince of Orange, bringing a reinforcement of troops to the confederates from Germany, were attack'd and defeated by the Spaniards near Grave, and both of them killed in the field of battle. The Spaniards afterwards sat down before Leyden, and reduced the place to great extremities; but the besieged cutting their dykes, overflow'd the country, and obliged the Spaniards to rise from before it. About the same time the Spanish troops mutinied for want of pay, and lived upon free quarters at Antwerp and o-

ther places, which still more incens'd the Netherlanders against the government; and the following year 1576, REQUESENES dying, the council of state took the administration into their hands, when the outrages of the Spanish soldiers continuing, they were declared enemies, and the Flemings were permitted to take up arms against them, which however could not prevent Maestricht and Antwerp's being plunder'd by them.

These distractions induced the council to enter into a treaty of pacification with the Prince of Orange at Ghent, wherein it was agreed, that peace should be restored, and the proclamation issued during the regency of the Duke of Alva revoked, and the Spanish troops be withdrawn out of the country; which treaty was ratified by the King, and he soon after constituted his natural brother Don JOHN Governour of the Netherlands; of whose administration the Prince of Orange was extremely jealous, and cautioned the Netherlanders against admitting him amongst them; but upon his subscribing the treaty of pacification made at Ghent, and engaging to dismiss the Spanish soldiers, he was received as their Viceroy by a great majority.

The Prince of Orange hereupon retired with his friends into Holland and Zealand, and Don JOHN soon discover'd that their fears were not altogether groundless, by his surprizing the castle of Namur. The Flemings endeavour'd to retake the city, and sent for the Prince of Orange to command their forces, constituting him Grand Bayliff of Brabant, which created the Prince some envy among his confederates, and particularly the Duke of Arschot seem'd to be highly offended at the conferring on him this mark of distinction; whereupon they invited MATTHIAS, Archduke of Austria, to be their General, who was received as well by the party of the Prince of Orange as the rest of the confederates, as their Governour, upon condition that the Prince should be his Lieutenant, and that the Archduke should not transact any thing of moment without the consent of the States.

In the mean time ALEXANDER, Duke of Parma, being sent into the Low Countries to the assistance of Don JOHN, defeated the army of the confederates near Gemblours, and afterwards took the cities of Louvain, Limburgh, Philipville, and several other places, whereby the allies were reduced to great extremities; and finding themselves an unequal match for the veteran troops lately arrived from Spain and Italy, they offer'd to put themselves under the protection of HENRY III, King of France; who refusing to be concern'd with them, they next offer'd to submit to the Duke of Alençon his brother, who thereupon immediately repair'd to the Netherlands, and took upon him the government of the

AP. the confederated States, but found such divisions and misunderstandings among the chief of the party, who seem'd to be unwilling to be under any command, that he could effect nothing of moment. There appear'd also an irreconcilable enmity between the Protestants and Papists at this time, the one being for allowing liberty of conscience to all persuasions, and the other opposing it; particularly the provinces of Artois and Hainault, and some other cities, appear'd so very zealous for establishing the Roman Catholick religion, that they set up a new faction, which obtain'd the name of the Malecontents, about which time Don JOHN of Austria died, leaving the regency to the Duke of Parma, who was confirm'd therein by the King of Spain.

The Duke began his regency very successfully, with the taking of Maestricht, and by treaty prevail'd with the provinces of Artois, Hainault and the Walloon Flanders to submit to the King of Spain. Whereupon the Prince of Orange finding from the difference of religion, and the factions among the heads of the party, that it was not practicable to unite all the provinces of the Netherlands in one confederacy, apply'd himself chiefly to the provinces of Holland, Friezland, Zealand, Guelderland and Utrecht, over whom he had the greatest influence; and having procured an Assembly of their deputies, or representatives at Utrecht, in the year 1579, form'd an alliance or confederacy amongst them, which afterwards obtain'd the name of *The Union of Utrecht*, and was the foundation of that state which is at present known by the name of *The United Provinces*; and in this union were afterwards included the provinces of Overysiel and Groningen.

The principal terms of which confederacy were, that these seven provinces should unite themselves, as if they were but one province, never to be divided by testament, donation, exchange, sale, or agreement; reserving however to every particular province, all their respective rights, liberties and customs; in determining whereof, or any other differences which should arise in any of the provinces, the rest should not intermeddle further than by their intercession for an agreement. They also mutually bound themselves to assist each other with their lives and fortunes against all attacks made upon them on pretence of sovereignty, religion, &c. And it was agreed, that all frontier towns belonging to the union should be fortified at the charges of the Province where situated, but where new fortresses should be erected, the generality should bear the charge. That all duties and customs should be farm'd out to the best bidder, and the royal revenues employ'd in their common defence. That all the inhabitants of the provinces from eighteen to sixty should be muster'd and disciplined; and neither peace or

war be concluded, or taxes levy'd without the consent of all the provinces; and all differences that should arise thereon should be submitted to the Stadtholder. As to religion, the respective provinces might regulate it as they saw fit, provided a free toleration were allow'd, and no person examin'd or call'd in question for his persuasion in that point. The States, it was agreed, should be assembled as heretofore; and if any differences should arise in the interpretation of these articles, they should be determined by the States, and in case they could not agree, by the Stadtholder.

These Confederated Provinces were reduced to that distress at this time, that on a medal, which was struck on occasion of their union, they represented their new state as a ship without sails or rudder, left to the mercy of the waves, with this inscription, *Incertum quofata ferant*. In the mean time a general peace was treating of at Cologne by the mediation of the Emperor, which the Prince of Orange endeavoured by all means possible to obstruct, being assured that if it took place, the Spaniards would sooner or later revenge themselves upon him and his party. As his fortune therefore wholly depended on establishing the abovesaid union, his first endeavour was to render a reconciliation with their Sovereign, the King of Spain, impracticable; whereupon he prevailed with the Provinces to renounce all allegiance to his Catholick Majesty, who he put them in mind had violated their privileges which he had sworn to observe, and put them upon making choice of the Duke of Alençon for their Sovereign, with whom 'tis said he had made a secret treaty to share the Netherlands between them. And the judicious PUFFENDORF assures us, that the States of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht were at this time for making the Prince of Orange their Sovereign, and would certainly have effected it afterwards, if his unexpected death had not prevented it.

In the mean time the Spaniards continued very successful in the Netherlands, taking the cities of Bois-le-Duc, Breda, Tournay, Valenciennes, Mechlin, &c. which induced several great men among the malecontents to go over to their party; but the Duke of Alençon having the sovereignty thus conferred upon him, was so fortunate as to raise the siege of Cambray, which was besieged by the Spaniards, and caused himself the next year to be proclaimed Duke of Brabant at Antwerp, and Earl of Flanders in Ghent; but his power being limited within very narrow bounds by the States, he was advised by his friends to endeavour to render himself absolute: whereupon he took a resolution of surprising Antwerp, and some other cities of the Confederates; but notwithstanding several thousands of his French troops had privately gotten into Antwerp, they were driven out again by

CHAP. I. by the Burghers with considerable loss. The like attempts were made by the French the same day on several other towns, but they had not the fortune to succeed any where except at Dunkirk, Dendermonde and Dixmude: but by this ill-concerted attempt, the French having lost all their credit in the Netherlands, the Duke of Alençon in the utmost confusion at his disappointment, returned to France, where he died not long after, and the Duke of Parma retook the towns of Dunkirk, Newport, Winoxbergen, Menin, Alost, and the rest of the places in Flanders which had declared for the Confederates, and Ypres and Bruges submitted to him without striking a stroke.

The Prince
of Orange
assassinated.

1584.

The same year (anno 1584) the United Provinces received a fatal blow by the death of the Prince of Orange, who was assassinated by BALTHAZAR GERHARD, a Burgundian, in his palace at Delft; whereupon the States of Holland made his younger son, Prince MAURICE, their Stadtholder, who being then but seventeen years of age, the Earl of Hohenloe was constituted his Lieutenant. But such was their distress, that they offer'd the sovereignty of their provinces again to the King of France, who being involved in a civil war, could not assist them; and the Duke of Parma taking advantage of their confusion, reduced Antwerp, Dendermond, Ghent, Brussels, Mechlin and Nimeguen to the obedience of King PHILIP, which so terrified the Confederate States, that they implored the protection of Queen ELIZABETH in the most abject terms.

An alliance
between
England and
the United
Provinces.

The Queen notwithstanding she did not think fit to accept the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which was offered her, entered into a treaty with the Confederate States, whereby she stipulated to assist them with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, which together with the forces of the States were to be commanded by an English General: that the English forces should be paid by the Queen during the war, but the charges she should be at should be repaid upon a peace in manner following, viz. In the first year of the peace should be repaid the expences of the first year of the war, and the rest within four years afterwards, and that in the mean time, Flushing, the island of Briel, with the city and two forts upon it, with the castle of Ramekins in Walcheren, should be delivered up to the Queen as cautionary towns. That the said places, after the money repaid, should be restored again to the States, and not deliver'd to the Spaniards, or any other enemy of their state. That the English General and two others of the same nation should be admitted into the council of the Confederate Provinces; and that the States should not enter into any league with any other power without the concurrence of her Majesty; nor the Queen, on the other hand, enter into any treaty without their approbation.

That ships for their common defence should be fitted out by both nations in equal numbers, to be commanded by the Admiral of England; and that the ports of both countries should be open to either party, with some other less material articles. In memory of which treaty the Zealanders in a transport of joy coin'd money stamp'd with a Lion (their arms) rising out of the waves with this inscription, *Victor & emergo*, and on the reverse were the arms of the several cities of Zealand with this motto, *Authore Deo, favente Regina*.

The Queen at the same time published a declaration to justify her conduct in assisting the Netherlands, wherein she says, that notwithstanding sovereign Princes are only accountable to God for their actions, she chose to acquaint the world, especially her friends and allies, with the justice of her proceedings in relieving the natives of the Low Countries, who had been long oppressed by wars and persecutions, and were now in danger of being brought into perpetual servitude by the Spaniards.

She sets forth, that for time immemorial, England and the Low Countries had constantly traded together and entered into alliances for their mutual advantage, even when the country was govern'd by distinct Sovereigns, and every province had its peculiar Lord: That when they became united in the house of Burgundy, treaties of perpetual amity and for mutual commerce were entered into between the Kings of England and the Dukes of Burgundy, and the subjects of either side had ever entertained the greatest kindness and friendship for each other, and traffick'd together to their mutual advantage, and the enriching of their respective states, till the Spaniards and other foreigners being introduced into the country, contrary to the constitution of the government, had in a tyrannous manner, without any colour of law or justice, banish'd, murder'd or destroy'd the nobility and principal inhabitants; and tho' the beginning of these persecutions proceeded, as was pretended, from a zeal for the Romish religion, yet they spared not the catholicks or even ecclesiasticks; particularly they had executed Count EGMONT, a gentleman well affected to the popish religion, and the glory of his country, who had been often victorious in the service of the King of Spain, and deserved another kind of treatment at his hands. That the Spaniards and other foreign troops had rendered the country desolate, and destroyed those wealthy trading towns, which in the time of CHARLES V, were held to have yielded him as great a treasure as his Indies.

That the French King observing the oppressions of this people, had promis'd them his protection; and when he was diverted from it by the succeeding civil wars, had recommended them to the care of her Majesty. That she had frequently represented

The Queen
declares
thereupon

P. to the King of Spain the ill consequences of treating his subjects in that barbarous manner, which must unavoidably compel them to look out for another Sovereign to protect them; which they might be justify'd in by the laws and constitutions of the country, that absolv'd the inhabitants of the Netherlands from their allegiance in cases of such general injustice and notorious breach of their privileges.

That the Queen was obliged in point of policy to prevent the Spaniards making a conquest of the Netherlands, which must very much endanger her own kingdoms; especially since his catholick Majesty had already thought fit to foment and encourage the rebels of Ireland, and join'd them with his own troops, which was alone sufficient to justify her conduct in assisting the Dutch upon their continual and lamentable requests for succour to defend them against the rage and cruelties of the Spaniards and other foreigners.

Sir JOHN NORRIS commanded the first troops which were sent over to the Low Countries; but the Earl of Leicester, then the great favourite in the English court, soon procured that command to be conferred upon himself, with the title of General of the Queen of England's auxiliary forces. The Dutch receiv'd him with joyful acclamations, erected trophies to his honour, and pretended to esteem him their deliverer, constituting him Supreme Governour of the confederate Provinces, and Generalissimo of their armies, and swore obedience to him. They also gave him the title of his Excellency, an honour till then never bestowed upon a subject of England. Leicester looking upon the Dutch to be sincere in their professions, and that they really intended he should have the sole government of their state, assumed a suitable authority, but soon found the great titles they had given him to be little more than compliment, being, in all matters of moment, controul'd and oppos'd by a deputation of the States; which when he resented, they apply'd themselves to the Queen of England, insinuating that he design'd to render himself absolute, and usurp the dominion of their country.

Thus while the English General drew one way, and the chiefs of the Dutch another, it was not to be expected that their affairs should be managed to any great advantage, which gave frequent occasion for complaints on both sides; but this good effect however, the sending the English auxiliaries into Holland had, that their People were now no longer under apprehensions of being subdued by the Spaniards, and were at leisure to improve their foreign trade. The Squadrons the Queen sent to the West-Indies, also diverted the Spaniards from sending their fleets to the coasts of Holland, and gave the Dutch great opportunities of encreasing their shipping and extending their commerce.

Complaints against Leicester coming over daily from Holland, her Majesty thought fit to reprehend him for attempting a power she never intended him; and expostulated with the Dutch, for that without her knowledge, they had conferred the absolute government of the Confederated Provinces upon Leicester her subject, which she had refused herself; and by her manifesto declared, that she intended no more than to relieve her neighbours in distress, and not to take the sovereignty upon her. But however she might pretend to be angry both with the one and the other, Leicester was soon restored to her favour, and the States were effectually supplied from time to time both with money and troops, to oppose the Spaniards; who having discover'd their intentions of invading England, she apprehended the Dutch might be of great use to her in opposing a descent; as they afterwards really were, in the year 1588, by sending their ships to join her fleet, when the Invincible Armada, 'as 'twas called, was upon the English coast. As to Leicester, finding that he had only an appearance of an authority, and that in effect he must be subject to a clownish people, whom he infinitely contemn'd, he chose to resign his command, and return to England.

Upon Leicester's laying down his commission, 1588. the States thought fit to create Prince MAURICE, Prince Maurice son to the late Prince of Orange, their Generalissimo; who being a good soldier, and supply'd from England with money and recruits, and entirely confided in by the Dutch, began to act with great advantage against the Spaniards: Breda he took by stratagem anno 1590, and in the following year he reduced Zutphen, Deventer-Halst, and Nimeguen, under the power of the States. In the year 1592 died that fortunate General the Duke of Parma; whereupon the Spanish troops grew mutinous, and the Dutch advanc'd their conquests, almost without opposition, taking Stenwick, Coeverden, and Gertruydenburg; and in 1592 Groningen was reduced, which made the United Provinces intire and secure.

In the year 1596, ALBERT, Arch-duke of Austria, was made Governour of the Spanish Netherlands; and in the year 1598, King PHILIP gave his daughter ISABELLA-CLARA-EUGENIA to him in marriage, and with her, as a dowry, Burgundy and the Low-Countries; in hopes that the Netherlands, being thus, in appearance at least, freed from a foreign subjection by having a Prince of their own, Holland and the other Confederated Provinces, would be the easier induc'd to return to their allegiance. But the Hollanders, who had now tasted the sweets of sovereignty, and from the condition of distress'd subjects were become a High and Mighty State, were not to be wrought upon by any artifice, but remain'd immoveably determin'd to maintain the dominion they had acquir'd;

CHAP. I. to which they were the more encourag'd, from the vast successes they met with in their attacks of the Spanish and Portuguese settlements in the Indies at this time, where they found so immense a treasure, that their State grew incredibly rich, even while they were engaged in a war with the most potent Monarch of Europe.

The losses the Spaniards sustain'd at sea, and the apprehension of further mischief to their plantations in the east and west, made them at this time very desirous of peace, to which the Confederated Provinces seem'd no less averse; nor would they enter into a treaty with Spain, or the Archduke, till he declar'd he would acknowledge them as free independent States, and condescended so far as to send his Plenipotentiaries to the Hague, where they were receiv'd by the States with much coldness and arrogance. The success of their arms by land for thirty years, the vast increase of their trade and naval power, made their people in general averse to peace: they could never expect to meet with greater advantages by a treaty, than they reap'd from their prizes and daily acquisitions in the east; by which many of the natives had made their fortunes, and many more were in expectation of raising them, if the war continu'd.

There were some considerations however, which prevail'd with the wisest among them at length to entertain more pacific thoughts: one whereof was the growing greatness of the French King, who, if he should make a conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, was likely to become an uneasy neighbour to them; and the Spaniard was in no condition to prevent it, while he was engag'd in a war with Holland. Another was a jealousy that Prince MAURICE, who had the chief command of their armies, and was become exceeding popular, as well by his own personal merit, as the memory of his father, who was assassinated for his services to the States, should aspire to make himself Sovereign of the country; which he would not want an opportunity of effecting, if he remain'd at the head of so considerable an army of veterans devoted to his service.

A truce between Spain and the States.
1609.

Such considerations as these, even in the midst of their victories, prevail'd with this cautious people to listen to terms of accommodation: and in the year 1609 a truce was concluded between Spain and the Confederate Provinces for twelve years; by which the latter were to be treated as free States, and each party to remain in possession of what they had taken.

Thus much seem'd necessary to premise, before I enter'd upon the description of the United Provinces, to shew the original of this mighty state; which arose to that grandeur in the space of fifty years, as to rival the most formidable Powers in Europe; to dispute the dominion of the sea even

with Britain, which rais'd them from obscurity to engross almost every valuable branch of trade.

A full account of these provinces will, 'tis presumed, afford an agreeable entertainment to the British reader, and in some measure make him amends for the tedious description of the petty principalities and states of Germany that preceded it; which could not however be avoided in a work of this nature, the design whereof was to give the modern history of all nations and people on the face of the globe, and especially those of Europe.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the situation and extent of the United Provinces of the Netherlands; of their seas, harbours, lakes, rivers, dikes, and canals; and of the air, winds, seasons, and diseases

THE seven United Provinces, consisting of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Guelderland with Zutphen, and Utrecht, are bounded by the German Ocean on the north and west; by the Circle of Westphalia on the east; and by Flanders, Brabant, and the duchy of Cleve towards the south; extending from 51 degrees 35 minutes, to 53 degrees 40 minutes, N. L. and from 3 degrees 20 minutes, to 6 degrees 30 minutes in longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London; being about an hundred and fifty miles in length, and as many in breadth: but then the Zuidersee, which separates North Holland from Friesland and Overijssel, takes up a great part of this space; and perhaps if all their seas and lakes within the limits above-describ'd were excluded, the whole country could not appear to be above an hundred miles over either way. Indeed those parts of Flanders and Brabant, which they have made themselves masters of, and lie contiguous to these provinces, are a considerable enlargement of their dominion; but these will be treated of in another place.

These countries, according to some writers, have great part of them been gain'd out of the sea, by casting up banks and draining them. Others are of opinion that there has been a great deal of them lost by inundations of the sea and tempestuous seasons, and both of them are certainly in the right; for their seas and rivers appear to be in many places above the land at high-water, and are only kept out by prodigious banks of earth; and there have been inundations even in the memory of man, that have laid great tracts of land under water. The tops of steeples, or other high buildings, where towns and villages formerly stood, have been seen upon their coast at low-water; and the Zuidersee, as Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE judiciously observes, never having been mention'd

by

A P. by any Roman writer, makes it reasonable to believe that it was form'd by some great inundation, breaking in between the Texel and other islands which lie near together in a line, and look like the shatter'd remainders of a continued coast; and this is render'd the more probable, he further observes; from the shallowness of that sea, and flatness of the sand upon the whole extent of it. Other changes, he supposes, have happen'd in the face of these countries since the time of the Romans, by the sands which have gather'd at the mouths of their three great rivers, viz. the Rhine, the Maes, and the Scheld; for the antient Rhine divided itself into two branches where the fort of Skenk, or Skenkenschaus, now stands, whereof one preserv'd the name of the Rhine, and running by Leyden, discharg'd itself into the ocean at Catwick, where may still be seen at low-water the ruins of an antient Roman castle, which commanded the mouth of that river; but this branch is now choak'd up, a great canal where the river once ran, only preserving the name of the Old Rhine at present. The Maes seems to have kept its antient course, which, running by Dort and Rotterdam, discharges itself into the ocean near the Briel, as it did antiently; with a mighty torrent of water; but the sands thrown up for three or four leagues upon this coast, make the harbour too dangerous to be enter'd without a pilot, and my author thinks it probable, that these sands obstructing the course of that river; have sometimes occasion'd or increas'd those inundations, by which so many islands have been form'd in this part of the country. The Scheld the same writer thinks formerly fell into the sea near Walcheren in Zealand, which was an island in the mouth of that river, till the waters of the Maes and Scheld were united together by some inundations of the sea, by which the whole country was laid under water, and form'd that inland sea, which washes the coasts of Holland, Zealand, Flanders, and Brabant, and serves for a passage between them. It is observed also, that the sea for some leagues from Zealand lies upon such banks of sand as are found at the mouth of the Maes; but divided by deeper channels.

The occasion of stopping up or obstructing the passages of these rivers is held to proceed from the westerly winds, which generally sit upon these shores; for one year with another it is observ'd, they blow westerly here three parts of the year, and are much more violent than the east winds, which usually bring calm fair weather, and settled frosts. But to return to their rivers; that of the Rhine has been described already in the state of Germany as far as Skenkenschaus, where it enters this country, and divides itself into two branches, one whereof retains the name of the Rhine, and continues its course to Arnheim; and

so to Duester de Wyck, where it mixes with, CHAP. II. 2. The Leck, which afterwards continues its course to Schonhoven, and unites its waters with the Maes a little above Rotterdam. 3. The Waal, the other branch of the Rhine, which begins at Skenkenschaus, runs by Nimeguen and Brommel to Gorcum; and having join'd the Meruwe, or New Maes, passes by Dort, and uniting with the Leck and the smaller Isfel, runs on to Rotterdam, where it is called, 4. The Maes, from a river with which it joins there, whose source is in Burgundy, from whence it runs to Namur, where it receives the Sambre; and then passing by Liege, Maastricht, Venlo, and Grave to Worcum, joins with the Waal, and runs in an united stream to Dort, where they divide again and form an island, but meet afterwards at Vlardigen, and discharge themselves into the ocean near the Briel. 5. The Isfel, which rising in Westphalia passes by Doesburg, where it is vastly augmented by a canal cut from the Rhine by the order of DRUSUS NERO, as 'tis said, from whence it runs by Deventer, separating the provinces of Guelderland and Overijssel, and falls into the Zuidersee near Campen. There is, 6. Another small river call'd the Isfel, which is rather a branch of the Leck, dividing from it near Vianen, and running towards Rotterdam, falls into the Maes. 7. The Scheld, which rising in Picardy, runs by Cambray, Valenciennes, and Oudenard to Ghent, where it joins the Lis, and passes on to Dendermond and Antwerp, which was once a good harbour, and one of the greatest marts in the Netherlands. A little below Antwerp it divides itself into two branches, one whereof is called the Westerscheld, or the Hont, which divides Flanders from Zealand, and discharges itself into the sea at Flushing. The other called the Oosterscheld, dividing from the Westerscheld at Santvliet, runs by Bergenopzoom, and afterwards between Tolen and South Bevelandt falls into the sea with a violent torrent.

The seas which border on the seven provinces are either the German or the British ocean, which wash the northern and western shores; the Zuidersee, enclos'd almost on every side, having the islands of Schelling, Ameland, &c. on the north, the provinces of Friezland and Guelderland on the east, Utrecht and part of Holland on the south, with another part of Holland and the islands of the Texel and Flic upon the west; being about seventy miles in length, and half as much in breadth, exceeding shallow and full of sands, as has been intimated already; so that the entrance of it at the Texel, and the passage over it, according to a late writer, is more dangerous than a voyage to Spain. And such is the violence and rage of the sea, when the wind blows a storm at north-west, if it happens to be a spring-tide, that their strongest dikes sometimes give way, and threaten.

CHAP. threaten the destruction of all the maritime provinces; for the land lies so exceeding low and flat, that the flood often appears above it; and were it not for the islands of the Flic, the Texel and Schelling, and some land-hills, which break the force of the sea, inundations would be much more frequent than they are. Their dikes to keep out the sea are generally seventeen ells thick at bottom, and seven ells high, made as strong to the landward as wood and stone can make them; and towards the water they cover them with matts, rushes, and sea-weed, and sometimes with sail-cloth; but the raging waves often force their way thro' all. In the year 1530, the sea broke in and overflow'd great part of Zealand; and in 1568, it rose to that height, that it cover'd some of the islands of Zealand, drown'd great part of the coast of Holland, and almost all Friezland, swallowing up seventy-two villages, and destroying twenty thousand people in Friezland only; but many people however were sav'd by getting up trees, the tops of houses, or rising grounds, who were afterwards brought off in boats. Another inundation happen'd in 1655, and a much greater in 1665; when the sea broke in with such violence between the Texel and the Helder, that it carried away part of the village of Huysdunen, laid all the country under water between Wiring and Zyp, broke the dike of Horn in pieces at two places, and came up to the gates of Medenblick, drowning many villages, and turning a large tract of land into a continued sea, whereby numbers of people and cattle were destroy'd. The dike of Muydenberg was also broken down, and all the country round Naerden, Myden, and Wesp, as far as Loren in Goyland, and Balecorn in the province of Utrecht, were laid under water. The gates and fortifications of Naerden were ruin'd, and that strong rampart of stone called the Assies Back driven away in a moment, and a hole left where it stood thirty-six feet deep. In Amsterdam the Newen-dike, with the street upon it, and the adjoining market-place was over-flow'd. The dike betwixt Amsterdam and Haerlem broke in the middle thirty or forty rods, so that there was thirty-three foot of water in those parts, and a great part of Waterland was entirely swallow'd up. Other inundations happen'd in the years 1682 and 1717, which 'tis said did as much mischief as any of those mention'd already. The banks of their rivers are also broken down, sometimes by shoals of ice and land-floods, as it happen'd in 1638, when the Isiel-dike near Utrecht giving way, most part of Holland was laid under water; but the dike was speedily repair'd, and the country drain'd by their wind-mills, of which they have great numbers on purpose for carrying off the winter's rain and melted snow, which in the spring overflows the country, and makes it

appear like a sea, the towns and villages built upon the rising grounds looking like so many islands; and indeed after the greatest inundations from the sea, when part of the coast seems to be irrecoverably lost, they will by their mills throw out the water, and repair their dikes, and in a few months the country recovers much the same face as it had before.

Notwithstanding this country is so famous for its trade and multitude of shipping, there is scarce a good harbour upon the coast; the best are said to be Flushing, Helvoetsluys, and Rotterdam. As for Amsterdam, which has in a manner engross'd the trade of the world, there cannot be a more incommodious haven, being seated in so shallow a water, that ordinary ships cannot come near it, unless at high-water, nor vessels of burthen without unlading.

After the seas already mention'd, their lakes may deserve to be remember'd, which are only lesser seas surrounded by the land, of which there are a great many in the United Provinces; the chief whereof is Haerlem-Meer, extending almost from Amsterdam, to Leyden, being sixteen or eighteen miles long, and about half as broad, but grows larger ever day, encroaching on the lands contiguous to it, which has occasion'd some to project the draining of it, as other lakes have been, and prov'd to be a very good soil, when laid dry; particularly one of two leagues broad Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE mentions in North Holland, which has been made firm land; being that part of the country called the Bemster, now the richest soil in the province, lying upon a level divided by canals, and the ways through it planted with rows of trees, which make a most agreeable summer's landskip. Indeed the whole country is cut through with canals, which lead to every town and village, and even to every farm-house almost; and we see such an infinite number of sails, says my author, steering every way through the land, that one would be tempted to think there were as many people live upon the water as on shore; which he observes is a great advantage to their trade, and not to be imitated by any other country, where there is not the same level and softness of earth, which makes the cutting of canals so easy as to be attempted by almost every private man.

Their seas, rivers, and canals afford them plenty of fish; but there are some kinds which they are oblig'd chiefly to the coast of Britain for, particularly herrings, oysters, and many other kinds of shell-fish: but I design to treat particularly of their fisheries hereafter, and therefore content my self with the bare mention of them here, and proceed next to enquire into the air and seasons.

The air of this country, says Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, would be all fog and mist, if it was not

AP. not purify'd by the sharpness of their frosts, which never fail to visit them with every east wind for about four months in the year, and are much severer than with us, though there be scarce any difference in the latitude, because this wind comes to them over a long tract of frozen continent; but is moisten'd by the vapours, or soften'd by the warmth of the sea's motion before it reaches us. This, says the same writer, is the greatest disadvantage of trade occasion'd by their situation, tho' it be extremely necessary for their health; for their harbours are frequently shut up two or three months together in winter by the ice, when ours are open, especially those in the Zuidersee. The spring is much shorter and less agreeable in the United Provinces than in England. The winter colder, and some parts of the summer much hotter; nor is it uncommon for the violence of the one to give way to that of the other, without any intermediate temperate season. The moistness of the air, the same ingenious writer is of opinion, was originally the occasion of that great neatness observ'd in their houses, and the cleanness of their streets, for without this their country would scarce be habitable, the air would corrupt upon every hot season, and expose the natives to infectious distempers; which they seldom escape three summers together as it is, especially at Leyden, where the waters stagnate more than in any other part of the country; and this is suppos'd to be the reason why Leyden is one of the cleanest towns in Holland. This moisture of the air also causes metals to rust, and wood to mould sooner than in other places, which occasions their perpetual rubbing and scouring; and this is the reason of that brightness and cleanness which seems affected in their houses. DE WITT their countryman observes, that the winters in Holland are sharp and long, and consequently that they have more occasion for light, firing, clothing, and food than in warmer countries: That their cattle are forc'd to be hous'd and fed with dry meat great part of the winter; when in other countries in the same latitude they remain all winter in the field. The seasons also are so short, that they must be punctually observ'd, if they expect their arable lands should yield them any profit. And the neighbourhood of the sea does not only occasion unwholesome weather in spring and autumn, but cold winds blast most of the fruit; and in autumn great part of their unripe fruit is blown down by furious storms of wind.

The diseases of the country are chiefly the gout and the scurvy, but in hot and dry summers they are visited with malignant fevers, especially at Amsterdam and Leyden. These distempers lie most in the head, and frequently occasion sudden death. If the patient recovers he continues a great while in a languishing condition. The plague is

seldom known here, or at least all talk of it is suppress'd, and no distinction made, as with us, what distemper every one dies of. Nor do they take much care of their sick; which my author ascribes to their firm belief in predestination, or to their preferring trade and business even to life itself. Foreigners, 'tis observ'd, are frequently subject to the spleen in this country, which the natives seldom are, being too busy a people, 'tis suppos'd, to be affected by this distemper; this seeming to be the disease of the idle, or of those who think themselves ill entertain'd, who are never out of humour or discompos'd, but they attribute it to a formal disease: whereas such dull fits frequently happen from the changes of the wind or weather, which affect the finer spirits of the brain, before they grow sensible in other parts, and are apt to alter the shapes and colours of whatever is represented to us by our imaginations, while we are so affected. Yet this effect is not so strong, but business or intention of thought will either resist or divert it, in the opinion of my author, who observes further, that this is a disease too refin'd for this heavy people, who are well when they are not ill, and pleas'd when they are not troubled; content because they think little of it, and seek their happiness in the common satisfactions and conveniences of life, or the increase of riches, not amusing themselves with more speculative entertainments, or refinements of pleasure. But to return: Long life is a blessing seldom known in this country, both men and women begin to decay very early, especially at Amsterdam; and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE seems to remark it as an uncommon thing, that he had seen at the Hague (the best air in Holland) two men above seventy; which may possibly proceed from their diet, and want of exercise, as well as from the badness of the air; for dried and salted flesh and fish are their usual food, and brandy and geneva very commonly drank. They scarce know what rural sports mean; neither do they ride on horseback, or walk from one town to another about their business, but are drawn along by a horse in a cover'd boat upon a smooth canal, scarce sensible of any motion; which too I take to be the occasion that they are generally corpulent and full of gross humours.

CHAP. III.

Contains a description of the particular provinces, and of their chief towns, with their publick and private buildings and furniture.

THE most considerable of the seven provinces is that of Holland, in many respects equal to the other six; bounded by the Zuidersee on the north; by the same sea and the province of Utrecht and Betawe on the east; by Brabant and Zealand

CHAP.

II.

Holland province, the situation and extent.

CHAP. III. Zealand on the south; and by the British Ocean on the west; extending in length from north to south about eighty miles, and in breadth from east to west forty miles in some places, but in others not above twenty; and is usually divided into South and North Holland. South Holland contains all that country between Zealand and Brabant, and that arm of the sea which usually goes by the name of the river Y or Ty; and North Holland reaches from the same river Y to the ocean.

Divided into South and North Holland. The principal towns in South Holland are Amsterdam, Haerlem, Rotterdam, Dort, Delft, Leyden, Goude, Gorcum, Scheidam, Schoonhoven, Gravesand, Gertrudenburg, Huesden, Worcum, Vianen, Woerden, Oudewater, Yselstein, Asperen, Hockelem, Leerdam, Naerden, Wesep, Muyden, Klundert, Williamstat, the Hague, Catwyckopzee, and Nortwick. The islands belonging to South Holland, are those of Voorn, Goree, Overflaakee, Putten, Beverland, Korndyck, and Iselmond; the chief whereof I shall endeavour to describe.

Chief towns of South Holland. 1. Amsterdam, the capital of Holland, and of the seven provinces, is situate on the little river Amstel, which runs through it, and falls into that arm of the sea called the Y, that lies on the north side of the town, and forms a large harbour. It is in the latitude of fifty-two degrees twenty minutes, four degrees and a half to the eastward of London, twelve miles east of Haerlem, and about thirty N. E. of Rotterdam. This city is almost in the form of a crescent, the foundations laid upon vast piles of timber, drove into the earth at a prodigious expence, the place where it stands being a perfect morass or bog. The first mention of this place in history is about the year 1300, when it was a poor fisher-town; in 1342 the buildings were pretty much encreas'd on the east side of the Amstel; and in 1400 some buildings were added on the west side of the river. In 1482, their Princess MARY of Burgundy encompass'd it with a strong brick-wall of extraordinary workmanship, as appears by two gates still remaining. In 1585 we find it still farther enlarg'd, and become the chief town of trade in these provinces. In 1656 a large space of ground was taken in and built upon, and the whole surrounded with a new wall of brick and gates of stone, which gave it the present form of a crescent, and its circumference is now computed to be about half as much as London and Westminster: others assure us that it stands upon two thousand acres of ground. A great addition was made to the fortifications in the year 1672, when LEWIS XIV. invaded their country, which occasion'd the destruction of several fine gardens; but the town was thereby made as strong as it was capable of being by art. Three parts of it are defended by a strong wall, bastions, and outworks, and a large graff or ditch,

and the fourth secur'd by that arm of the sea already mention'd, called the Y or Ty. The houses are generally well-built with brick and stone, the streets broad and neatly pav'd, with canals in the middle of many of them, planted with rows of trees, and handsome stone-bridges over their canals.

Their finest streets are the Heer-graff, the Keysergraff, and the Prince's-graff, where many of the houses are of free-stone, and adorn'd with columns of the Corinthian Order. The street of Haerlem also is admir'd for its length and breadth, and three stone-bridges laid across the canal. The harbour always contains an infinite number of ships, especially in the spring, when may be seen fifteen or sixteen hundred vessels setting sail for the Baltick only. There are not however in this great city more than thirteen churches for those of the established religion, which is that of JOHN CALVIN, or the Presbyterian, with two French, one High-Dutch, and one English church, all Presbyterians; these only are allow'd bells, and their preachers maintain'd by the government. Those of this sect are computed to make one-third of the inhabitants of the city. The Papists, who have upwards of fourscore chapels or private meeting-houses, are suppos'd to make another third. These have a square in the town inhabited by nuns, who are at liberty however to leave their cloyster, and marry if they please. The Roman Catholics are least in favour with the government of any of the inhabitants, and their chapels are sometimes shut up by the Scout or Sheriff, and open'd again upon application made to the magistrates. The Lutherans, Arminians, Jews, English Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers take up another third part of the town; and all these, except the disciples of CALVIN, are restrain'd from celebrating their marriages according to their respective rites, till the parties have been first married before a magistrate, nor are any admitted to offices or places of trust but Presbyterians.

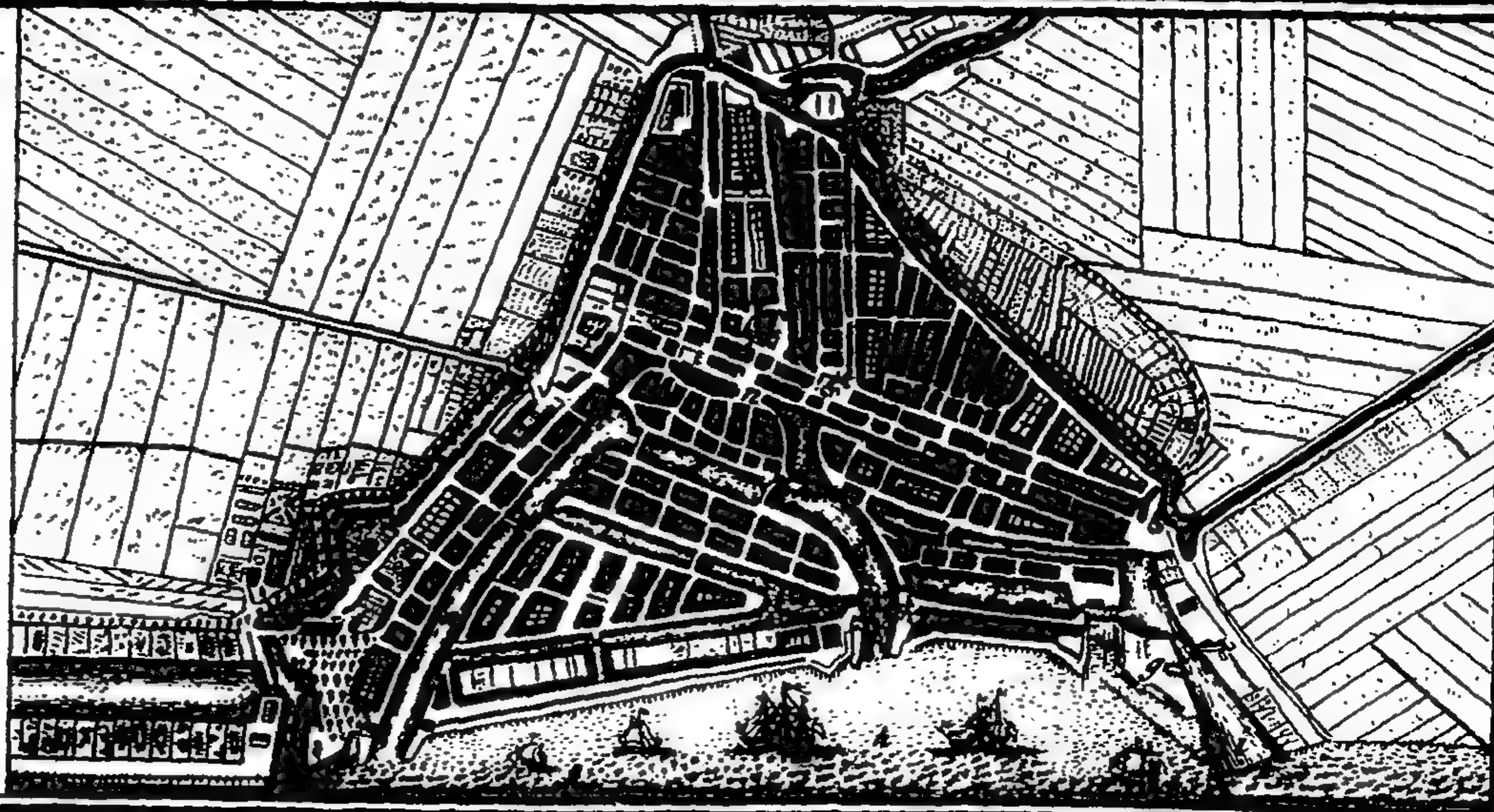
Their churches are generally handsome structures, that of St. CATHERINE's is esteem'd the finest, having been burnt down in the year 1645, and since magnificently built: in the paintings of the windows is represented the Emperor MAXIMILIAN giving them an Imperial crown, as a crest to their arms. The pulpit is said to be a master-piece of its kind, adorn'd with the most exquisite carvings; and the organ the largest and best in Europe, at least at the time it was set up, and is supported by marble pillars. The partition which separates the church from the chancel is of polish'd brass, kept as bright as possible; but to say the truth, we must not expect to find the churches of the Dutch Presbyterians comparable to those in Roman Catholick countries, either for the

AMSTERDAM



ROTTERDAM

- a. Leuwe Haven
- b. scheep makers Haven.
- c. Wyn Haven
- d. De Blaeck
- e. De Oude Haven
- f. Harinck Vliet
- g. Staten Timmerwerf
- h. De Maes River
- i. De Nieuwe Haven
- k. t' Stadt Huys
- l. s^t Laurents Kerck
- m. De Beurs
- n. De Koperen Erasmus





The Stadthouse of Amsterdam

CHAP. III. the elegance of the building, paintings, carvings, ornaments, or the richness of the materials, and therefore I shall not tire the reader with a further description of this or the rest, but proceed to the Stadt-house or Guild-hall, on which building alone the Dutch seem to have laid out much more money than on all the churches in this great city.

The Stadthouse is a handsome oblong square building of free-stone; the front, which is the length of it, extending two hundred and eighty-two feet, the breadth two hundred and thirty-two feet, and the height of the roof one hundred and sixteen feet. The pillars are of the Corinthian Order; and it is founded upon above thirteen thousand vast piles of wood, driven into the earth with incredible labour. In the middle of the front, over the cornice, is a noble piece of carving in marble, eighty-two feet in length, and eighteen in height; where the city of Amsterdam is represented by a woman, with Neptune on her right hand, and two sea-nymphs offering her the fruits of the earth, and on her left are two Naiades, presenting her with laurels and palms, and before her are two Tritons, dancing and sounding their horns; over these is a statue of brass representing Peace, with Justice on one side, and Providence on the other; each figure twelve foot in height. On the back part of the building is a piece of carved work, answerable to that in the front; in the middle whereof sits a woman with the wings of a MERCURY and a hat on her head; behind her are seen the masts, sails, yards, and tackling of ships, with all kind of mathematical instruments used in navigation; round about her and at her feet lies that arm of the sea called the Y, and the river Amstel; and on each side the inhabitants of the four quarters of the world offering her fruits; over these also are placed three images of brass, of the same dimensions with those in the front; one whereof is an ATLAS, bearing a large globe of copper ten feet diameter, having on the right a statue representing Temperance, and another personating Justice on the left. Over the four corners of the building stand four eagles of brass finely gilt, supporting an Imperial crown; and in the middle of the building is a handsome round tower, which rises fifty foot above the roof, supported by pillars, and adorn'd with statues, and in it is a fine chime of bells, on which are plaid all manner of tunes on their festivals and rejoicing days: but the bells in the Low Countries are never rung out as they are in England. The portico, which is not answerable to the magnificence of the building, is enter'd by seven little arched doors; within the portico are two large gates or doors, which lead into the house. At the entrance on the right-hand is a noble hall, where a tribunal is held for the trial of criminals, adorn'd with marble statues, whose dejected looks seem

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to express a concern, say some, for the unhappy CHAP. III. wretches that are brought before this court; or, as others, that they represent the prisoners themselves full of that confusion, which is natural to persons in their circumstances, expecting their doom. The cornices and ceilings of most of the rooms are finely carved, painted, and gilded, and the floors laid with marble. Below stairs is the office of the bank, and the prisons both for debtors and criminals, with a guard-chamber, where the citizens have their main guard, and where the keys of the city are lock'd up every night. From hence a handsome broad pair of stairs, but something dark, leads into the Burghers hall, which is an hundred and twenty foot long, fifty-seven broad, and ninety-eight foot in height; the marble-floor whereof is so laid as to represent, without any other lines than the veins of the stone, the celestial and terrestrial globes, the constellations in the heavens, and the situation of every country upon earth. Each of these marble-maps, as they are stiled, being two and twenty feet diameter. At the end of this hall is the Schepens or Aldermen's chamber, where civil causes are tried: and in the galleries, which surround two square courts, are several other chambers and offices belonging to the government; as the chamber of their senate or council, the Burgomasters chamber, the treasury, the chamber of accounts, &c. Over these chambers in the second story is a large magazine of arms; and on the top of the building are eight large cisterns of water, which are convey'd to any room in the house by pipes in cases of fire, and the very chimneys, by way of prevention, are lined with copper. On a pedestal of black marble, whereon is placed a statue of the blessed Virgin, is a Latin inscription, importing that the first stone of this noble structure was laid on the 28th of October, 1648; when the war, which the States had maintain'd in almost every part of the world above fourscore years, in defence of their religion and liberties, against the three PHILIPS of Spain, was happily concluded. Their magistrates first assembled in it in the year 1655, but it is not yet entirely finish'd; which some conjecture proceeds from an old prophecy, that from the time their Stadthouse is finish'd, their state shall begin to decline.

Other publick buildings in Amsterdam which travellers take notice of, are the admiralty-office, the East-India-house, the arsenal, the hospitals for widows and orphans, from which bastards are not excluded, for madmen, sick and aged, the house of correction, spin-house, or work-house, the publick schools, where lectures are read on several faculties, and the Exchange. In their hospitals of all kinds, 'tis said, there are not less than twenty thousand souls maintain'd: and 'tis observed of them, as of those in England, that they resemble Princes

CHAP. Princes palaces rather than the habitations of poor people. There are houses also where a person may have his diet and lodging for life on the advancement of a small sum of money, which are call'd the Proveniers-houses: and at every house almost in the city there hangs a poor's box by a chain, in which people put money as they are disposed, especially on a sale of goods, or any considerable bargain; and the deacons go once a quarter round the city, and take the money out of these boxes: there are also twice a week men that belong to the hospitals who go round the city with a bell, and ask relief at every house, and are seldom dismiss'd without some pence. They have several other ways of raising money for their poor, as by the play-houses, that pay half their gains to this use: every rope-dancer, puppet-player, and person pretending to divert the people at fairs by any means whatever, also pays a third part of his gains to the poor. Every person who passes through a gate after candle-light pays a penny to the use of the poor: and what these, and some other little taxes fall short of maintaining their hospitals, is supplied out of the publick revenue. As to the government of this city, I shall have occasion to enlarge upon it hereafter under another head, and proceed next to describe some other considerable towns in this province.

Haerlem.

2. Haerlem, a large populous city, twelve miles to the westward of Amsterdam, and four to the eastward of the ocean, surrounded with a wall, and other fortifications, but of no great strength. The buildings are of brick, the streets wide and strait, and canals in the middle of several of them, as at Amsterdam. It was made a Bishop's See in the year 1559, but lost that honour soon after, on the States throwing off their allegiance to the Spaniard, and embracing Calvinism. The cathedral church, now call'd the great church, is esteem'd the largest and most beautiful in Holland. Their manufactures consist chiefly in silks, velvet and linens: the linen they make here is esteem'd the finest and whitest in the province. They have also a considerable trade for thread and tapes. Here the famous LAWRENCE COSTER dwelt, to whom the Dutch ascribe the invention of printing, anno 1440; which is disputed with them by the citizens of Mentz in Germany. This town is famous also for the brave defence it made against the Spaniards in the year 1573, when the women form'd themselves into regiments and companies to assist the burghers; but being obliged to surrender after ten months gallant defence, the Spaniard exercised great cruelties on the inhabitants, destroying many of them in cold blood. To the southward of the town lies the lake called Haerlem-meer, which extends eastward almost as far as Amsterdam, and southward to Leyden, a shallow, but dangerous water for the passage-boats,

which was probably the occasion of cutting canals from this city to Amsterdam and Leyden, on which people travel with all the safety and ease imaginable.

3. Rotterdam, esteem'd the chief town in Holland next to Amsterdam, situate on the north side of the Maes, about thirty miles to the southward of Amsterdam, and fifteen to the eastward of the Briel, is a large city of a triangular figure, and very populous, lying mighty convenient for trade, the canals, which run thro' the town, bringing up their shipping to their doors. Another great advantage they have, is, that the Maes is open, and the passage free from ice much sooner in the spring than in the Y and Zuider-see that lead to Amsterdam, which is the reason that the British merchants frequent this port much more than that; insomuch, that after a frost, when the sea was open, there hath been seen three hundred sail of British vessels steering out of this harbour at once. The town is handsomely built of brick, the streets wide and well paved; and there are four churches besides that of the English (where the service is perform'd according to the rites of the church of England) and a kirk for the Scots. Here are constantly residing great numbers of the subjects of Britain, who live in much the same manner as on this side the water, not being confined to Dutch diet, as in some other towns. The publick buildings taken notice of by travellers are, the great church of St. LAWRENCE, the Stadt-house, the Exchange, the Admiralty-office, and the East-India-house, which are handsome structures, but not thought worth a particular description: upon the great bridge in the market-place is a noble brass statue of ERASMUS, in a furr'd gown and a round cap, with a book in his hand. The situation of this place is pleasant, and from the top of the great church may be seen the Hague, Delft, Leyden, Dort, and most of the towns of South-Holland. But the canals in Rotterdam having little or no current in summer, the stagnated water proves very offensive as well as unhealthful.

4. Leyden, or *Leyda*, the *Lugdunum Batavorum* of the Latins, four miles to the eastward of the Ocean, and eighteen miles south of Amsterdam, stands on the old channel of the Rhine, the mouth whereof being now choak'd up, occasions the waters to stagnate, which renders the air unhealthful. It is however esteem'd one of the neatest and pleasantest towns in the Low Countries, and the largest in Holland next to Rotterdam: the buildings beautiful and magnificent, the streets broad and exceeding clean, with canals in the middle of them planted with rows of trees. This city is surrounded with a wall, and regularly fortified, and endured a siege of five months in the year 1574, when finding themselves in danger of being taken by the Spaniards, they

I AP. they laid the country round about it under water, and compell'd the enemy to rise from before it. **III.** In the middle of the town is a round stone tower, six hundred and ten feet in circumference, ascended by fifty steps, and according to the tradition of the place, was built by the Romans, but of no great strength at present. Those who give a particular description of the place observe, that it hath eight gates, that there are twenty-three wards in the city subdivided into ninety lesser parts; that there are thirty islands, twenty-four canals, an hundred and eighty streets, ninety-five bridges, and forty towers on the walls. The principal churches are those of St. PETER, St. PANCRAS, and the New Church, the last of which is of a circular form. Their hospitals are many and large, that of the orphans only maintaining nine hundred children. A university was founded here by the States General in the year 1575. The schools consist of a large pile of brick buildings three stories high, in the uppermost whereof the famous ELZEVIËR had his printing room. The students of this university are computed to be about two thousand; but there are only two endowed colleges, most of the lads boarding in the town. Adjoining to the schools is a physick garden, where the Professor in botany reads his lectures. The Professors never wear gowns but at lectures, and when they preside in publick disputations. Nor are the Students at all distinguish'd by their habit. The Rector, who is chosen out of three presented to the States, is elected annually; there are besides three Curators, and twelve Professors, three in each faculty. The Rector with the four Burgomasters, his Assessors, and some of the Aldermen, determine all causes civil and criminal. Their library is in great esteem for its manuscripts; and the anatomy theatre is said to exceed that of Padua, or the Surgeons-hall in London, having a vast number of skeletons of all kinds and sizes, several mummies, and particularly one of an Egyptian Prince eighteen hundred years old, with Pagan idols and relics, and habits of people of the most distant countries. The principal manufacture in Leyden is woollen-cloath and camblets; and their gardens yield them a considerable profit, their garden stuff being so much valued as to be carried as far as Amsterdam. These gardens are said to have four or five crops in one year, and an acre of garden ground to be worth two hundred and fifty, or three hundred pounds, an acre of arable two hundred, and an acre of meadow an hundred and forty pounds. In the Rhineland-house the Dikegrave, one of the most considerable officers in this country, and his associates, meet in consultation about the repair of the dikes, banks and canals in the district of Rhineland, of which Leyden is the capital. In the church of St. Mary's is a

monument of JOSEPH SCALIGER, and another of CLUSIUS the herbalist, with a Latin inscription, importing, that he was call'd hither to adorn the academy, where he lived sixteen years, and died anno 1609, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, under which is this distich;

*Non potuit plures hic quærere CLUSIUS herbas,
Ergo novas Campis quærit in Elysiis.*

English'd thus by a late writer;

*Since no more herbs the earth to CLUSIUS yields,
He's gone a simpling to th' Elysian fields.*

5. The Hague, or *Gravenhage*, i. e. the Earl's-grove, esteem'd a village, because it has no walls, but the most considerable of the kind in Europe, situate nine miles south-west of Leyden, fourteen north-west of Rotterdam, and two miles to the eastward of the Ocean, encompassed with fine meadows and pleasant groves, in the midst whereof is a pleasure-house belonging to the Princes of Orange. The place is govern'd by its own magistrates, and enjoys all the privileges of a city of Holland, but the sending its representatives to the States. In this village also the States-General and the council of State always assemble. Here are held the supreme courts of judicature. Foreign ministers are admitted to their audience, and reside here; and all publick affairs are transacted, which draws a multitude of people hither, and occasions its being a very flourishing town. The palace is a handsome brick building, making two angles of a square, in the middle whereof is a large hall, equal to that of Guildhall in London. In this palace was an apartment for the late Princes of Orange; the chambers of the States-General and Provincial, and of the council of State. And adjoining to it is a noble stone-building, called the palace of Prince MAURICE of Nassau, who built it. On the north side is a large square pond called the *Vijver*, and on the west the palace opens to a large plain surrounded with magnificent houses, and regularly planted with trees, which have made some compare it, not improperly, to St. JAMES's-park: and every city of the United Provinces has a house here for their respective deputies. Notwithstanding it is evident from what hath been already observed, that the place must be large and extremely populous, yet are there but two churches in it; one of them called the Old Church is a handsome fabrick of the usual form. The other a new building of a round figure without a pillar, which seems to be a kind of building that the modern Dutch affect, for there are other temples lately built in Holland of the same form. On the north side of the Hague, is a walk paved with bricks, and shaded with lime-trees for two miles, extending as far as Scheveling, a village on the sea-shore, where King CHARLES II took

CHAP. took shipping for England at his restoration.

III. Scheveling was once a considerable town, but lying upon a tempestuous sea, has been extremely lessened by the waves beating on its shores. About ten miles south-west of the Hague lies Honslaerdyke, a magnificent palace of the late Prince of Orange, having noble gardens adorned with fountains and statues, some of which it is said were taken from a palace on this side the water, as well as the furniture within doors. Here are two galleries full of beautiful paintings, and the closet of the late Princess is wainscotted with Japan-work. Within two miles of the Hague lies the village of Ryfswick, where the Prince had another palace. The treaty of peace between the confederates and the French was concluded here in the year 1697. This palace also is admired for its stately front of free-stone, its marble staircase, marble floors, exquisite paintings, &c. Another village called Loosduyne, about six miles north-west of the Hague cannot be omitted mentioning in this place, since every traveller is full of the monstrous birth said to have happened here: the account we have of this occurrence is, That MARGARET Countess of Henneberg, daughter of FLORIS Count of Holland and Zealand, and sister to WILLIAM King of the Romans, having reproach'd a poor woman as guilty of adultery on account of her having twins, insinuating that she could not have two children by one man at a time, the woman provoked at this usage, wish'd that the Countess might have as many children as there were days in the year, which it is said happened accordingly in the year 1276, in the fortieth year of the Lady's age, when she was deliver'd of three hundred and sixty-five children, equally divided as to sex, only the odd one was a boy. They were afterwards christen'd in the parish church in two brass basins (which they pretend still to shew to travellers) the boys by the name of JOHN, and the girls by the name of ELIZABETH; and in the church-wall there is a stone with an inscription, giving the abovesaid relation: but it is observed by travellers to be a modern writing, and different from the inscription given us by historians an hundred and fifty years ago, which was much shorter than the present. The ceremony of baptism was perform'd, according to tradition, by GUIDO suffragan to the Bishop of Utrecht.

Delf.

6. Delf, called by the Latins *Delphum* and *Delphi*, six miles south-east of the Hague, and eight north-west of Rotterdam, pleasantly situated among the meadows, the streets spacious, with canals running through them, planted with trees. It is about two miles in circumference, and surrounded by an old wall and ditch. The earthen ware of this place is esteem'd the best next to China-ware; and they had formerly a good trade

in cloth and beer, but it is more considerable for being a quiet town, the retreat of wealthy merchants who have left off their business, than for its trade at present. The publick buildings taken notice of are, the Stadt-house and the arsenal of the States, the magazine of powder belonging to which accidentally blew up and destroy'd great part of the town in the year 1654, but it has been since rebuilt to great advantage. There are but two churches in the place, the Old and the New; in the latter whereof is the tomb of WILLIAM first Prince of Orange, who was assassinated in this city: his statue in marble is upon the tomb, and another in brass arm'd *cap-a-pe* standing by it, and a Fame sounding over him with this motto, *Te vindice tuta Libertas*. At his feet lies a dog, which according to tradition died of grief on the murder of his master. There are also many other brass and marble statues about the tomb, which serve to adorn it. Delphs-Haven, which belongs to this city, lies within two miles of Rotterdam, and has a communication both with Delf and Rotterdam by a canal. It is strongly fortified, and has three dams to defend it against inundations.

7. Dort, or *Dordrecht*, an antient city, the first in dignity of those which compose the States of Holland, and the capital of a small country call'd the Bailiwick of Dort, is situate on the river Meruwe, forty miles south of Amsterdam, and fourteen south-east of Rotterdam. This city, with the district about it, became an island by an inundation which happen'd in the year 1421, throwin down the banks of the Maes and Meruwe, and laying a large tract of land under water between Dort and Brabant, destroying near fourscore villages, and twenty or thirty thousand people. Its situation between the Maes and Meruwe makes it naturally strong; and the natives pretend that it was never yet taken: but the waters are its greatest security; for besides the rivers abovemention'd, which are of a very great breadth near this city, a large lake called the Biesbos encloses it on the south and east. The place is large and populous, the streets broad and well paved, and the houses high and built of brick. Here was held a Synod in the year 1619, for examining the opinions of the Arminians and Calvinists, and it is easy to imagine which side had the best of it, when the magistracy was in the hands of the disciples of CALVIN. The room where this Synod was held is still shewn to travellers as a curiosity, tho' it does not seem to deserve a particular description. The British merchants have two churches in this city, and particular privileges, it being the staple for their cloth, as well as for Rhenish-wines, corn, wood, and other commodities, brought down the Rhine and the Maes.

AP. 8. Gertrudenberg, so named from St. GERTRUDE, situate in the district of Dort, on the south side of the lake called Biesbos, twelve miles south-east of Dort, and ten north of Breda, and belongs to the house of Orange. It is strong by nature as well as art, having a marsh on one side, and the river Meruwe on the other, which in this place looks like a sea.

9. Goude, or *Tergow*, the sixth city in dignity of those which compose the States of Holland, situate on the rivers Gow and Issel, twelve miles north-east of Rotterdam, and twenty-four south of Amsterdam, a handsome large city, and a place of strength, especially on account of its low situation, the country about it being liable to be overflow'd by their sluices whenever they apprehend any danger.

10. Naerden, a small, but strong town, situate in a morass near the Zuider-sea, twelve miles to the eastward of Amsterdam, and fifteen north of Utrecht. It was taken by the Spaniards in 1572, when the enemy, in revenge for their having submitted to the Prince of Orange, summon'd all the inhabitants to the market-place, and there cut them to pieces in cold blood; which did the Spaniards no service, for the Hollanders thereupon became desperate and irreconcilable; and it is to such acts of cruelty as these that the loss of the Seven Provinces is generally attributed.

11. Williamstadt, a little fortified town belonging to the house of Orange, having been built by WILLIAM I, anno 1583, from whom it received its name. It is situated on the water called the Roo Vaert, which separates the island of Voorn from the continent, and secures the communication between Holland and Zealand. The islands above-mention'd to belong to South Holland, lie at the mouth of the Maes, the principal whereof is Voorn, or the land of Voorn, as it is called, on which stands,

Briel. 12. The city of the Briel, a fortified town, twelve miles to the westward of Rotterdam. The buildings are old, but regular; the streets broad, and the walls planted with trees. It has a pretty good harbour, and a tolerable trade, but not comparable to Rotterdam or Dort, which lie higher up the river. This was the first town on the coast of Holland which the Guefe's, or Malecontents, took from the Spaniards, and occasion'd the revolt of the rest; and this was one of the cautionary towns which the States deliver'd into the hands of Queen ELIZABETH, for repaying the expences she was at in defending them against the King of Spain, and was afterwards restored to them, with the rest, by King JAMES in his necessities, for a very small part of the money that remain'd due to England. The island whereon it stands is about twenty miles in length, and six in breadth, and is generally fruitful in corn.

13. Helvoetsluice, on the same island of Voorn, stands about four miles to the southward of the Briel, and is esteem'd the safest harbour in the country. Here are usually some of the States largest men of war, which come up to the middle of the town; and hither the English packet-boat comes and takes in the mail; and tho' it be one of the most convenient places to embark at, yet has the place but little trade, merchant-men choosing to go higher up the river before they unlade. To the southward of the land of Voorn lies the island of Overlacke, about fifteen miles long and five broad, on which are several towns and villages, the chief whereof is,

14. Summerdyke, situate on the north side of the island, formerly a town of some trade, but upon the decline at present. To the westwaert of Overlacke lies the little island of Goree, the chief town whereof is of the same name, but not considerable for its trade or any thing else at this day. This is usually the first land we make on the coast of Holland in a voyage from England to Helvoetsluice. Between the land of Voorn and Rotterdam lies the island of Issemond, or Overmaes, about ten miles in length and four in breadth, the chief town of the same name standing almost over-against Rotterdam. As for Putten and Byerland, I comprehend them under the title of the land of Voorn, from whence they are separated but by a small stream.

I come next to North-Holland, being that part of the province which lies north of that little arm of the sea called the Y, or Ty, the towns whereof are Hoorn, Enckhuysen, Alckmaer, Edam, Munickedam, Medenblick, Purmerend, Beverwick, Wormer, Schermer, Beemster, Egmont, Petten, Schagen and Ninckel: and the islands belonging to North-Holland are, the Texel, Eyerlandt, Flielandt or Vlielandt, Schelling, Grind, Vieringen, Urek, Ens. The chief of which towns and islands I am now to describe, and,

1. Hoorn, twenty miles north of Amsterdam, a large wealthy city, pleasantly situated on the Zuider-sea, almost surrounded by gardens and pasture grounds, and secured against the fury of the sea by a vast dam. The produce of the country about it is chiefly butter and cheese, which they export to several parts of Europe.

2. Enckhuysen, situate also on the Zuider-sea, ten miles north-east of Hoorn, and as many south-east of Medenblick, a large handsome city with a capacious port, from whence great numbers of ships yearly set sail for the Baltick and herring-fishery, by which, and ship-building, the town is grown very rich.

3. Medenblick, an antient city, once the capital of North Holland, now but a little town situate on the Zuider-sea, ten miles north of Hoorn,

CHAP. is still a commodious harbour, and defended by an old castle. Here are the strongest dams and banks of the country to defend it from the fury of the waves, which beat violently on these shores when the wind blows a storm from the northwards. The country about this place is taken notice for its rich pastures.

Alcmaer. 4. Alcmaer, twenty miles to the northwards of Haerlem, an antient town, but one of the best built in this part of the country, and pleasantly situate in the midst of gardens, groves, and pasture grounds, which last produce vast quantities of cheese and butter, which enriches the natives.

Sardam. 5. Saenredam, or Sardam, situate on the Y, or Ty, seven miles north-west of Amsterdam, and almost opposite to it, very considerable on account of the numbers of ships which are annually built here, tho' it be but an open town.

Edam. 6. Edam, situate on the Zuider-sea, ten miles south of Horn, a small town, but considerable also upon account of the ships that are built here.

Purmer. 7. Purmer, a neat fortified town, five miles west of Edam; the country about this place and Edam was formerly a lake, which having been drain'd, makes a pleasant fruitful country, that goes by the name of Purmerend; and to the southward of this lies the Beemster, already mentioned, which was formerly a lake, but now a fine country, containing seven or eight thousand acres of ground. Of the like kind are the Wormer, which lies still further southward; the Schermer and the Huygen Waert to the westward of the Beemster; as also the Zype, the most northerly part of this province, the sea being kept out by a vast mole form'd by beams of timber driven into the ground, and the spaces fill'd up with huge stones and cement.

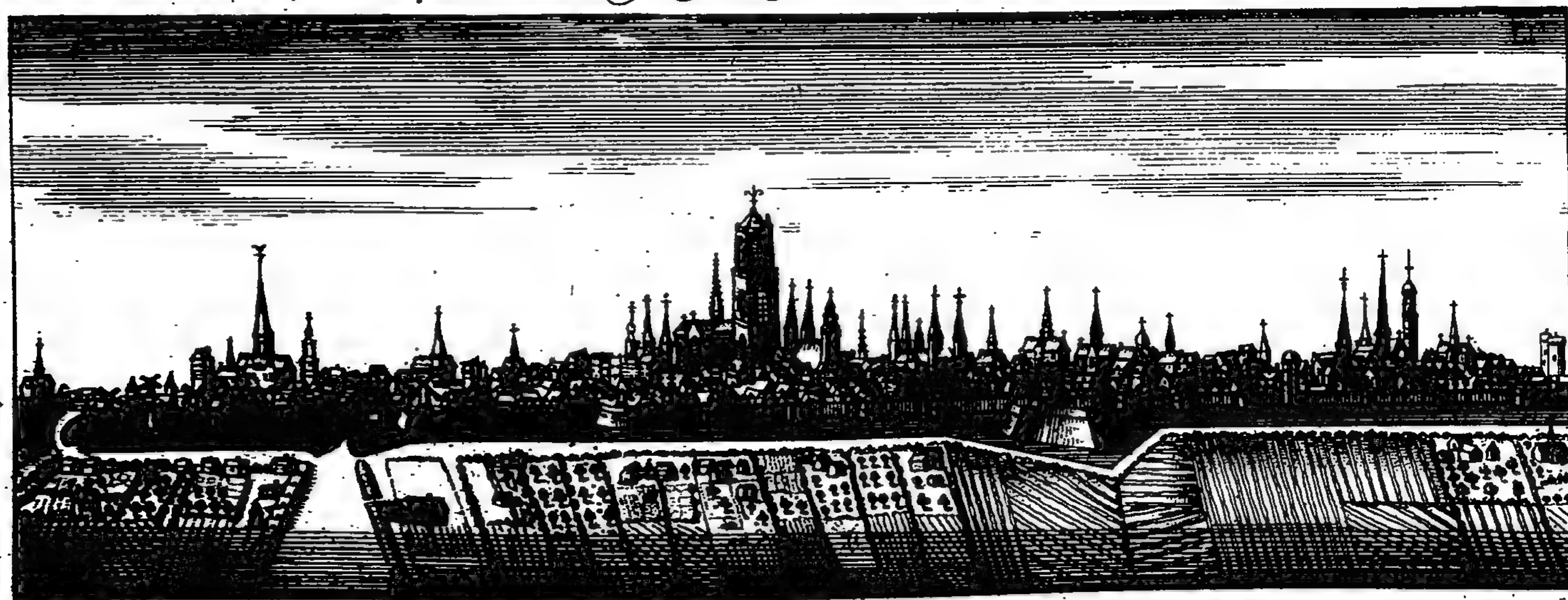
Texel Island. Between the ocean and the Zuider-sea lie the islands above mention'd to belong to North Holland; and first, the Texel, a fruitful island, about six miles long, and five broad, lying a little to the northward of the continent of Holland, between which and this island is one of the principal passages out of the Zuider-sea into the Ocean: the chief town is Burch, situate on the east side of the island, strongly fortified and garrison'd; the natives apply themselves pretty much to the herring fishery. To the northward of the Texel lies the Vlie, or Flie island, nine miles long, and two broad; and north-east of this the island of Schelling, in which was a village containing about a thousand houses, burnt by Sir ROBERT HOLMES, who commanded an English squadron in the Dutch war, with near an hundred sail of merchant ships. These islands, and some banks of sand that lie at the entrance of the Zuider-sea, a little break the fury of the Ocean when the wind sits north-west, or the

whole province of Holland would be very much in danger of being laid under water every storm that happens from that quarter. The Wierrings are several small islands which lie in the Zuider-sea within the Texel; to the eastward of which lies the island of Vieringen or Wieringen. The island of Eyerland lies between the islands of the Texel and the Flie, but of these I meet with nothing particular. I shall only add that there is a tolerable harbour in the Texel, and another in the Flie, in the first of which the Ships bound to the southward usually rendezvous, and in the latter those bound to the north; and when the homeward bound vessels can recover either of these ports, they look upon themselves to be secure from the enemy.

Zealand, the second of the seven provinces proposed to describe, consists of several islands, and is held to have obtain'd the name Zealand, or rather Sealand, from the Danes when they overrun this part of the world, as resembling some islands of their own country surrounded in like manner by the sea, and carrying the name of Zealand. The islands which compose this province are eight in number, four whereof are said to belong to the western branch of the Scheld, and four to the eastern branch of the Scheld. Those of the western Scheld, are Walcheren, South Bevelandt, North Bevelandt, and Wolferdyke: and those of the eastern Scheld, Schowen, Duvelland, Tolen and Oresand. The whole province comprehending the seas and channels which divide the several islands, is bounded by the Ocean, and the islands of Holland on the north; by Brabant on the east; by Flanders on the south; and by the ocean towards the west; and extends thirty miles in length, reckoning from Tolen to the most westerly part of Walcheren, and twenty miles in breadth, viz. from the southern shore of South Bevelandt to the northern shore of Schowen. The principal of these islands is that of Walcheren, lying at the mouth of the Scheld, about nine miles in length, and eight in breadth, almost of an oval figure. The chief town of the island of Walcheren is, 1. Middelburg, the capital of the whole province; so named, it is said, from its situation in the middle of the island. It lies in the latitude of fifty-one degrees forty minutes, forty miles south-west of Rotterdam, and as many of Breda, and twenty-five north-east of Bruges. The city is large and populous, and abounds in wealthy merchants: a canal has been cut from an arm of the sea to the city, whereby they bring merchants ships into the middle of the town. The streets are broad and well-paved; the publick buildings magnificent, particularly the stadthouse and churches, of which last there are no less than twenty; that called the New Church, admired for its beauty, is of an octogonal figure, and has a noble cupola over it.



The City of Utrecht



P. the whole town is surrounded with a wall, a moat, and other fortifications. King PHILIP II made it a Bishop's See in the fifteenth century; but the Dutch malecontents soon after gaining the possession of it, converted the palace to secular uses, and sequestered the revenues, as they did in other parts of the United Provinces where bishopricks were establish'd. 2. Rammekins, or Zeeburg, a fortress, situate at the mouth of the harbour of Middleburg, and three miles south-east of it, once a considerable town, and one of those cautionary places deliver'd up to Queen ELIZABETH; at present an inconsiderable village. 3. Flushing, or Vlissingen, situate in the most southerly part of the island, five miles south of Middleburg, a considerable city, and a place of great trade, having a good harbour, and fortifications for its defence. This was another of the cautionary towns delivered to Queen ELIZABETH by the Dutch as a pledge of their fidelity, and a security for the money she had advanced them to resist the Spaniard. 4. Ter Vere, three miles north of Middleburg, a fortified town, and a good harbour; but lies pretty much exposed to inundations. 5. Armuyden, situate at the mouth of the river which comes from Middleburg, and two miles east of it. It had once a good harbour, and was a place of trade, but the harbour being choak'd up, it is but an inconsiderable town at present. The island of South Bevelandt lies to the eastward of Walcheren, and is the largest of the Zealand islands; being about fifteen miles long, and seven or eight broad, and was much larger till part of it, in the year 1532 was laid under water by an inundation. The only town of any consequence in it is, 4. Ter Goes, on the north part of the island, twelve miles east of Middleburg, and fifteen west of Bergen op Zoom. There are besides above thirty villages, and several Gentlemen's seats. The island of Wolferdyke lies between North and South Bevelandt; and is about five miles in length, and one in breadth; having at present only three or four villages upon it, great part of it has been laid under water by inundations. To the northward of Wolferdyke lies North Bevelandt; about five miles in length, and two in breadth, great part whereof also has had the misfortune to be swallow'd up by the sea, before which the country was so pleasant, that it was call'd the garden of Zealand. There is no town of any note upon it at present. To the northward of North Bevelandt lies the island of Schowen, the largest of those on the side of the Eastern Scheld; being fifteen miles in length, and six in breadth, and was much larger till worn away by inundations; the chief town whereof is, 5. Zirickzee, said to be the most antient in Zealand, situate on the channel which divides Schowen from Duvell, and fifteen miles north-east of

Middleburg. It has a tolerable harbour, and is a place of some trade. 6. Browerhaven, situate on the north side of the island, five miles north of Zirickzee; the natives whereof subsist chiefly by fishing and husbandry. 7. Bommenee, two miles to the eastward of Browerhaven, over-against Goree, esteem'd a strong fortress. To the eastward of Schowen lies Duvelland, separated from it by a very narrow stream; there are several villages upon it, the chief whereof is of the same name with the island, but not one considerable town. The island of Tolen is separated from Brabant by a very narrow channel, call'd *Het Slaeck*; being about six miles in length, and five in breadth: the chief town whereof is Tolen, esteem'd a strong fortress, situate four miles north-west of Bergen op Zoom, and twelve miles south-east of Zirickzee. The small island of Oresand lies between Schowen and North Bevelandt, and has some villages upon it, but no town of any note.

These islands of Zealand were antiently subject to the Earls of Holland, and afterwards to the houses of Burgundy and Austria; but enjoy'd very ample privileges all that time till PHILIP II invaded their rights, which occasion'd the civil war above mention'd, and Flushing was the next town to the Briel which was seized by the Sea-Geuses, or malecontents upon the coast. The land, as has been intimated already, is very low in all these islands, and subject to inundations, which puts the inhabitants to vast expences in repairing their banks. Their low situation and the neighbourhood of the sea occasions also an unwholesome air; but on the other hand, the country is generally fruitful, abounding in good corn and pasture grounds, and the natives many of them being employ'd in the fisheries, and other branches of foreign trade, are a wealthy and flourishing people, tho' they have scarce any manufactures among them.

The third of the United Provinces I propose to treat of is Friesland: bounded by the Ocean on the north; by the province of Groningen on the east; by the province of Overijssel, and part of the Zuider-sea towards the south; and by other part of the Zuider-sea towards the west. This was the country of the antient Frizons, and formerly, 'tis said, lay contiguous to North Holland, (sometimes called West Friesland) from which it is now separated by the Zuider-sea, form'd not many years since by an extraordinary inundation. Groningen with East Friesland, or the county of Embden, was also part of the county of the antient Frizons; and some affirm that it was still of a larger extent, but the present bounds of this province are as above described: extending about forty miles in length from north to south, and twenty-five in breadth from east to west, and is usually subdivided into Westergo, Oostergo, and

CHAP.

III.

Browerhaven.

Bommenee.

Duvelland.

Tolen island.

Oresand.

Friesland.

province.

Subdivisions.

Seven Chief towns.

CHAP. Seven Wolden. In Westergo, or the western part of it, are the towns of Franeker, Harlingen, Bolswaert, Sneek, Worcum and Staveren. In Ostergo, or the north-east part of it, are the towns of Leuwarden and Dockum, and in Seven Wolden, the south-east part of the country, a barren soil, and meanly inhabited, is only the town of Sloot, besides villages.

Franeker city. 1. Franeker, *Franquera*, situate in fifty-three degrees ten minutes north latitude, four miles to the eastward of the Zuider-sea, and eight to the westward of Leuwarden, a little handsome city, and a place of some trade. Here a university was founded by the States in the year 1585, and well endow'd out of the abby-lands which were sequestred about that time.

Harlingen. 2. Harlingen, situate on the Zuider-sea, five miles west of Franeker, it has a pretty good harbour for small vessels, and carries on a trade to Norway. The place is fortified, and naturally strong, the country about it being easily laid under water in cases of necessity.

Leuwarden. 3. Leuwarden, a fortified town, eight miles to the eastward of Franeker, the best city of the province in all respects, and the residence of the Stadtholder and sovereign council. It is a place of trade, and admired for its fine buildings, its handsome streets and bridges, and the pleasant gardens about it.

Dockum. 4. Dockum, situate ten miles north-east of Leuwarden, in a fruitful country, a place of some strength, and tolerably well built; most taken notice of for a fine bridge, under which vessels may pass with their masts up.

Sloot. 5. Sloot, or Sloten, situate upon a navigable canal; a league from the Zuider-sea, nine miles north-east of Staveren. It has but one church, and no other building of any note, but the Stadthouse.

Bolswaert. 6. Bolswaert, formerly one of the Hans-Towns, about seven miles south of Franeker. Its harbour at present is choak'd up, but carries on a trade however in small vessels along their canals.

Staveren. 7. Staveren, situate on the Zuider-sea on the south-west point of Friesland, four leagues north-east of Medenblick in North Holland. It had formerly a good harbour, and a brisk trade, and was the third of the Hans-Towns, more antiently the capital city, and residence of the Kings of the Frisians; but the harbour being choak'd up, it is fallen to decay, and but an inconsiderable town at present.

Islands of Friesland. The islands of Ameland and Schiermonikooge lie in the Ocean to the north of Friesland, and both belong to this province; but here are only seven or eight villages which do not seem to merit a description.

The air of Friesland is cold, but more healthful than the southern provinces, and tho' the land

lies under water great part of the winter, in-
much, that they are forced to go from town to town by banks and causeways, it is all driven out either by art or the hot weather which succeeds, and there appears to be a great deal of good arable and pasture in the summer season. Their best, and almost only firing is turf, which burns as white, and gives as good a heat as wood: these turf meadows being mix'd with a bituminous matter, have, as history relates, taken fire at certain times, and burnt up the country for several leagues, till a stop has been put to the conflagration by some lakes or rivers which happen'd to interpolate and extinguish it. The natives of this province, 'tis observed, are martially inclined, and choose to follow the camp rather than apply themselves to trade. Their nobility and gentry avoid matching into the families of merchants, or mechanicks, and delight in rich clothes and equipages much more than their southern neighbours. In their fashions they follow the mode of France, and in drinking the Germans, good fellowship prevails.

The fourth province I shall describe, is that of Groeningen and the Omlands; which is bound-
ed by the Ocean on the north; by the rivers Ems and the Dollart Bay, which separates it from Embden, or East Friesland in Germany, on the east; by the province of Overijssel on the south; and by Dutch or West Friesland, the province last described, towards the west: extending upwards of thirty miles in length from east to west, and twenty miles in breadth from north to south, and is usually divided into Groeningen Proper and the Omlands. In the former of which the chief towns are Groeningen and Winscheten; and in the Omlands, Dam.

Groeningen, formerly one of the Hans-Towns, situate on the confluence of the two rivers Aha and Hunesus, in the latitude of fifty-three degrees odd minutes, thirty miles to the eastward of Leuwarden, and twenty south-west of Embden; a fortified town, about two miles in circumference; and besides the rivers above-mentioned, it is water'd with several artificial canals, by which it has a communication with the river Ems, the Ocean, and the neighbouring countries, by means whereof they carry on a brisk trade to Germany, &c. They have two or three spacious market-places, and about seven and twenty handsome streets; and formerly there were twelve churches in the place, but the Dutch have converted nine of them to secular purposes. All the ground within the walls is not built upon, but there are several large gardens and orchards belonging to the principal citizens, which with the canals render it a pleasant town in summer.

2. Dam, the capital of the Omlands, twelve miles north-east of Groningen, situate on the canal called the Dampster Diep, three miles west of

I A P. the river Ems; a large well-built town, but without walls, the States of Groningen being jealous of the Omlanders, who sometimes dispute their authority, and pretend to an independency. **II.** Winschoten, a fortress, situate between the Dollart Bay and an impassable morass, which commands one of the passes out of East Friesland into the United Provinces; is seventeen miles east of Groningen, and twelve south of Dam: there are also the Billingsworder Schans, and the Bourtanger Fort, with several others which lie upon the frontiers, and secure the United Provinces against any attacks on the side of Germany: and indeed the Dutch are in a manner masters of Emben in East-Friesland, that city having put it self under their protection, and admitted a garrison of the States troops. The soil of this province is generally barren, and the air sharp, but more healthful than that of the southern provinces.

The fifth province of the United Netherlands which I am to describe, is, that of Overijssel, so named from its situation beyond the river Yssel: this province is bounded by Groningen and Friesland towards the north; by the bishoprick of Munster in Germany on the east; by Guelderland and Zutphen on the south; and by the Zuider-sea on the west: extending near sixty miles in length from north to south, and forty in breadth from east to west; and is usually divided into three parts, viz. Iselandt or Sallandt, Twente, and Drente. Of which, 1. Iselandt, lies about the river Yssel; the chief towns whereof are Deventer, Swoll, Campen and Hasselt. 2. Twente, which lies to the eastward of Sallandt, on the confines of Munster; the chief towns whereof are Oldensael, Otmerfan and Enscheden. 3. Drent, the most northerly part of Overijssel; the chief towns whereof are Coverden, Mepple, Vollenhoven, Steenwick, Swarte Sluice and Blockzyl.

1. Deventer, or Daventer, situate on the river Yssel, seven miles north of Zutphen, and thirty to the eastward of Amersfort, a large populous city, elegantly built, and well fortified, formerly an Imperial city, and one of the Hans-Towns, and still a place of good trade. The inhabitants are many of them noblemen and persons of distinction. There were in it formerly ten or twelve churches, which the States since their being masters of it have reduced to three: PHILIP II also made it a Bishop's See in the year 1559; but the Dutch abolish'd the bishoprick and sequestred the revenues in 1580. The most remarkable structure here is the tower of Noremberg, of a round figure, built with brick and stone, the walls seventeen feet thick, and of such large dimensions, 'tis said, as to require a garrison of several thousand men to defend it. 2. Swoll, or Zwoil, situate between the two rivers Yssel and

Vecht, eighteen miles north of Daventer. Another river runs through the town, by which the tide brings up vessels from the Zuider-sea, and makes it a place of tolerable trade. The fortifications which surround the town are well planted with trees, the streets regular, and the buildings good, all which contribute to make it a very desirable place. 3. Campen, pleasantly situated near the Zuider-sea on the south side of the river Yssel, eighteen miles west of Swoll, a large well-built city, in which the publick buildings, such as the Stadthouse, the churches, and the custom-house, are said to have an air of magnificence; but the trade of the town is much diminish'd since the mouth of the river Yssel has been choak'd up with sand. 3. Coverden, the capital of the district of Drente, situate on the confines of Bentheim in Germany, thirty miles to the eastward of Swoll, a fortress strong by nature as well as art, situate in an unpassable morass, and as it commands a pass out of Munster in Germany into Groningen and Friesland, is a place of great importance.

The next province we come to is that of Guelderland, formerly divided into Dutch Guelderland and Spanish Guelderland; but by the late treaty of peace a partition was made of the Spanish Guelderland between the Emperor, the Dutch, and the King of Prussia, of which I shall give a particular relation after I have described that part of the province formerly called Dutch Guelderland.

Dutch Guelderland, of which the county of Zutphen is deem'd a part, is bounded by the Zuider-sea and the province of Overijssel on the north, by the bishoprick of Munster on the east, by Brabant and the duchy of Cleve towards the south, and by the provinces of Holland and Utrecht towards the west, extending about fifty miles in length from north to south, and is not much less in breadth from east to west, being usually subdivided into three lesser parts or districts, viz. the Veluwe, the Betuwe or Betawe, antiently Batavia, and the county of Zutphen.

1. The Veluwe is the northern part of this province, and situate between the Zuider-sea, the Yssel, and the Rhine, in which the principal towns are Arnheim, Wageninge, Harderwick, Hattem, and Elberg. 2. The Betuwe is almost encompassed by the rivers Rhine, Leck, Maes, and Meruwe, in which district the principal towns are Nimeguen, Tiel, Schenkenschans, Bommel, Buren, and Cuylenburg. 3. The county of Zutphen, bounded by the province of Overijssel on the north; by the river Yssel, which separates it from the Veluwe, towards the west; by the duchy of Cleve on the south; and by the bishoprick of Munster on the east; extends about thirty miles in length from east to west, and twenty four in breadth

CHAP. breadth from north to south, in which the principal towns are Zutphen, Doefburg, Groll, and Brevoort.

Arnhem.

1. Arnhem, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Rhine, about thirty miles south of the Zuider-sea, and ten to the northward of Nimeguen; a large fortified town, antiently the residence of the Dukes of Guelder. The air is more healthful here than in most of the provinces we have passed through; for here they begin to get out of that moorish soil, which is too common in the maritime provinces, and ascend the hills, especially on the side of the Veluwe, which occasions it to be inhabited by people of the best quality. The buildings also are neat and elegant, which makes it in every respect a very desirable place. The church of St. EUSEBIUS is taken notice of by travellers as a handsome structure; but there were many more churches as well as monasteries in this city, while it remain'd under the dominion of the Spaniard, which are now run to ruin, or converted to secular uses. However, it must be acknowledged, that the Dutch have in this, and most of their cities, erected several fine hospitals in the room of them. Ten miles north-east of Arnhem stands the palace of Dieren, belonging to the late King WILLIAM; and about seven miles further northward, the palace of Loo, situate in the middle of the Veluwe, in a healthful air, the country about it abounding with all manner of game: this therefore was the favourite place of that Prince, and his usual residence when affairs of state would permit him to retire. The gardens are much admired for their fine walks, grotto's, fountains and cascades, and whatever may render such a retreat desirable.

Palaces of Dieren and Loo.

Harderwick.

2. Harderwick, situate on the coasts of the Zuider-sea, thirty miles north of Arnhem, a well-built town, and a university erected in the year 1648, by the states of this province. The Rector, who is the chief magistrate of the place, is chosen annually by six Curators. The great church of St. MARY's is said to be a magnificent structure, but I don't find any other publick buildings taken notice of. The French half ruin'd the place when they invaded the United Provinces anno 1672, and the Zuider-sea daily encroaches upon it, so that it is now in a very declining condition. 3. Nimeguen, pleasantly situated on the river Waal, (a branch of the Rhine) ten miles south of Arnhem; eight north of Grave; and twelve to the westward of Schenkenschans; a large populous city, built in form of a crescent on five small hills, by the river side. The streets are wide, the houses neatly built, and there are still ten churches remaining in it, of which that of St. STEPHEN's is esteem'd a very handsome structure. Here are two hospitals also for the maintenance and education of poor orphans, two others for antient

Nimeguen.

people, one for lepers, two for other infirm people, and one for lunatics. The Stadthouse is a magnificent pile, adorn'd with the statues of several Emperors. The castle called Valckhoff, or Waalhoff, signifying a palace upon the Waal, was antiently esteem'd a palace of great strength, from whence there is one of the finest prospects of the neighbouring country that can be imagin'd. In the year 1608, a navigable canal of ten miles in length was dug from hence to Arnhem, at the joint charge of those cities. Upon the French invasion, anno 1672, this city surrender'd to them after a siege of six days, and the garrison were made prisoners of war; but the French abandon'd it again in 1674. And here afterwards was that famous treaty of peace negotiated between France and the confederates in the years 1678 and 1679, called the treaty of Nimeguen. 4. Schenkenschans, or Schenck-sconce, so named from the Engineer Schenck, who projected this important fortress, which stands on that point of the Betuwe where the Rhine divides itself into two branches, one whereof takes the name of the Waal, and the other retains its antient name: thus situated, the fort commands both those rivers, and is one of the principal passes between Germany and the United Netherlands. 5. Tiel, situate on the south side of the Waal, twelve miles west of Nimeguen, is a marshy soil, which renders it very unhealthful; but the place is reasonably strong, and the capital of a district called the Tieler Waert. 6. Bommel, situate on the south side of the Waal, ten miles to the westward of Tiel, a pleasant well-built city, surrounded with good fortifications, and the capital of a country call'd the Bommel Waert, which is an island form'd by the Waal and the Maes, about twelve miles long and four broad. On the west point of this island stands the castle of Lovestein, and on the east the two strong fortresses of Fort St. ANDREW, and Fort Voorn or Nassau, which command the rivers Maes and Waal. These are the chief towns of the Betuwe, or Batavia, the seat of the antient *Batavi*, so often mention'd in Roman history, who, according to TACITUS, descended from the tribe or nation of the *Catti*. The extent of antient Batavia is supposed to have been from Rhinburg in the duchy of Cleve to Catwick near Leyden on the coast of Holland, which town is thought to have derived its name from the *Catti*. The present Batavia, or Betuwe, extends from Schenkenschans in the east, to Worcum in the west, being a tract of about forty miles in length; but the greatest breadth from Arnhem on the Rhine to Grave on the Maes, is not much above sixteen miles.

In the county of Zutphen, the third subdivision of Guelderland, the chief towns are, 7. Zutphen, or South Fen, supposed to have obtain'd

this

CHAP. III.

Schenkenschans.

Tiel.

Bommel.

Lovestein. Fort St. Andrew. Fort Voorn. Batavia.

Zutphen city.

H A P. this name from its situation, when the Frizons were masters of the whole country, viz. of Friesland, Groningen, &c. as well as of the provinces to the southward of them. This city lies on the river Yssel, fifteen miles north-east of Arnheim, and twenty four miles almost north of Nimeguen. The river Berkel runs through the middle of the town and divides it into two parts, called the old and new town, and then falls into the Yssel, over which there is a handsome bridge, besides two others which join the old and new town together. The city is generally well built, and being in a good air, is inhabited by people of condition. The admired Sir WILLIAM SIDNEY was mortally wounded in an engagement with the Spaniards near this place, in the year 1586. It was taken by the French in 1672, but quitted again two years after; which was the fortune of most of the towns of this province. The great church dedicated to St. PETER is a noble building, and the brazen font in it much admired for the curious workmanship. Here is also a handsome old monument of Count OTHO the Third, who by some is supposed to have founded this church. There is still the ruins of a palace, which, according to the tradition of the place, belonged to the antient Counts of Zutphen, and near it a high brick tower of a pyramidal form, one of the greatest ornaments to the city. The monasteries and religious houses which were formerly here, are part of them demolish'd, and the rest converted into hospitals or other secular uses.

8. Doesburg, on the Yssel, eight miles south of Zutphen, strongly situated by nature, having the river on one side and a morass on the other, and only to be approach'd by a narrow neck of land, and yet was surrender'd to the French anno 1672, in three days, who demolish'd the fortifications when they quitted it the next year. This town is supposed to have been built by DRUSUS, lying near the place where he cut the channel to bring the Rhine to the Yssel.

9. Groll, about sixteen miles to the eastward of Doesburg, another considerable pass from Germany to the Low Countries, taken by the Bishop of Munster in the year 1672, but yielded to the States again not long after. The air of Dutch Guelderland, as hath been intimated already, is much better than that of the maritime provinces, great part of the country being a gravelly soil and heath ground, and rising gradually into hills, especially the Veluwe Zutphen however has good meadow and pasture ground, where great herds of lean black cattle, brought from Denmark and the north of Germany, are fatted for the market; and other parts of the province yields good corn. I proceed next to the description of that part of the country till lately denominated Spanish Guelderland.

This district lies at a little distance from the Dutch CHAP. Guelderland, the western part of the duchy of III. Cleve interposing, and is bounded by the said duchy of Cleve towards the north; by part of the same Austrian and Prussian duchy and the electorate of Cologne on the east; by the duchy of Juliers on the south; and by the bishoprick of Liege towards the west; extending upwards of thirty miles in length from north to south, and twenty miles in breadth where broadest, but in most places much less: the chief towns whereof are Guelder, Ruremond, Venlo, Wachtendonck, Stralen and Stevenswaert: which, with the respective countries dependant on them, were thus parcel'd out by the last treaty of peace anno 1714; viz.

1. His Imperial Majesty surrender'd to the King of Prussia all that part of the upper quarter of Guelderland which he was then possessed of, namely, the town of Guelder, the prefecture, bailiwick and lower bailiwick of Guelder, with all that belongs to it and depends upon it; as also the towns, bailiwicks, and lordships of Stralen, Wachtendonck, Midelaer, Walbeck, Aertsen, Afferden and Wiel, together with Racy and Kieyn, Kevelhar, with their appurtenances; the ammanie of Kriekenbeck, and its appurtenances, and the county of Kessel and its appurtenances and dependencies, except only Erkelin with its appurtenances and dependencies; to be enjoy'd by his Prussian Majesty, his heirs and successors, in the same manner as the house of Austria, and particularly the late King of Spain possess'd them.

2. His Imperial Majesty surrender'd to their High Mightinesses the States General, for ever in full sovereignty and propriety, the town of Venlo in the upper quarter of Guelderland, with its precincts and jurisdiction, and the fort of St. MICHAEL: also the fort of Stevenswaert, with its territory and jurisdiction, and as much land as was necessary to augment the fortifications on this side the Maes: and his Imperial Majesty promised never to permit any fortifications to be built within the distance of half a league from the old fortress. His Imperial Majesty also yielded up to their High Mightinesses the ammanie of Montfort, consisting of the little towns of Nieustadt and Echt, with the villages of Oke and Lack, Roostern, Bracht, Refel, Belseln, Vlodorp, Postert, Berg, Lin and Montfort, to be possess'd by the said States-General in the same manner they were enjoy'd by CHARLES II of Spain; provided always that this surrender be made with this express clause, that the statutes, antient customs and privileges, civil and ecclesiastical, as well with respect to magistrates, as private persons; the churches, convents, monasteries, seminaries, hospitals, and other publick places, with their appurtenances and dependencies; as also the diocesan rights of the Bishop of Ruremond, and generally

CHAP. rally all that concerns the rights, liberties, immu-
 III. nities, functions, usages, ceremonies, and the ex-
 ~~~~~ exercise of religion, shall be preserved and subsist  
 without any change or innovation, directly or  
 indirectly, in all places given up as abovesaid,  
 in the same manner as in the time of King  
 CHARLES II. And the offices of magistracy,  
 or policy, shall be given to none but such as are  
 of the Roman Catholick religion. The right of  
 collation to benefices, which has been hitherto in  
 the Sovereign, shall hereafter belong to the Bi-  
 shop of Ruremond, on condition they be not gi-  
 ven to persons obnoxious to the States. And it was  
 further agreed, that the duties of import and export  
 levied along the Maes should not be encreased  
 or abated but by common consent; of which du-  
 ties his Imperial Majesty should receive those paid  
 at Ruremond and Navaigne, and the States those  
 to be paid at Venlo. [A like clause as to the reli-  
 gion, liberties, and privileges of the natives of  
 those countries, made over to the King of Prus-  
 sia in Guelderland, is inserted in the surrender  
 of them by his Imperial Majesty.] As to the ci-  
 ty of Ruremond, and all the rest of the country  
 lately called the Spanish Guelderland, this was  
 left to his Imperial Majesty to possess, in the  
 same manner it was enjoy'd by the late King of  
 Spain, CHARLES II. It remains now that I  
 give some description of the principal towns al-  
 ready mention'd, and, 1. of Ruremond, or Roer-  
 mond, situate on the confluence of the Roer and  
 the Maes, about thirty miles north-east of Maes-  
 tricht, and twelve to the southward of Venlo; a  
 large populous city, well fortified and elegantly  
 built, and the See of a Bishop, being one of those  
 erected by PHILIP II of Spain, a little before  
 the revolt of the United Provinces. The cathed-  
 ral is dedicated to the Holy Ghost, but I don't  
 find the building so much admired as the fine  
 Carthusian monastery here, a noble fabrick, and  
 richly endowed. This city was seized with the  
 rest of the Spanish Guelderland by the French,  
 on the death of the late King CHARLES of Spain,  
 but taken from them by the allies in the year  
 1702, and is now in the possession of the Empe-  
 ror. 2. Venlo, situate on the Maes, twelve miles  
 north of Ruremond, a populous trading city, and  
 well fortified, taken from the French by the con-  
 federates in the year 1702; and by the last peace  
 surrender'd to the States General by the Empe-  
 ror, who are now Sovereigns of it. 3. Guelder,  
 a small city, ten miles north-east of Venlo, situ-  
 ate in the middle of a morass, and by consequence  
 naturally strong, but was surrender'd to the con-  
 federates in the year 1703; and on the ensuing  
 peace anno 1714 was yielded by the Emperor to  
 the King of Prussia, who is now Sovereign of it.  
 4. Wachtendonck, situate on the river Niers, in  
 a marshy soil, esteem'd one of the strongest towns

Ruremond  
to the Em-  
peror.

Venlo to  
the Dutch.

Guelder to  
the King of  
Prussia.

Wachten-  
donck to  
Prussia.

in the province, yielded by the Emperor also to CHAP  
 the King of Prussia on the last peace. 5. Ste- III  
 venfwaert, a strong fortress, situate on the Maes, ~~~~~  
 about eight miles to the southward of Ruremond, Steen-  
 taken from the French by the confederates in waert to  
 the year 1702, and yielded by the Emperor to the Dutch.

The last of the Seven United Provinces I am Utrecht  
 to describe, is that of Utrecht, bounded by the province  
 Zuider-sea and part of Holland on the north; by City.  
 Guelderland on the east; by other part of Guel-  
 derland towards the south; and by Holland on  
 the west; extending about twenty-five miles in  
 length, and near as much in breadth; the chief  
 towns whereof are, 1. Utrecht, the ancient *An-*  
*tonina*, supposed to have been a Roman colony,  
 pleasantly situated on the channel of the Old  
 Rhine, twenty five miles south-east of Amster-  
 dam, and about as many north-east of Rotter-  
 dam, a large, populous and well-built city, with  
 canals in the principal streets; and as it stands  
 in a healthful air, is much resorted to by persons  
 of distinction, who have fine houses in the place.  
 The two principal canals which run the whole  
 length of the city, are the Vaert, and the New  
 Gracht, over which there are no less than thirty-  
 five bridges; the buildings on the banks of the  
 New Gracht being very magnificent. The mar-  
 ket-place is large, and several handsome streets  
 center in it; and without the town are beauti-  
 ful walks of trees, to which the English have gi-  
 ven the name of the Mall, as resembling that  
 in St. JAMES's park: the fortifications are not  
 strong, upon which account, or as some insinuate  
 a much worse, the Magistrates surrender'd the  
 city to the French without striking a stroke, in  
 the year 1672. They kept possession of it a year  
 and half, during which time the French King  
 had prepared materials to build a citadel, but be-  
 ing obliged to withdraw his troops, that design  
 was laid aside; but he extorted two hundred  
 thousand pounds first from the inhabitants, not-  
 withstanding their ready submission. The great  
 church, formerly the Cathedral, is dedicated to  
 St. MARTIN, and has a tower of four hundred  
 and sixty steps, from whence there is a noble pro-  
 spect of the adjacent country, no less than fifty  
 wall'd towns appearing at once in view. Their  
 University, at first a publick school only, founded  
 by DAVID of Burgundy, Bishop of Utrecht, was  
 in the year 1636 converted into a University by  
 the States, and is now in a very flourishing con-  
 dition, abundance of Foreigners, and among the  
 rest some English, resorting hither for education  
 and degrees, the latter being more easily obtain'd  
 here than at home; but a Dutch degree does not  
 seem to be in any great repute at present. This  
 University is entirely subject to the magistrates of  
 the city, and has very few privileges to boast of.

The





A. Burghmaster & his Wife.



P. The students wear their ordinary habits, and board in the town, there being scarce any endow'd colleges in Holland where they live in societies, and common together, as in Oxford and Cambridge.

2. Amersfort, pleasantly situated on the river Ems, fifteen miles north-east of Utrecht, and seven south of the Zuider-sea, about three miles in circumference. It stands in a fruitful country, abounding in corn and pasture grounds, husbandry being the principal employment of the inhabitants. The town is large and populous, and surrounded by a wall, but the fortifications are not considerable; the private buildings are regular and handsome, and their churches and hospitals no mean structures. To the southward of Amersfort stands Soesdyke, a hunting-seat of the late King WILLIAM's, in a country abounding with game, the forest where the palace stands being near ten miles in length, and five in breadth.

3. Wyck de Duesterde, the *Durostadium Batavorum* of the Romans, situate at the confluence of the Leck and the middle channel of the Rhine, twelve miles south of Amersfort; a little town, pleasantly situated and well-built, and surrounded with a wall, but retains little of its antient grandeur.

4. Rhenen, another antient wall'd town, situate on the Rhine, fifteen miles to the south of Amersfort, which has scarce any thing in it that merits a particular description at this day.

5. Montfort, a little well-built town, eight miles to the westward of Utrecht, capital of a small territory in which it stands, and defended by a wall and other fortifications, but of no great strength.

The province of Utrecht is one of the most pleasant and healthful of the United Netherlands, for here they may be said to tread upon firm ground, whereas the maritime provinces are almost all quagmire and bog, made habitable by incredible labour and expence. This province was entirely under the dominion of the French, in the years 1672 and 1673. LEWIS XIV keeping his court in the capital city; but the Germans coming to the assistance of the Dutch, he was obliged to withdraw his garrisons from most of the towns he had taken, and retire to defend his own frontiers.

As to the buildings in the United Provinces, they are for the most part of brick, and differ but little from those in Britain; only 'tis observed that the ground-floor is usually of the largest dimensions, and every story, in proportion to its height grows less and less; the reason whereof may be, that their foundations standing often upon a marshy soil, will not bear a very weighty roof. It is observed also, that their kitchens, and most ordinary rooms, are frequently lined or wainscotted, if I may use the phrase, with white Dutch tiles, which make them look exceeding neat. Their

other rooms they choose rather to adorn with pictures than hangings, and their paintings are not bad. Stoves are used in many houses instead of chimneys, where a man may be as hot as in a bagnio in the coldest weather without seeing a fire. Their ordinary lodging is in many places very different from ours, for instead of beds they have little cabbins or cupboards on the sides of the room, placed so high that they are not easily mounted without a ladder or steps; and there are often six of these cabbins close together, especially in their inns, where a gentleman's quality must be something extraordinary, if he be permitted the favour of having a room to himself: but I must confess there are some houses where the lodging and furniture are much the same as with us. They do of late begin to imitate their politer neighbours in these particulars as well as in their dress. Their kitchen-utensils, whether pewter, brass, or iron, are as bright as possible, and many of them muffled up in woollen to preserve them from rust; and the china, and other fine earthen ware, is marshall'd in the exactest order in their houses. Their table-linnen and sheets are always clean and fine, a man does not meet with a foul napkin in the country. Their children's cradles are slung with four ropes to a beam in the middle of the room, and hung above a yard from the ground, and their children consequently rock'd with a very easy motion, without noise or giving any disturbance to the family.

## CHAP. IV.

*Treats of the persons and habits, the genius and temper of the Dutch; of their vices and virtues, and of their diet, entertainments, diversions, roads, carriages, and way of travelling.*

THE Dutch are generally tall strong-built men, but both men and women have the grossest shapes that are to be met with any where, or rather no shape at all. Nor is their motion less disagreeable than their shape; they move heavily and awkwardly, insomuch that it is not difficult to distinguish a Hollander from a native of England or France, almost the length of a street, by his mien. Their features or complexion are not to be found fault with, except among the boors and sea-faring men, who are very numerous; but the badness of their complexions is to be ascrib'd rather to their being expos'd to the weather than any thing else. Their garb is exceeding plain among all sorts of people, except the officers of the army, and some few others, which affect to follow the French modes, otherwise they change their fashions as rarely as in Spain. I did not observe any thing very particular in the dress of the men, unless it were that their coats had

Persons and habits of the Dutch.

neither



CHAP. neither shape nor pleats, and their long pockets  
 IV. were set as high as their ribs; but that of the  
 women appear'd something odd to us, their coats  
 coming no lower than the middle of their legs.  
 As to head-dresses they have little or none, many  
 of them content themselves with tying up their  
 hair, and wearing three black knots upon their  
 heads, one on each side, and the other on the  
 hinder part of the head, and perhaps a hood over  
 all when they go out; though I must confess I  
 have seen several of them of late in a French dress,  
 which in time will be probably follow'd there as  
 much as in England; and it seems strange that they  
 have continued their old fashions so long, when there  
 is such a multitude of foreigners in the country,  
 especially of the French nation. The ladies of plea-  
 sure, who frequent their musick-houses, are ge-  
 nerally dress'd in a coat and jacket, pretty much  
 resembling the riding-habits, which are worn at  
 present by the women of England, which is not  
 the most becoming dress to a Dutch shape.

Their genius  
 and temper.

As to the genius and temper of the Dutch, I  
 know my readers will have a great regard to the  
 opinion of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE in this par-  
 ticular, and therefore I shall give them the sub-  
 stance of his observations on this head; but shall  
 take liberty, where I see occasion, to make some  
 reflections on the character he gives them, and  
 add some things which he may have omitted.  
 This gentleman divides the nation into five classes,  
 consisting, 1. of boors or husbandmen. 2. Sea-  
 men and watermen. 3. Merchants and trades-  
 men. 4. Renteeners, or men who live in their  
 chief cities on the rents or interest of their estates  
 acquired by their ancestors. And, 5. The gen-  
 tlemen and officers of the army.

The Boors  
 dull and ob-  
 stinate, but  
 honest.

The first are a people industrious enough, but  
 slow of understanding; not to be dealt with by  
 hasty words, but easily manag'd by soft and fair,  
 and yielding to plain reason, if you give them time  
 to understand it. At a distance from great towns  
 they appear plain and honest, and entirely content  
 with what they have; and if you should give one  
 of them a shilling, for what is usually sold for a  
 groat, and bid him take it, he would however  
 give you the change, and perhaps ask if you were  
 not a fool. They have no further views than the  
 supplying themselves with what nature requires, and  
 the making some small addition to their stocks.  
 Their food is chiefly roots, herbs, or milk, which  
 my author supposes is the reason that their strength  
 and vigour is not answerable to the bulk of their  
 bodies.

The sea-  
 faring men  
 rough and  
 surly, and of  
 few words.

The seamen are a plain, but a much rougher  
 people, surly and ill-manner'd, which is usually  
 mistaken for pride, but suppos'd by our author to  
 proceed chiefly from their conversing with winds  
 and waves, that are not to be wrought upon by  
 language. They seldom use more words than are

necessary about their business: and as for their va-  
 lour, it is rather passive than active, not being a  
 very enterprizing people at present.

As to the trading people in great towns, whe-  
 ther merchants or mechanicks, their wits are some-  
 thing sharper than those of the former classes, im-  
 prov'd by their conversation with foreigners who re-  
 sort thither; but even these are much better at imi-  
 tation than invention; and indeed sometimes they  
 exceed the original by their unwearied industry,  
 and constant application to the business they un-  
 dertake. They make use of all their skill to take  
 advantages of the folly and ignorance of those they  
 deal with; and are great extortioners where there  
 is no law to restrain them; but where they deal  
 with men of skill, and apprehend themselves with-  
 in the reach of the laws, there indeed they are the  
 plainest and best dealers in the world.

Those who live on their patrimonial estates in  
 great cities, resemble the merchants and tradesmen  
 in the modesty of their dress, and their parsimo-  
 nious way of living, but there is a wide difference  
 in their education and manners; for after they  
 come from school, they go to the universities of  
 Leyden or Utrecht, where they go through the  
 common studies of those places, but apply them-  
 selves chiefly to the civil law, which is the law  
 of the country, at least they are in a great measure  
 govern'd by it. When young gentlemen have fi-  
 nish'd their studies at home, if their relations are  
 wealthy, they are sent abroad to England or  
 France; not often to Italy, and less to Spain and  
 the northern countries, the whole design of their  
 education being to fit them for the magistracy in  
 their towns and provinces; and of these men are  
 the civil officers of the State generally composed;  
 namely, of men descended of families who have  
 constantly been in the magistracy of their native  
 towns for many generations, and not of mean or  
 mechanick tradesmen, as is sometimes suggested;  
 though, 'tis true, there are sometimes merchants  
 and wholesale tradesmen admitted into the ma-  
 gistracy, and made Deputies of the States. And  
 the members of the States will sometimes employ  
 their money in carrying on a beneficial trade, by  
 servants and houses maintain'd for that purpose;  
 but the generality of the States and Magistrates  
 are of the other kind, whose estates consist in the  
 pensions of their offices, the rents of their lands,  
 the interest of their money, stocks in the East-  
 India Company, or in shares upon the adventures  
 of great merchants; and it is seldom that these  
 families, though they are continually in the ma-  
 gistracy, get great estates; the salaries of their of-  
 fices being mean, interest but low, and the innu-  
 merable taxes charg'd upon their lands, making  
 the neat produce of them much lower, seldom ex-  
 ceeding the profit of two in the hundred. They  
 are contented with the honour of being useful to  
 the



P. the publick, and in the esteem of their country; and with the ease of their fortunes, which they seldom fail of by their frugal management, at first necessary, and since esteem'd honourable among them. The men of mighty wealth are their merchants and tradesmen, who apply themselves wholly that way, and are content with a small share in the government, provided they may have security in what they possess: they know no cares but those of their private fortunes, and the management of their trades, and the rest of their time is spent in their recreations and diversions. Yet these, when they have acquir'd great estates, choose to qualify their sons for some employments in the State, and marry their daughters in the families of the ministers and great officers, and thereby introduce their posterity to a share in the government, and honours of their country, which consists not in titles but in publick employments.

Their gentry or nobility are not numerous (in Holland especially) many of these families having been extinguish'd in the wars with Spain: those that remain are usually employ'd in the military service, and sometimes in civil charges in their respective provinces; and having lived much abroad, affect rather the garb of the neighbouring courts, than the popular air of their own country; and value themselves more upon their nobility, than men do in other countries where 'tis more common. They look upon it dishonourable to marry beneath their rank, and will scarce do it to make up a broken fortune. They imitate the French in their dress, their mien, their talk, their diet, and in their gallantry or debauchery, but mimick them very awkwardly. They are however an honest good-humour'd gentleman-like sort of men, and usually acquit themselves with honour in the service of their country. The officers of the army follow the fashions and customs of their gentry, as do many of the rich merchants sons, who returning from their travels scarce ever apply themselves to the service of their country, but seem intent upon their pleasure and making a grand appearance, in imitation of what they have seen abroad; and sometimes perhaps they will accept a commission in the army. But there are some customs and dispositions, my author observes, which seem to run through every class of men, namely, a great frugality and order in their expences. Their riches consisting in always having more than they spend; or rather in every man's spending less than he has coming in, be that what it will, it is a constant maxim with them not to let the course of their expences equal their revenue; and if this ever happens, they think they have liv'd that year to no purpose, and their reputation is in some measure affected by it, as if they had been guilty of some great extravagance. Which frugality enables them to bear the excessive taxes laid upon

them, and makes the people less sensible of the burthen; and from hence proceeds the beauty and strength of their towns, and the commodiousness of travelling in their country by canals, bridges, causeys, and pleasant walks of trees, and the noble gratts or canals in and near all their cities, and even the beauty, convenience, and magnificence of their publick works, to which every man contributes as willingly, and takes as much pleasure and vanity in them, as people do in other countries in building and planting on their private estates. What they can spare from their domestick expences, and the publick payment, and the common course of still encreasing their stock, is laid out in the fabrick, ornament, and furniture of their houses, rather than in keeping great tables, fine clothes or equipages, which end wholly in a man's self, and the gratifying his personal humour, whereas the other is for the advantage of his posterity, and contributes much to the beauty and honour of his country. The order in casting up their expences is so just, that no one undertakes any thing he is not prepar'd for, and master of the design before he begins; and 'tis very rare to hear of a publick or private building which was not finish'd in the time it was intended; and so it is in their canals, causeys, and bridges; to which the Stadthouse at Amsterdam perhaps may be an exception: but this seems to be designedly left to time without limitation, either of that, or the expence, that the genius and industry of their succeeding magistrates might be employ'd in the collection of all things that might add to the beauty or magnificence of it; and perhaps, says my author, upon a current prediction, that the trade of Amsterdam should begin to decline the same year the Stadthouse should be finish'd, as it did at Antwerp.

Their charity is rather national, and regulated by the orders of the State, than mov'd by the common objects of compassion; which is seen in the admirable provision that is made for all kind of people that can want, and ought to be reliev'd by any government. But among the many and various kinds of hospitals we meet with in the Low-Countries, our author admir'd none more than that at Enchuysen for aged seamen, which is so contriv'd, he says, as if it was intended, that those who had pass'd their lives in the hardships and inconveniences of the sea, should find a retreat, stor'd with all the satisfactions and conveniences that old-age was capable of enjoying.

Our author is of opinion, that all appetites and passions run lower and cooler here than in any other country, avarice excepted; quarrels are very rare, revenge seldom heard of, and jealousy scarce ever known. Their tempers are not airy enough for joy, nor any unusual strains of pleasant humour, nor warm enough for love. This is in-

They keep  
neither ta-  
bles nor e-  
quipages.

Their cha-  
rity nation-  
al.

Covetous,  
but not sub-  
ject to pas-  
sion of any  
kind.

deed



CHAP. deed something talk'd of among young fellows as  
 IV. a thing they have heard of, but never felt, and  
 as a discourse that becomes them rather than affects them. It is very rare for any of them to be really in love, nor do the women seem to care whether they are or no; which our author accounts for in the following manner: either, he says, the men are such lovers of liberty as not to bear the servitude of a mistress, or the dulness of the air renders them less susceptible of more refin'd passions, or they are diverted from it by the intention every man has to his proper business; and the same causes may have had the same effects among their married women, who have the whole care and management of their domestick affairs, and live generally in good fame; a certain sort of chastity being hereditary and habitual to them. The same dulness of air, this gentleman thinks, may dispose them to that uncommon assiduity, and constant application of their minds, with that perpetual study and labour upon every thing they undertake; one man particularly he instances in, who employ'd four and twenty years in making and perfecting a globe, and another thirty about the inlaying of a table. Nor is it to be conceiv'd how much may have been contributed towards the great things achiev'd among them by this one humour, of never giving over what they imagine may be brought to pass; nor leaving one scent to follow another they meet with, the fault of lighter and more ingenious people. The same quality of the air may incline them, he thinks, to the custom of drinking, so much laid to their charge; which probably may not only be necessary to their health, as they generally believe it, but to the vigour and improvement of their understandings in a thick foggy air, and such a coldness of temper and complexion; for though the use or excess of drinking may destroy men's abilities who live in better climates, and are of warmer constitutions; it may improve their parts who are of cold complexions, and live in a dull air, and perhaps be necessary to thaw and move the frozen or unactive spirits of the brain. Yet in Holland, he observes, that few of their magistrates or ministers of state are given to this vice; or if they drink much it is only at feasts or great entertainments, and then rather to comply with the company than out of choice: and as for the merchants and tradesmen, with whom it is customary, they never do it in a morning, or till they come from the Exchange, where the business of the day is commonly dispatch'd; they scarce think it lawful to drink before that time, and will not so much as offer a stranger liquor at their houses in a morning, but excuse themselves on account of the time of day. The afternoon, or at least the evening, they give up to whatever may divert them; which this gentleman is of opinion is no more than is necessary, where the former part of the day has been spent in cares and business: thus far my honourable author Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE. I shall now proceed to make some observations on that part of these remarks, which relates to the government of their passions, especially that of love, in which they are represented as perfect Stoicks: but perhaps were the same liberties allow'd by publick authority to the youth of any other nation, as are to those of Holland, they might be guilty of as few extravagancies in love and gallantry as the Dutch. For here are musick-houses, which pay a tax to the States for a license to entertain as many wenches as they please, and the girls pay each of them another tax every time they are admitted into these venereal schools, whither the people resort to them openly without fear or shame; the scandal is as little in being found at one of these houses, as at a play-house with us. When a sufficient company is met, an entertainment consisting of several nice dishes, and the best of wines are set before them; where after they have eat and drank plentifully in a publick room, the dishes are remov'd, and a ball or entertainment of musick and dancing succeeds. When they have rais'd their desires sufficiently by these incentives, any gentleman that pleases takes his nymph, and retires into a little closet furnished with a bed and all conveniences, of which there are many on all sides of the room; where having recreated himself as long as he sees fit, he returns to the company again with his mistress, and no more notice taken of it, than if he had gone out to speak with a friend: and the entertainment concludes with dancing or drinking, as the company are disposed. Of these houses there are of all degrees, some for the better sort, and some for the vulgar, who resort to the one or the other, as they are able to bear the expence: and one related to me, that he saw a Dutch sailor in one of these houses, who had not patience to retire out of the publick room to close quarters, but laid his mistress down before them all, and gratified his lust, while numbers of people were looking on, and went out again without saying a word. And indeed the States give that as one reason for encouraging these houses, That considering the numbers of sailors that resort to their principal cities, who have been long kept on board their ships without women, and fed with salt-meats, if they should not indulge them in this particular, they could never keep their wives or daughters to themselves; and of two evils therefore they choose the least. Now thus far I will agree with Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, that the Dutch are not a people that deal much in speculative love, or dwell much upon the virtues or accomplishments of their mistresses; any girl the man thinks that may ease his brutal passion, and make a good drudge in the family, is a wife fit for him, he is not very nice in other respects; and

Very industrious.

Drinking necessary to quicken a Dutchman's parts, as well as for his health.

Remarks their chastity and temperance

if



CHAP. IV. if his mistress should prove unkind, he would go to one of the musick-houses above-describ'd, and think no more of her. On the other hand, the women, whom some cry up so much for their hereditary chastity, if a gallant attacks them that they like, and they intend him for their husband, they make no manner of scruple of granting him the last favours before marriage. It is the commonest thing in the world for a woman of any quality to be married in Holland with a great belly; so that if a gentleman does succeed in his addresses, there is no manner of reason to run mad for love; and if he does not, a musick-house is his remedy. And the indulging young fellows in these entertainments is thought to be one of the most effectual remedies to prevent their sons making disadvantageous matches. As for the religion of the matter, in tolerating or establishing whoredom by a law, this objection has been long laugh'd out of the Low-Countries, where they have no other religion but what is political, as will be shewn hereafter under another head.

I shall here add a word or two more out of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, which shews the extraordinary neatness of the Dutch in their houses, and the ascendant the women have over the men on that side the water; notwithstanding he has suggested in a former volume, that there is very little love between them. He relates, that being at the house of one of the chief Burgomasters of Amsterdam, while he was Ambassador in Holland, and having a great cold, he observ'd that every time he spit, a clever handsome wench, who stood in the room with a clean cloth in her hand, presently wiped it up and rubb'd the board clean; and Sir WILLIAM expressing some uneasiness at the trouble he gave, the master of the house told him, if his wife had been at home indeed he would not have escap'd so well, for she would probably have turn'd him out of doors for daubing her house, notwithstanding he was an Ambassador; adding, that he had two rooms which he durst never coming into, and believ'd that they were never open but twice a year to be clean'd. My author observing thereupon, that the wives of Amsterdam generally govern'd their husbands, and that this seem'd part of their constitution; the Burgomaster replied, 'twas true, and that all a man could hope for there was an easy governess. This occasioning many stories to be told concerning the extravagant neatness of these Holland ladies in their houses; the Secretary of Holland, who was in the company, pointed to a house over the way, where he said one of their magistrates going to pay a visit to the mistress of it, a strapping North-Holland lass happening to open the door, as he was about to enter, the wench observing his shoes were not very clean, took him by both arms, threw him on her back, and car-

rying him cross two rooms, set him down at the bottom of the stairs, and putting him on a pair of slippers, without speaking a word to him before them, told him he might walk up to her mistress, who was in her chamber.

The diet of the Dutch boors or husbandmen, as Their diet. has been intimated already, is but mean; roots, herbs, sour milk and pulse, are a great part of their food. In towns the people have something better diet. About November every year they purchase an ox, or more, according to the largeness of the family, and salt up or sinoak-dry it to eat with bread and butter and sallet. On Sunday a piece of salt-meat is usually taken out of the powdering-tub, which comes every day to table all the week long, with some other little dishes of garden-stuff, sour milk, &c. which the peasants feed on in the country: pickled herrings, Bologna sausages, and other savoury dishes, are much admir'd; when they have fresh fish, they generally eat them with oil'd butter upon choice, and I have heard some of our countrymen say, when they have been used to this kind of sauce a good while, they have really lik'd it better than well-melted butter. They have several other ways of dressing their fish, which a little use may reconcile an English palate to; but seldom use anchovies, or any savoury ingredients, though they admire salted flesh so much. Their butter and cheese is extremely good, and the common people seldom take a journey without a butter-box in their pockets. This box is made in the shape of a churn, and holds half a pound or a quarter of a pound, being shut down close with a wooden lid, the butter never works out. As they travel upon their canals in drawn boats, a man with a roll and his butter-box will make a very comfortable meal; and so extravagantly fond of butter are this people, that I have seen some of them take it up and eat it by handfuls, without knife or spoon. But the Dutch do not live now on that plain simple diet they did formerly, they have introduc'd the luxury of every neighbouring nation: English and French dishes may be had here with as much ease as with us. They ingross our oysters every year at Faversham, and carry them off in fleets, scarce leaving the natives of that part of Kent enough for their own use. Puddings, which before King WILLIAM's reign they were strangers to, they make as rich and as good as we do in England. And as for drinking, they had always the advantage of us; for they have not only very good beer, but wine and brandy in great plenty, almost as cheap as beer. Their geneva also is very good and cheap; I have seen an ordinary fellow make a delicious breakfast of half a pint of gin and a roll. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE observes, that it is necessary these people should tipple to improve their understandings, as well as for the preservation



CHAP. tion of their healths; and by way of excuse for  
IV. the drunkenness of the Dutch, intimates, that  
strong liquor has different effects on them to what  
it has upon other people, preserving their healths,  
and brightning their parts to a very great degree.

Diversions. The diversions of the Hollanders are bowls,  
billiards, chess, and tennis, as with us; but they  
do not seem so much addicted to the games of  
chance, unless that of *Verbeeven*, or trick-track  
revers'd: shooting wild-geese and ducks in winter,  
and angling in summer, make another part of  
their pastimes. In the most rigorous season of the  
year sledges and skates are a great diversion. It  
is incredible how swift some of them move in  
their skates, no running-horse can keep pace with  
them; and the women as well as men use them  
to carry their goods to market, as well as for their  
pleasure. The sledge is drawn by a horse, or  
push'd along by a man in skates. When the snow  
is upon the ground and the streets frozen, young  
gentlemen and ladies appear abroad in the most  
magnificent sledges. The person drives his horse  
himself, which is cover'd with a rich skin or ca-  
parison, and a fine tuft of feathers, and the gen-  
tleman or lady wrapt up in furs, or a fine Indian  
quilt. The sledges are of various shapes, finely  
painted, gilt, and varnish'd, and the horse's har-  
ness rich and glittering: numbers of these being  
seen in the streets together, especially at Amster-  
dam, make one of the most beautiful shews we  
meet with any where. But of these entertain-  
ments I have already had occasion to speak more  
largely in the description of the more northern  
countries, who excel in these diversions; I shall  
only observe further here, that there are little  
machines of this kind, in which they put their  
children, push'd along by their fathers, as people  
of fashion are by their men or maid-servants in  
skates. Bandy is another play much used when  
the earth is cover'd with ice and snow, at which  
they are very dextrous: they seldom play for any  
thing but drink, and the tavern where they spend  
their winnings always concludes the diversion of  
the day. Hans never cares to go to bed without  
his dose. In summer we see multitudes of people  
walking out of town on the banks of fine canals,  
well planted with trees, or by the sea-shore, or  
perhaps in the publick gardens; but the end of  
every walk is the tavern, where they do not fail  
to meet with a thousand little amusements and a-  
greeable entertainments: as cool summer-houses  
and grotto's, excellent wines and other liquors,  
fruit, cakes, and relishing meats; and here you  
meet with musick of all kinds, vocal and instru-  
mental. Nor are these pleasures dear here; ordi-  
nary workmen indulge themselves in this manner,  
while in other countries, 'tis observ'd, people of this  
class generally want bread to eat. Nor are there  
those distinctions kept up between wealthy traders

and the mechanicks in Holland as in other coun- CHA  
tries: they converse pretty much upon the level, IV.  
and it is not easy to know the man from the ma-  
ster, or the maid from her mistress; such liberties  
do they allow their servants, who may not be  
struck or corrected by them, but the dispute must  
be left to the magistrate, where any arises between  
master and servant; it not being fit they say that  
any one should be judge in his own case. They  
sometimes take a boat and their whole family with  
them, and go a considerable distance from home,  
to eat river fish at some publick house in the coun-  
try. And it must not be forgotten, that the drink-  
ing of tea has long been universal here among all  
sorts of people, and esteem'd none of the worst of  
their entertainments.

Their usual way of travelling is in *Trechtschutes*, Way of  
or cover'd boats, drawn by a horse at the rate of velling.  
three miles an hour, for which the fare does not  
amount to a penny a mile, and you have the con-  
veniency of carrying a portmanteau, or provisions,  
so that you need not be at any manner of expences  
at a publick-house by the way. You are not in  
the least expos'd to the weather in these vessels,  
and can scarce feel any motion; so that a man  
may read or divert himself upon his journey, as  
he sees fit; and there is scarce a town but one  
may go to this way every day; and if it be a con-  
siderable place almost every hour, at the ringing  
of a bell; but they will not stay a minute after-  
wards for a passenger, though they see him com-  
ing. The greatest inconvenience I found was  
the getting out of one boat into another at every  
great town; and paying a tax at every gate I  
pass'd through with my portmanteau, which was  
wheel'd along from one boat to another, in a  
machine pretty like a wheelbarrow. And as one  
often passes through many of these towns in a day,  
this must be allow'd to be some trouble and ex-  
pence; but I think the conveniences of this way  
of travelling out-balance the inconveniences.  
That of an open waggon instead of a coach, when  
we travel by land, I must confess is not so agree-  
able; and skating, which the country people are  
dextrous at, is not soon learnt by foreigners.

As to the inns and publick-houses on the road, Their inn  
I have already said we are sure to meet with clean  
linnen and soft beds; but their bedsteads, or ra-  
ther cabbins in the sides of the wall, are plac'd so  
high, that a man must infallibly lame himself if  
he happens to fall out of them; and we must be  
content to lie with half a dozen people or more  
in the same room, and be disturbed all night  
long by one or other, if the churl of a landlord  
pleases to have it so. Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE  
travelling into this country, and having made  
choice of a room in an inn, it seems was so un-  
reasonable to look upon it as his sole property,  
while he staid there, and would admit no cham-  
ber-



HA P. ber-fellows to be imposed upon him, but the governour of the castle, to speak in Don QUIXOT's phrase, soon gave him to understand his error, broke open the door and introduced half a dozen strangers into his apartment; whereupon Sir ROGER drawing his sword, they knock'd him down, threw him down stairs, and dragg'd him about the street 'till they left him for dead, tho' he had the good fortune to recover afterwards: and indeed there is no disputing with a Dutch innkeeper, either about the reckoning or any other particular, for he will enhance his bill if you find fault with it, and procure a magistrate to levy his demands by force if they are not paid readily. I observed also that a man pays for his passage always before he has well begun his journey; for as soon as the passengers are set down in the boat, a fellow comes round with a hat and collects the money, so that if any accident should happen that he cannot carry you to your journey's end, yet still he is sure of his hire, and leaves you to procure another convenience. I shall conclude this head with observing that the canals, highways, causeys and bridges, are always kept in excellent repair, which deserves our imitation; for the cheapness of carriage it is, which, in a great measure, renders all commodities cheap, and enables the Dutch to carry on a trade from one part of the country to another, as well as with Germany, France, and other adjoining countries, at a very easy expence. And whoever can afford their merchandizes upon the most reasonable terms, will infallibly have the greatest demand for them. But the article of trade is to be the subject of another chapter, and therefore I forbear enlarging upon it here.

## CH A P. V.

*Treats of the government of the United Provinces.*

JOHN DE WITT in his introduction to the government of the United Provinces endeavours to shew, that that is the best government where the well or ill-being of the governours necessarily depends on the well or ill-being of the subjects; and not where the well or ill-being of the subjects depends on the virtues or vices of the governours: for Self, he observes, is ever prefer'd in all societies or assemblies of men; and all sovereigns or supreme powers will, in the first place, endeavour to advance their own interests; or else, abandoning themselves entirely to ease and pleasure, suffer their government to fall into the hands of favourites and courtiers, who finding themselves vested with sovereign power, do for the most part rule for the benefit of themselves, and to the prejudice not only of such voluptuous and unwary Princes, but also of their subjects: and infers, that a republican State is infinitely to be

prefer'd to Monarchy; because the governours of a commonwealth in promoting the welfare of the subject promote their own advantage, and while they study their particular interests, must of necessity advance the people's, especially in a country which depends upon trade and manufactures, where the governours reap a proportionable advantage with the subject: whereas a Monarch usually is solicitous to promote his own grandeur or pleasures, and finds it necessary frequently to oppress and impoverish his subjects on a prospect of false glory or some selfish designs. But when we have enquired into the constitution of the several republicks in the United Provinces, we shall be better able to judge of the justness of these inferences.

The United Provinces are a confederacy of many independant States; for not only every province is sovereign and independant of any other power, but there are in each province several republicks independant of each other, and which are not bound by the decrees or acts of the States of the province until such acts are ratified by each particular city or republick, which sends deputies or representatives to the provincial assembly.

As the States General can neither make war or peace, enter into new alliances or raise money without the consent of every province; so neither can the States Provincial determine these things without the consent of every city or republick, which by the constitution of the province hath a voice in the assembly. In some civil cases indeed there lies an appeal from the courts of justice in cities to the provincial court of justice; but in criminal matters there lies no appeal. Nor can the States of the province exercise any jurisdiction, punish an offender, pardon an offence, or execute any general law within any of the cities or republicks of the province, but by the courts and officers of the place where it is to be put in execution.

The form of government in most of the provinces and cities being pretty near the same, I shall only give an account of two or three of the chief of them, from whence the reader will be able to make a tolerable judgment of the rest; and first of the province of Holland, which in point of trade, riches, forces and great towns, may be esteemed equal to all the rest.

The States of Holland are composed of the deputies or representatives of the nobility, and of eighteen cities or great towns, making in all nineteen voices, of which the nobility or gentry have only the first. The cities which had voices were at first but six, viz. Dort, Haerlem, Delf, Leyden, Amsterdam and Tergow; to which Prince WILLIAM of Nassaw, their first Stadtholder, added twelve more, namely, Rotterdam, Gorcum, Scheidam, Schonhoven, Briel, Alcaer, Horne, Enghusen, Edam, Moninckdam, Medenblick and



**CHAP. Permeren.** This is observ'd to be by no means equal, because the little town of Permeren has an equal voice in the assembly of the States of Holland with the potent and wealthy city of Amsterdam, which contributes as much to the publick expences as all the rest of the cities of the province.

**The nobility of Holland have one voice.** The nobility, who are not numerous in Holland, are represented in the States Provincial by eight or nine of their own number; and when one of them dies, they elect another to succeed him; but these have all together but one voice equal to the smallest of the above-mentioned towns. They are however very considerable in the government, possessing many of the best posts both civil and military, and having the direction of all the ecclesiastical revenues which were confiscated by the state upon the alteration of religion for the use of the publick. As the nobility vote first in these assemblies, they influence in a great measure the cities which give their voices afterwards. The Pensioner of Holland, who sits with them, delivers their vote and assists in all their deliberations previous to the general assembly. He is always a person of great credit, and seldom removed, tho' by their constitution he ought to continue in that post but five years. His place is behind all the deputies or representatives, being, in reality, but the servant of the province, tho' he has frequently the good fortune to lead, or at least influence his masters; for he proposes all matters to be debated by the States, collects their opinions, and digests their resolutions, like the Speaker of an English House of Commons, and assumes a power sometimes of delaying and postponing the most important affairs, notwithstanding a majority of the assembly are for the question, pretending it will be of ill consequence to the province: and he is always constituted one of their deputies or representatives to the States General.

**The towns of Holland eighteen voices.** The representatives of the cities are elected out of the magistracy and senate of each town, and their number more or less according to the pleasure of those they represent, tho' they have all but one voice, and have a salary from the places which send them. One of the burgomasters and the pensioner are usually of the number. The States of Holland generally assemble at the Hague four times a year, viz. in the months of February, June, September and November. In their three first sessions they consider the filling up of vacant offices, renewing the farms of the several taxes, and other matters relating to the general good of the province, or particular differences between the towns: and in November they meet on purpose to consider of the charge, forces, &c. which have been allotted by the States General as the proportion of this province for the ensuing year.

The States of Holland upon extraordinary oc-

**CHAP. V.** casions are summoned by the *Ge committee rede*, or council of state of the province, consisting of several deputies or representatives, viz. one from the nobility, one from each of the chief towns, and one from three of the smaller towns; each of these chusing a representative by turns. This council sits constantly at the Hague, and proposes to the States of the province at their extraordinary assemblies the matters proper for their deliberation, and executes their resolutions. One negative voice in the assembly of the States of the province hinders their coming to a resolution; but they are so united by their common interest, or a view to the publick good, that after things have been fully debated, 'tis observ'd, they are generally unanimous, the smaller party seldom contesting it long or violently with the majority. When they are all agreed, they send some of their number to the respective towns they represent, to obtain their consent; and if it be a matter of any intricacy, and may take up time in debating in the several cities, the States usually adjourn for such a time as they have reason to think the deputies will return.

There is also a chamber of accounts which manages the revenues of the province, and hath the absolute disposal of the demesne lands, or the lands belonging to the States of the province, which antiently, I presume, were the inheritance of the Earl.

The revenue which these bring in is seldom applied to the use of the publick but upon urgent necessity, the States having disposed of it to magistrates and officers grown old in their service, whose prudence and integrity they have long experienc'd; and by this means these gentlemen meet with a plentiful and honourable retreat after they have spent the best part of their lives in the service of their country.

The provinces of Holland and Zealand have two courts of judicature common to both provinces. The one constituted of twelve counsellors or judges, namely, nine of Holland and three of Zealand. This court judges finally in all criminal cases, but in civil there is an appeal to the other court, which is called the high council, from whence there lies no appeal but by petition, to the States of the province for a revision; whereupon if the States think proper they grant a commission to some Sindiques (recorders) of towns, who being added to the judges of the two former courts, revise and finally determine the matter.

The government of the province of Friesland is very different from that of Holland, being composed of four members, viz. The quarter of Oftergo, the quarter of Westergo, that of Seven-Wolden; and lastly, that of the towns of the province. The quarter of Oftergo consists of eleven baillages, the quarter of Westergo of nine, and the quarter of Seven-Wolden

CHAP. V.  
Council  
State of  
Holland.

Chamber  
accounts  
Holland.

Holland  
Zealand  
same for  
preme co  
of justice

The govern  
ment of  
province  
Friesland



AP. den of ten, each bailage comprehending twelve or fifteen villages, or thereabouts; and the towns of the province which send deputies are eleven in number. These four members elect their respective representatives, viz. two out of every bailage, and two out of every town, which compose the assembly of the States Provincial, who deliberate and conclude all matters relating to the government of the province, without having recourse to those who elected them, or requiring their consent to any affair how important soever, nor receive any instructions from those who send them, as the States of Holland do, but seem to be vested with the like powers as the members or representatives of the commons are in England.

And, whereas in Holland the nobility or cities choose the representatives who compose the States, in Friesland every bailly, or greetman, summons all persons who are possess'd of a certain parcel of lands (who may be compared to our freeholders) within his bailage; and a majority of these men choose the two representatives or deputies of the bailage to be sent to the assembly of the States of the province: The bailly also and his assessors compose a court of justice for civil matters, from whence there lies an appeal to the court of justice of the province.

The States of Friesland thus constituted, as aforesaid, dispose of all vacant offices, elect the nine members who compose their council of state, and twelve judges, three for every quarter, who compose the court of justice of the province, and determine all civil causes which come before them by way of appeal, and all criminal causes at the first instance, there being no other criminal jurisdiction but this in the province; whereas in Holland there is no town but has the determination of criminal matters within itself, and several Lords of manors, and even villages, have both the high and low justice belonging to them.

In the province of Groningen the deputies or representatives elected to serve in their assembly of the States of the province are chosen as in Friesland by freeholders, or persons possess'd of a certain portion of land. And in Overijssel all the nobility and gentry who have manors, or seigniorial lands, are qualified to be members of the States of that province.

The constitution of the government in the provinces of Guelderland, Zealand and Utrecht, pretty much resembles that of Holland, the States of each province being composed of the deputies or representatives of the nobility and cities; but there are some small differences, as in Guelderland, where all the nobility and gentry who are seized of such certain lordships have a seat, and vote in the assembly of the States of the province, and these compose one half of the States, as the representatives of the towns do the other half; and tho'

some certain persons of their number are deputed to the States General, yet any of the nobility of Guelderland have a seat there if they will attend at their own charges.

The nobility of Zealand having been almost extinguish'd in the wars with Spain, and the Prince of Orange being proprietor of the marquisates of Flushing and Terveer, this Prince alone represents that part of the States of the province, under the title of first or sole Noble of Zealand; and by virtue thereof his deputy has the first place and voice in the assembly of the States of Zealand, and in their council of State and chamber of accounts. As Sovereign of Flushing and Terveer he also constitutes the magistrates, and consequently disposes of the votes of those two towns, as well as the votes of the nobility; and there are but six towns which send deputies to the assembly of the province of Zealand.

In the province of Utrecht eight delegates from the clergy had session in the assembly of the States with the deputies of the nobility and towns, making a third estate. And these are still elected out of the four chapters in the town, the preferments and revenues whereof, though ecclesiastical till the alteration of religion, are now possess'd by laymen, who are most of them gentlemen of the province.

This is the best account which hath been given us of the government of the respective provinces; I proceed now to enquire further into the constitution of the States General, which is composed of the representatives of the seven several Provinces abovemention'd, and used at first to be convened on extraordinary occasions by the council of state, though this was but seldom, in regard this assembly usually consisted of eight hundred persons, which occasion'd their debates to be long and confused, and their resolutions too slow: in their absence the council of State acted in their stead, and executed their resolutions, and summon'd a new assembly of the States when they judged proper. And thus it was till the Earl of Leicester resign'd the government of these provinces, when they resolved that the provincial States by their constant respective representatives should continue their assemblies under the name of States General, and all the members of the confederate States have never been assembled above once since that time. This representative of the Seven Provinces, called the States General, sits now constantly at the Hague, gives audience to Ambassadors, and exercises other acts of sovereignty, the assembly of all the States being now wholly dissolved.

Subordinate to this representative of the States, now stiled the States General, are the council of State, the Admiralty and the Treasury, all which very nearly resemble the several councils established

Power of the Prince of Orange in Zealand.

The States General in a collective body seldom assemble.

Their representatives only assemble at this day.

The council of State, Admiralty and Treasury.



CHAP. blish'd when these provinces were subject to their  
 V. several Princes, or united under the houses of  
 Burgundy or Austria.

The members of these several councils are nominated or changed by the said provinces, according to their respective customs. Every one sends their representatives in what number they please, some ten, others twelve, and some but two; but this makes little difference, because all the deputies of one province, how few or many soever, have but one single vote: the customs of the provinces differ also in the time for the continuance of their respective deputies in the said councils, some deputing them for a year, two, three, or more; and others for life. The province of Holland send to the States General one of their nobility who is perpetual, two deputies chosen by the eight chief towns, one chosen by North Holland, two out of their provincial council of State, and their Pensioner.

The States  
 General.

No Stadtholder, Governour, or military Officer, can sit or vote in the States General, and each province takes its turn to appoint a President of the assembly, who is changed once a week. He sits in an arm'd chair at the middle of a long table which will hold thirty persons, this being about the number of Members of which this supreme council is composed. The Greffier, or Secretary, sits at one end of the table, and Ambassadors at their audience are seated at the middle of the table over against the President, who proposes all matters in the assembly, puts the question, collects the votes, and forms the conclusion; and in all ordinary cases things are carried by a majority: but if the subject be peace or war, foreign alliances, levying or coining money, or concerning the privilege of any province; in these cases every province must concur, and a plurality of votes is of no weight; for this council is not really sovereign, but represents the sovereignty: and therefore on all these important points the States of every province are consulted, and their consent obtain'd before any thing is absolutely determin'd. And in other matters decided by a majority, they frequently consult the council of state; though Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE relates, that during his embassy in Holland he had the good fortune to prevail with the States General to conclude three treaties within the space of five days without passing the essential forms of their government, by having recourse to the provinces, who must likewise have had the consent of the several cities, &c. And he assures us, that in concluding these alliances without commission from their principals, the deputies of the States General might have lost their heads if the treaties had not been approved by their principals; but the necessity of using this expedition being apparent, and of the utmost importance to their country,

they were so far from being animadverted upon, CHA  
 that they gain'd an universal applause. V.

The council of State also consists of representatives of the several provinces, whereof the province of Holland sends three, the provinces of Guelderland, Zealand and Utrecht, two a-piece, and the provinces of Friezeland, Groningen and Overysfel, each of them one; nor is it in the power of any province to send more or less to this council than the numbers above expressed, so that the council of state for the whole United Provinces always consists of twelve members. Nor do they vote here by provinces, as in the assembly of the States General, but by personal voices, and every deputy presides by turns; and in this council the Stadtholder, or Governour of the United Provinces, when there is one, hath a decisive voice. The Treasurer-general has a seat here, and may give his opinion, but has no vote, tho' his place be for life, as is that of the deputy sent by the nobility of Holland, and the deputies of the province of Zealand; the other deputies are but for two, three, or four years. This council of State executes the resolutions of the States General, proposes the number of troops requisite for the ensuing year, the methods of raising them, and of levying money for the exigences of the government. They also superintend the militia, fortifications and contributions levy'd on the enemy in time of war; the revenues and government of the conquer'd places acquired since the union, which being conquer'd by the common arms of the State, depend on the States General, and not on any particular province.

The council of State at the end of every year, present to the States General a state of the expences which they apprehend to be necessary for the ensuing year, desiring them to demand of the States Provincial their respective proportions, which are as follow, viz. in every 100 l. sterling, each province raises the following sums,

|                            | l. | s. | d. |
|----------------------------|----|----|----|
| Guelderland,               | 7  | 00 | 00 |
| Holland,                   | 42 | 00 | 00 |
| Zealand,                   | 13 | 00 | 00 |
| Utrecht,                   | 8  | 00 | 00 |
| Friezeland,                | 17 | 00 | 00 |
| Overysfel,                 | 5  | 00 | 00 |
| Groningen and the Omlands, | 8  | 00 | 00 |

100 00 00

And this is but a continuance of the practice in the time of their antient Sovereigns: indeed when they were under the dominion of their respective Counts or Dukes, this was only upon extraordinary occasions; but in the times of the houses of Burgundy and Austria, it became a thing of course, and annual, as it is still in the Spanish provinces.

Every



**HAP. V.** Every province raises such sums, and by such ways and means as are most suitable to it, and sends its quota, or share of the general charge to the Receiver-General, converting the remainder to the use of their particular province.

**cham- of ac- ts.** The chamber of accounts was erected within these hundred years, to take off part of the trouble from the council of State; and their business is to examine and state all accounts of the several receivers, to controul and register the orders of the council of state, which disposes of the revenue: and this chamber is composed of two deputies sent from each province, who are changed every three years.

**court admiral-** The next great office is the court of admiralty, which after the States General, by the advice of the council of State, have concluded on the number and force of the fleet to be set out, have the absolute disposal of all marine affairs, as well in the choice and equipment of the several ships, as in issuing the money allotted for that service.

**stand.** This office is subdivided into five lesser courts, three whereof are in Holland, viz. one at Amsterdam, a second at Rotterdam, and the third at Horn; the fourth at Middleburg in Zealand, and the fifth at Harlingen in Friesland, and each of these composed of seven deputies, viz. four of that province where the court is, and three named by the other provinces. The Admiral, and in his absence the Vice-Admiral, has a seat in all these courts, and presides there when he is upon the place. They have the cognizance of all crimes committed at sea, whether piracies or others, and of all frauds and neglects in the payment or collection of the customs, which are always applied to the use of the admiralty, and to no other purpose; and as this fund is not sufficient in time of war, the States grant a farther supply out of other taxes. In time of peace there being however a considerable overplus, this is applied to the building of great ships of war, and purchasing stores for their arsenals and magazines, in which they have always materials sufficient to fit out more ships than can be wanted in the course of a long war.

When the number and magnitude of the ships appointed for any expedition are agreed on by the States General, and orders issued for their equipment by the council of State, every particular college, or court of admiralty, furnishes its stated proportion. The Captains and superiour Officers of each squadron are appointed by the respective courts or colleges which set them out; and the Captain who has the care of manning and victualling his own ship, uses his utmost diligence to procure his compliment of the best men, and in getting the best provisions, surgeons and medicines for the men under his command, being allow'd by the admiralty a certain rate for every

man; and according as he performs this great trust, he gains or loses his credit with the admiralty, on whose opinion the fortune of all sea-officers depends; and consequently in all their expeditions there appears an emulation among the Captains, who shall treat the seamen under their command best, and apply the money appointed for their victualling, &c. to the best advantage, and not by little knavish practices endeavour to fill their own pockets by starving their men, or laying in unwholesome provisions. The salaries of all the great officers of this State are very mean, and particularly that of their Vice-Admiral, which does not amount to above five hundred pounds a year.

**CHAP. V.** Having enquired into the constitution of the government of the respective provinces, and of that grand court which is a representative of the States General, with the council of State, chamber of accounts, and courts of admiralty; I now proceed to describe the administration of the government of their principal cities and great towns, and first, that of Amsterdam.

**Of Amsterdam. The Senate.** The sovereign power of this city is lodg'd in six and thirty Senators, who continue members of this assembly for life, and when one or more of them dies, the remaining Senators elect others in their room, the people having no share in the nomination or choice; so that, as Sir W. TEMPLE observes, this is far from being a popular government at this day, though it might be so esteem'd an hundred and fifty years ago, when the Senators were chosen by a majority of the principal Burgheers, who were about that time wheedled to transfer their right of election to the senate, and their example was follow'd by the rest of the towns of the province, who differ in little else but the number of their Senators.

The senate elects the deputies to be sent to the States of Holland, and appoints the chief Magistrates of the city, namely, the Burgomasters and Eschevins, who are said to resemble the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. The Burgomasters are four in number, of which three are chosen annually, one of them always remaining in office two years, but the three last chosen are stiled the reigning Burgomasters for the year, and preside by turns after the first three months; for so long after a new election the Burgomaster of the preceding year presides, in which time the new ones have an opportunity of being instructed in the forms and duties of their office. It is by a majority of such persons in the senate as have been Burgomasters or Eschevins that the new Burgomasters are chosen, and these represent the government of the city on all occasions, and dispose of all inferiour offices that fall during their administration: they issue all money also out of the treasury for the publick service, and may properly be look'd



**CHAP. V.** look'd upon to have the executive power, (as the whole senate have the legislative.) They have the inspection also of all the publick buildings and fortifications about the city, and direct them to be repair'd or improved as they see occasion. But though these Gentlemen are vested with so great power, there is but very little profit attends it, only they stand fair for more profitable places after they have executed these with reputation, the salary of a Burgomaster not being above five hundred guilders, or fifty pounds a year, though there are offices in their gift worth an hundred pounds a year; but then their employments put them to no manner of expence in their habits, equipage, or way of living, being attended on all solemn occasions by officers who have a stated salary on that account; and whatever entertainments are made for foreign Princes or Ministers are at the expence of the publick, and at other times they appear with the garb and modesty of private citizens. When the Burgomaster's office expires, and they have well discharged that great employment, some of the most profitable places in the city are of course conferred upon them, of which there are a great many esteem'd very profitable there, but much inferior to those of the British Magistrates and Officers.

**Eschevins, or Aldermen, constitute a court of justice.**

The Eschevins, or Aldermen, constitute a court of justice in every town. There are nine in the city of Amsterdam, of whom seven are chosen annually, two of the preceding year remaining in office: a double number of candidates being nominated by the Senate, the Burgomasters have the choice of those that shall serve; and they are sole judges in all criminal cases, but in civil there lies an appeal to the court of Justice of the province, if the thing in dispute be of a considerable value. And they never pronounce sentence of death without first communicating the matter to the Burgomasters; but when they have comply'd with this form, they proceed to give judgment themselves, and are not obliged to be determin'd by the Burgomasters opinion.

**The Treasurer.**

The Officers subordinate to these supreme Magistrates, are, 1. The Treasurer, who receives and issues all money arising from the revenues of the city. The Scout, or Sheriff, who is conservator of the peace, apprehends criminals, and sees the sentences of the courts of Justice put in execution. 2. The Pensioner, who is a person well versed in the civil law and the customs of the city, whom the magistracy advise with in cases of intricacy, and rely upon to defend their rights and privileges in disputes with other cities and powers. He delivers messages also from the Burgomasters and Senate, and makes speeches and replies on all solemn occasions, and is therefore said to resemble the Recorder of an English corporation.

**The Scout, or Sheriff.**

**The Pensioner, or Recorder.**

The revenues of Amsterdam arise from an excise on almost all sorts of commodities bought and sold within the city, or the district belonging to it; out of the city rents, or the duties imposed on every house for charitable uses, for the repairs of the fortifications and publick buildings. Or else by extraordinary taxes imposed by the Senate for furnishing their part of the publick expences agreed to by the States of the province. Or by the deputies of Holland in the States General for the support of the union. And all these payments are made into one common treasury for the city, and not in the respective parishes or divisions of the place. And 'tis said, that the payments of all kinds made by the city of Amsterdam, to the States General, to the States of the province, and to the uses of the city, amount to above sixteen hundred thousand pounds a year.

The Princes of Orange have, from the commencement of the union of the Seven Provinces, born a great share in the government of the whole, as well as in particular cities and sovereignties, of which this State is composed. These Princes, says Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, had a most essential part in the first frame of the government, and in all the fortunes thereof, during the whole growth and progress of the State. Prince WILLIAM I, of Nassau, was Governour of Holland and Zealand in the time of CHARLES V, and his son PHILIP II; and by his wisdom and goodness acquired a mighty esteem with the other provinces as well as these, who readily constituted him their Governour and Stadtholder. Nor hath this nation, according to the same author, ever been without a head under some title or other, though it was a head always subordinate to their laws and customs, and to the sovereign power. Upon their revolt from Spain, all the power and rights of Prince WILLIAM of Orange, as Governour of the provinces, were carefully reserved to him; but those which were inherent in the Sovereign devolved on the assembly of the States General; namely, the power of making peace and war, foreign alliances, and the coinage of money. The Prince had the command of all their forces by sea and land, as Admiral and Captain-General, and thereby the disposal of all military commands: as also the power of pardoning crimes, and choosing magistrates upon the nomination of certain candidates in the towns, who presented three to the Prince, and he elected one of them: and thus it continued till the death of the late King WILLIAM's father, when the province of Holland influenced the rest so far as entirely to suppress this office of Stadtholder, sharing the authority of the Prince amongst the several magistrates of the State. The cities particularly assumed the power of appointing their own magistrates; the States Provincial the disposal

**CHAP. V.**  
Revenue  
Amst.

The Sta  
holder.



H A P. disposal of all military commands in the troops they paid; and the States General the command of the armies by Generals of their own appointing, whom they removed and changed at pleasure. No power was left of pardoning one condemn'd by rigour of law, nor any single person to represent the State or receive Ambassadors. This form of government was supported for near twenty years by the great authority and riches of the province of Holland, which drew a kind of dependance from the other six, and by the great abilities of their chief minister DE WITT; till the late Prince of Orange, afterwards King of England, notwithstanding both himself and the very office of Stadtholder had been abjured, was restored to his authority, and equall'd, if not exceeded his ancestors in his authority and influence over this state; upon which occurrence I shall enlarge further, when I come to give the modern history of this state. Upon the death of the late King WILLIAM the office of Stadtholder was again suspended in five of the provinces: as for Friesland and Groningen, Prince CASIMIR of Nassau was hereditary Stadtholder of those provinces, to whom since succeeded his eldest son the young Prince of Orange-Nassau, whom the late King WILLIAM by his will constituted his universal heir. And in the year 1723 the province of Guelderland also elected the said Prince of Orange-Nassau for their Stadtholder, which the province of Holland opposed with all their might, presenting a formal memorial on that head, an abstract whereof, with the answer of Guelderland, and the limitations put on the Prince on his admission to the Stadtholdership of Guelderland, will give us some further light into the present state of the United Provinces. In their memorial the States of Holland declare,

That they could not conceal their surprize when they were inform'd Guelderland had determin'd to make so very great a change in the nature of their government, as to choose a Stadtholder, and divide their power and authority with another: they could not forbear judging that a revolution of this nature must produce some great and fatal factions in the provinces. That on the one hand, various means would be used to excite and foment a change of the same nature in the other provinces: while some, on the other hand, would be endeavouring to preserve their government in the order it had been establish'd; and these two parties would be continually nourishing distrusts and suspicions of each other, and perpetually loosening the bands of their union. That if they reflected never so little on the power which it pleased God to confer upon the union of their ancestors, they could not without trembling think on the fatal effects which discord might produce. And as they dreaded these misfortunes for the

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States of the United Provinces in general, of which Holland made so considerable a part, they could not forbear pushing these reflections a little further, and representing to their High Mightinesses, that they must expect their share of the calamities consequent on their precipitate resolution.

That above twenty years experience had given them all the insight into this matter they could desire; they had seen times of war and peace and dangerous dissensions, which had at length been amicably adjusted without the interposition in a Stadtholder: Their publick revenues were administered and settled so very happily, that all the other provinces took example by Guelderland: That there were indeed faults in every kind of government, but it ought to be duely weighed, whether those faults would be redressed sooner under the government of a Stadtholder, than under that of a State. They need only call to mind the times they had spent under the government of a Stadtholder, and compare them with the present, to set them right in this matter. And if their High Mightinesses would please before they proceeded further, to name some Lords to confer with them, they would undertake to answer every argument which could be made use of as a specious pretence for this change of government. That for their parts they could not comprehend any advantage it would be to them, equal to the inconvenience of dividing their power with another: And it was still further beyond their comprehension, what should induce them to this change in the present juncture, when their province enjoy'd a profound peace and tranquillity, and their publick revenues were in a flourishing condition. And for this reason also they could not imagine what danger there could be in provisionally deferring this affair; for Guelderland and Zutphen were countries of that importance, that they would never want a Prince to accept the government of them.

The States of Guelderland and Zutphen having on the second of November 1723, chosen the Prince of Orange for their Stadtholder, did on the fourth of the same month send an answer to the States of Holland, to this effect: That in the choice of their Stadtholder they had used all possible circumspection, without any other view than the good of the State in general, and of their own province in particular; and could not conceive why their High Mightinesses should be disquieted at this election, or in what manner it could be prejudicial to them.

That the question, whether it were more advantageous to the States of the Seven United Provinces, both in general and particular, to have some illustrious chief, usually stiled a Stadtholder, under whose authority, but that a limited one,

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 V. administred, as well in war as peace : Or whether it were better to transact these affairs without such a chief, had so often been debated in the several provinces, and so much had been written on both sides, that they did not think it necessary at present to say much on that subject. But if they were pleased to take a review of the antient government of the Netherlands before the union, and before they came under the dominion of Spain, they would find that the Seven Provinces were always governed by their respective Dukes, Earls, Bishops or other Lords, in conjunction with the States of each province. That these Seven Provinces were more closely united in a firm alliance in the year 1579, for the preservation of their liberties and religion ; and WILLIAM I, Prince of Orange, had, as their High Mightinesses themselves had formerly observed, been the man who with the immediate aid and blessing of GOD laid the first foundations of this republick, notwithstanding the threats and powerful opposition of the then potent King of Spain PHILIP II. That Prince MAURICE of Nassau, Prince of Orange, raised this edifice still higher upon the foundations which had been already laid ; and that with a conduct and courage truly heroical. That Prince FREDERICK HENRY on the same foundation and the same walls, finish'd the edifice of this State. And in the time of Prince WILLIAM II, anno 1648, a peace was concluded at Munster between Spain and the United Provinces, whereby their independence and sovereignty were generally acknowledged ; but this Prince dying in 1650, and leaving his Princess with child of WILLIAM III, most of the provinces remain'd without a Stadtholder till the year 1672.

They said, they would not put the States of Holland in mind of the many dissensions which happen'd during that interval, nor the fatal consequences which attended them, by which the total ruin of the State was almost effected ; but they could not forbear remembring, that by the blessing of GOD, under the conduct of WILLIAM III, Prince of Orange, chosen Stadtholder of these provinces, this republick, of which three whole provinces were fallen under the dominion of the French, and the rest ready to become a prey to them, was restored to the present happy condition. And tho' they were fully persuaded that their High Mightinesses had not forgot such extraordinary events, yet could they not avoid the mentioning them, to shew that the election of a Stadtholder is no innovation in the government of this State ; but that on the other hand, it was under Stadtholders the State attain'd to its greatest splendour. That as their High Mightinesses observ'd there always would be faults in every kind

of government, and consequently there must be some under that of a Stadtholder, and therefore they did not expect by choosing one to have a government free from all defects ; but having seriously weigh'd all events which had happen'd to the State in general, and to the province of Guelderland in particular, as well during the time it was govern'd by Stadtholders as whilst it was not, they concluded, that the election of the Prince of Orange for Stadtholder and Captain-General of that province, was mightily conducive to their true interest : For this Prince was without dispute the only native of the United Provinces who could justly have this noble dignity conferred upon him, and was before constituted Stadtholder of two of the Seven Provinces, and his illustrious ancestors and relations had both in war and peace done the most important services that could be perform'd for the good and preservation of their country. That it was true, in the time of peace a Stadtholder, Captain-General and Admiral, might not at first view seem essential to their constitution : but if their High Mightinesses would reflect on the usual inconstancy and vicissitude of human affairs, they would conclude, that a time of peace could never be better employ'd than in taking such measures as might secure them from danger in case a war should break out, at least as far as human reason could insure it.

That when they considered the present situation of the whole state, their common country, the low ebb of their publick revenues and credit, which were sunk to a very great degree, even since the conclusion of the peace, the decline of their militia and maritime power, the low esteem they were fallen into with their neighbours, and the little probability of remedying these things, they concluded, that it was not without just grounds that their High Mightinesses and the Council of State represented in writing at several times to the United Provinces, " That such was " the unhappy state of the union, it was impossible it should long subsist ; " and it was much to be feared, that some revolution would cause its total ruin : and yet these repeated remonstrances had not had the least effect, or any means been used hitherto to remedy these disorders.

This as the republick was composed of seven particular provinces, and each province a sovereign one of it self, where private, and even directly opposite interests frequently occasion'd divisions, and the common interest to be neglected, and the means which should be taken for the safety of the State entirely forgot ; it could not be disputed but that it must be very advantageous for their dear country to have the union cemented closer and stronger for the common good, and to make these Seven Arrows indissoluble, by binding them close together in the bands of friendship  
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AP. and concord, form'd by an illustrious chief, who should govern them all with a limited authority. Of great advantage must it be on any emergency to have their affairs conducted by such a head, with the speed and activity requisite on such occasions.

And as they found themselves unanimously disposed to put themselves under this form of government, they could not any longer defer the election, after having drawn up the necessary instructions for their Stadtholder the Prince of Orange, which they took the liberty of transmitting to their High Mightinesses for their perusal, wherein they would not discover one article which could be prejudicial to the State in general, or to their province of Holland in particular. Nor could this election create any differences or jealousies amongst the members of their own province, since it had been unanimously agreed on. It was not imaginable therefore what foundation their High Mightinesses could have to surmise, that this election would occasion a change of government, or that they would endeavour to excite factions and differences among the United Provinces, of which they had never given the least reason to suspect them, protesting that they should contribute all that was in their power towards the maintaining a good understanding amongst them. They should have rejoiced at an opportunity of entering into a conference with their High Mightinesses, but that they understood by their letter that they only desired a conference to divert them from the choice of a Stadtholder, on which they had already determin'd; but their High Mightinesses might assure themselves that they should always be ready for the future to confer with their High Mightinesses, and to take such measures with them as should be judged necessary for the service of the State.

*Instructions drawn up by the States of Gueldres and Zutphen, by which the Prince of Orange and Nassau, their Stadtholder, Captain-General, and High Admiral, is to regulate himself in the administration of his offices, after having attain'd his eighteenth year.*

1. THE Stadtholder shall be of the reformed Christian religion, (a Calvinist or Presbyterian) which he shall publicly profess, and be obliged to aid and defend as much as in his power lies, the doctrines thereof being the same as were confirm'd in the national Synod anno 1618, and 1619.

2. The sovereign authority shall still be vested in the nobility and cities of the duchy of Gueldres and county of Zutphen, as it formerly was, and still is, nor shall the Stadtholder assume any part of it to himself.

3. The said province shall still consist of three separate and distinct divisions, viz. of Nimeguen, Zutphen, and Veluwe. The Stadtholder shall not dispose of any commission, either within or without the province: he shall not take cognizance of the reception of any member into the order of the nobility or magistracy in the cities of this province; nor shall he make any change amongst them.

4. The Stadtholder shall be obliged to observe and keep the union concluded between the allies at Utrecht anno 1579; as also all the conventions and agreements of this province. He shall maintain and defend all the rights and privileges, immunities, orders and customs which the nobility and cities, either in general or particular, at present enjoy. He shall also endeavour to maintain the sovereignty of this province; and defend it against all those who shall attempt to destroy or prejudice it.

5. The Stadtholder being at Arnheim, or any other place where the provincial court shall be assembled, shall take his seat and preside in it; where he shall collect the voices, and conclude their sittings. And when he shall be full eighteen years of age, all acts of State, letters and dispatches shall be made in the name of the Stadtholder and counsellors, as was practised heretofore.

6. If any unforeseen differences shall arise between the three divisions of this province, or between the body of the nobility or cities in the respective divisions, the Stadtholder shall endeavour amicably to reconcile them: which if he cannot accomplish, he shall hear the complaints of the several parties, and decide their differences according to reason and equity.

7. The Stadtholder and Captain-General shall not do any thing against the orders establish'd by all the confederates in the year 1651, concerning patents, the keeping the keys and giving the watch-word in all those cities whose magistrates have a voice in the assembly of the States. Nor shall he change the garrisons in the cities of this province; but the power of granting patents and changing the garrisons shall remain in the disposal of the particular divisions, or of the Lords their usual deputies; and the keeping of the keys and giving the watch-word, shall still be in the magistrates of the cities who have a seat in the assembly of the States, as it is at present.

8. The Stadtholder and Captain-General shall not dispose of the offices of Commanders, Governors and Majors of cities and fortresses in this duchy or county.

9. The Stadtholder and Captain-General shall not dispose of any military post of the forces quarter'd in this province, except in time of war, and when he is personally in the field; and then he shall have the disposal of such military offices as



CHAP. shall become vacant during the campaign, but not otherwise.

V. 10. There shall be given to the Stadtholder and Captain-General one regiment of foot, which he himself shall choose amongst the several regiments of this province, which shall be call'd the Stadtholder's regiment. The Colonel however shall retain his pay during his life-time, but immediately after his death the Stadtholder shall have it: as also the disposal of all commissions which shall become vacant in such regiment, provided he prefer natives to foreigners; and that before his disposal of any such commission he be full fourteen years of age, and the said military commissions be signed by the Secretary of the division, according to the present practice.

11. The Stadtholder shall have an annual pension of 5900 florins, to issue out of the revenues of this province. And he shall further have in the quality of Stadtholder of this province, his share of all fines of Fiefs, and of their dispatches.

12. The Stadtholder and Captain-General shall never endeavour any alteration to be made in these instructions, whether in the whole or part; nor shall he apply himself to the province in general, or to any member in particular, for that end: and as soon therefore as he shall attain the age of eighteen years, he shall be obliged to sign these instructions before his installation, and to swear in the assembly that he will observe them.

Reflections  
on the na-  
ture of the  
Dutch re-  
publicks.

From what hath been collected on this head, we may be able to form a tolerable idea of the government of the United Provinces, which seems not to have been well understood by some, who would persuade us, that the sovereignty of the provinces and cities, of which this State is composed, is lodged in the diffusive body of the people, and that they are in all cases the *Dernier Resort*. Whereas the people seem to have much less to do in the government here than they have in England, and as little as in any monarchy on the face of the earth. In the cities of Holland, which are equivalent to all the rest, we find the legislative power lodged in a senate, composed of twenty or thirty persons, or thereabouts, who continue in that capacity for life, and when one of them dies, the rest make choice of another to succeed him; the people have no share in the nomination or choice. That this senate elect some of their own number to represent them in the assembly of the States of the province; and the Provincial States elect also some from among themselves to represent them in the assembly of the States General; so that the people have nothing to do, either in the administration of the government, the enacting laws, or in the choice of those persons who have the legislative or executive power lodg'd in them, but are as despoti-

cally govern'd by the Magistrates and Senate of their respective cities and districts, as the subjects of France or Turkey are by their several Monarchs. All the difference is, that in France and Turkey there is one absolute Sovereign, and in Holland every city hath twenty or thirty tyrants, from whom there lies no appeal, and who may govern their people, if they please, without laws; or, which is much the same thing, by such laws and rules as they are pleased to prescribe; and may repeal, suspend or alter as they see fit. They don't suffer the subject here to talk of original contracts, birthrights, or unalienable powers of calling their Sovereigns to account; this is a doctrine reserved for the meridian of Britain, and would meet with little countenance in Holland; or in any State in Europe: and yet this republick, by ignorant pretenders, is made a pattern of popular government, and recommended to our imitation, as the only model fit to be admitted, especially among a trading people.

Now whether the limited Monarchy of Britain, where the people elect one body of the legislature, and the Prince can impose nothing on them without their consents, be preferable to the despotick government of the States of Holland, will, I believe, scarce be made a question by any man that understands the constitutions of both: I shall only therefore here enquire, whether the sovereignty of one or of twenty be most eligible; or, which is the same thing, under which of these forms the people in general are like to enjoy the greatest ease and security; and could we be sure to meet always with a wise and good Prince, I should make no difficulty in affirming that the government of one was better than that of many; for on this subject there are two principal points to be consider'd, namely, 1. The defending the people from foreign enemies; and, 2. From domestick oppressions. Now in war, secrecy, unanimity in councils, and a speedy execution of our resolutions, are considerable advantages, which we may expect to find oftner under a Monarchy than an Aristocracy, and the interest of the Prince and people are generally the same in cases of invasion; he can scarce be suspected of having a different interest from that of his country: whereas when the sovereignty is in many, it is not impossible but some of them may have different views, and sacrifice their country to their private piques or advantages. And as to domestick oppressions, if the Prince be a wise man, he cannot but understand that his own grandeur is promoted by the flourishing state of his subjects, that both his power and revenues increase in proportion to his encouragement of their trade and manufactures, and the security they enjoy in their possessions.

An enquiry  
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HAP. V. If it be said on the other hand, that in a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom; and that therefore where the supreme power is lodg'd in twenty or thirty, affairs are like to be better manag'd than by one: To this it is answer'd, That all Princes have their councils, suppos'd to consist of the ablest heads in their dominions; and therefore in that respect they are upon the level with a republick: and as none can know what resolution the Prince will take, after he has heard their debates, he has certainly a vast advantage in the speedy execution of his designs, and preventing their disappointment, and in over-ruling any perverse or designing member, who may have views to his own interest: whereas when the power is in many, they are long frequently in resolving, longer in executing, and perhaps the scheme, tho' never so well laid, shall be discover'd or oppos'd by the contrary faction underhand, if not openly; and in the mean time the state remain defenceless and expos'd to their enemies, as was the very case of the United Provinces, when LEWIS XIV invaded them in the year 1672, and they were sav'd almost by a miracle.

Should the subject under an absolute monarchy happen to be govern'd by a weak, ambitious, or voluptuous Prince, here indeed a settled Aristocracy seems preferable to it; but 'tis certain that States, as well as Kings, do often go very great lengths in oppressing and tyrannizing over the people. Is there a Monarchy in Europe where the taxes are more burthensome than in the United Provinces? or where is there a Prince so jealous of his authority as the States are, who will suffer no petitions or remonstrances from their subjects, let their grievances be never so great? And indeed where the people are oppressed, there is much less reason to hope for redress from a republick than a monarch; because a body of men can never be suppos'd to be mov'd by pity or compassion as a single man may, neither are they so apprehensive of a revolt or insurrection. It is a common observation, that should the Burgundian or Austrian family, formerly Sovereigns of these countries, have impos'd half the taxes they groan under at present, the people would never have born it; but now their Governours consisting of the principal men in every great town and province, have such an influence over the whole, that it is next to an impossibility for the common people to form themselves into a body, so as to endanger the State. Their Sovereigns are always upon the spot, and so intermix'd with them, that they would nip any insurrection in the bud; and should the mob prevail in one city or province, unless they met with the like success in the rest, they must expect soon to be reduc'd to their duty: so that I take a rebellion, or what some denominate a noble struggle for their liberties, to be utterly impracticable by the

subjects of Holland; let their oppressions be never so great, they have no remedy but patience. Holland happens indeed to be a country which depends entirely upon trade, navigation and manufactures, in all which their Governours are some way or other interested, and therefore must be suppos'd to promote these to the utmost of their power; consequently that part of their subjects which are concern'd in these, which it must be admitted are much the greatest number, are sure to meet with all manner of encouragement. If the magistrates are not all of them merchants, there are few of them, who are not nearly related to those that are, or who have not some shares in their great companies stocks, or other branches of business. And this gives the Dutch a prodigious advantage of the English in point of traffick; for while our ministry are indolent and careless in affairs of trade, as receiving little benefit by it, the States of Holland, whose private fortunes as well as the publick good require their utmost application to these things, let slip no opportunities of advancing their traffick. And thus far DE WITT is certainly in the right, That it is happy for a people, when the well-being of the Governours apparently depends on the well-being of the subject, for then the subject may rest assur'd his welfare will not be neglected. To instance first, in the case of convoys in time of war; how many more British ships were there taken in the last war than Dutch in proportion? The reason was, the English admiralty had seldom any share in the merchant-ships which went abroad, whereas there was scarce a fleet of Hollanders, but the States were deeply interested in. Again, if we look back a little, and observe how we have in every part of the world been supplanted in our trade by the Dutch; first in India, where we suffer'd them to possess themselves of all the spices of the east, (though some of the principal islands where they grew were actually under the dominion of Britain, by the surrender of the natives, and which are not restor'd to this day:) Afterwards how we were trick'd out of the Russia trade, the whale fishery, and even the herring fishery upon our own coast; we must acknowledge that it is some disadvantage to a trading people, that their Governours have but little dependence upon trade. Had the greatest part of our Ministers fortunes depended on the success of the British trade, as that of the States did on the Dutch trade, we should not have parted with the most valuable branches of it so easily. Three ways the Dutch have taken, in DE WITT's phrase, to beat us out of our foreign trade. 1. By their arms, or openly disputing the empire of the seas with us, in which they have prosper'd but little. 2. By sowing divisions amongst us, and joining our malecontents against the government, which diverted us from calling;

CHAP. V.



CHAP. V. calling them to an account in time. And, 3. By bribing our ministry in some former reigns, in which they have met with all the success that they could wish. It is not to be suppos'd we should have put up all those affronts and encroachments on our trade, if the gentlemen who sat at the helm had not been made easy. And though it might not be difficult to shew that the crown, the nobility, and gentry of England, would all be great gainers by their encouragement of trade; that the publick revenues would not only be increas'd by an increase of the customs, and consequently the lands less burthen'd, but that the value of the lands themselves would advance, in proportion as trade flourishes: yet, as these are remote prospects, and seem to concern posterity more than the present generation, it is not expected such considerations should be of much weight. The Dutch legislature and ministry find an immediate profit by their promoting traffick, and leave therefore no means unattempted to advance it: and as they are a powerful body, and masters of such immense wealth, if they see any project setting on foot in any foreign kingdom, which may be a detriment to their trade, they will at any rate purchase the ministry of that kingdom, and thereby baffle the best-laid schemes. By this means they have indeed beaten all other nations out of their foreign trade; or, which is the same thing, render'd it of very little advantage to them. If it be said, why don't other nations apply themselves in the same irresistible manner to the Dutch ministry, and buy them out of some considerable branch of trade? It may be answer'd, that the Dutch ministry subsist chiefly by trade, and therefore are not to be purchased. They would lose more than they could gain by a bribe. There are so many wealthy merchants concern'd, that there is not a nation in Europe that can, or at least will raise money sufficient to influence so considerable a body, and in this they have an indisputable advantage of all other people. But notwithstanding the United Provinces have these great advantages in relation to trade, I look upon the constitution of their government at this day to be in a very weak and languishing condition; should they be attack'd by any formidable Power, as they were in the year 1672, they would probably be reduc'd to as great straits as they were then; for they have now no common Stadtholder, or head, to preside in their councils, or command their armies; and it must be next to a miracle if so many independent sovereignties, as there are in these provinces, should on an instant unite and enter on the properest measures for their defence. The provinces of Friezeland, Groningen, and Guelderland are indeed agreed upon a Stadtholder, and invite the other provinces to join with them in their choice, representing the danger of being at-

tack'd by a foreign enemy, while they remain thus disunited: but Holland, the most powerful of the provinces, and the wealthy city of Amsterdam especially, protest against the government of a Stadtholder; being more apprehensive of the loss of their liberties, and oppression from such an officer, than of a foreign invasion, as they pretend. But the true reason of their rejecting a Stadtholder is probably the same now as it was formerly, namely, because the Hollanders and the city of Amsterdam would lose much of that influence they have over the other provinces under the government of a Stadtholder. At present the other States seem to have a dependence upon this, and which-ever way the province of Holland inclines, the rest are sway'd and bias'd by it; all applications are therefore made by foreigners in the first place to them, and their Pensioner is address'd to as Prime Minister of the States General: whereas, if there was a Stadtholder they would be less consider'd, and lose much of the power and influence they have at present. There has therefore, from the very infancy of this State, been constant struggles between the Stadtholder and the province of Holland for dominion. Old BARNEVELT was sacrific'd to the Orange faction, and so was DE WITT, both Pensioners of Amsterdam; but then DE WITT had the pleasure of suppressing the stadtholdership for twenty years before he perish'd; and had maintain'd his ground at last, had not such a conjuncture happen'd, as could not easily have been foreseen, namely, the kingdoms of England and France both invading their territories at once, which compell'd them to advance the Prince of Orange to the stadtholdership to unite and command their scatter'd forces, and to ingratiate themselves with England, whereby they made a friend of a powerful enemy, and by that means principally sav'd their sinking state. The Lovestein faction then, of which DE WITT was the head, dreaded much more the falling under the government of a Stadtholder than a foreign invasion, as the present leading members of the States of Holland seem to do. In the first case, say they, from the condition of Sovereigns of the United Provinces, as we are in effect from the influence our mighty wealth and power procures us, we shall be reduc'd to the condition of subjects. And as to a foreign enemy we have very little to fear, it is so much the interest of every power in Europe to prevent our State being conquer'd, or added to any of the neighbouring kingdoms, that we may depend on the interposition of more Powers than one, if we should be attack'd; as we found by experience, when the French fell upon us in 1672. And why, say they, might we not agree upon a General to command our troops in such an exigency, as in the last war, for the time it continues; but must elect a Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral



CHAP. VI. ral in one person for life; who will probably draw such a dependence on him from all the provinces, as may endanger our liberties, and end perhaps at last in a monarchy: a form of government of all others to be dreaded by a people, whose sole dependence is upon traffick. But I proceed next to give the Modern History of these provinces, from the time of the truce concluded with the Spaniards in the year 1609, by which the constitution of their government will be still better understood.

## CHAP. VI.

*Contains the Modern History of the United Provinces from the year 1609, when a truce was concluded with Spain, to the present time; with a brief account of the Princes of Orange their Stadtholders.*

FROM the first foundation of the Dutch State, there hath ever been observ'd two factions amongst them; the one inclin'd to monarchy, and the other as fond of a republican form of government. WILLIAM Prince of Orange, the first Stadtholder and Captain-General of the United Provinces, who contributed so much towards the rescuing them from the Spanish tyranny, is charg'd however with designs against their liberties: and, 'tis said, had form'd a considerable party in the State, who were ready to compliment him with the sovereignty of these provinces, if he had not in that instant been taken off by an assassin, as has been related already. OLDENBARNEVELT, Pensioner of Amsterdam, one of the most intimate friends of the deceased Prince, by the great interest he had in the States, influenc'd them to choose his second son Prince MAURICE, their Stadtholder in his room; his eldest son PHILIP-WILLIAM being rejected on account of his education in the Roman Catholick religion, and his adherence to the Spanish interest. For several years Prince MAURICE was govern'd by the councils of that wise Minister BARNEVELT; but the Prince's creatures inspiring him afterwards with ambitious views, and representing BARNEVELT as a person the most likely to defeat his designs upon the sovereignty, he ever after look'd upon him as an enemy: and as the power of the Stadtholder is much greater in time of war than peace, Prince MAURICE endeavour'd to render the last treaty with Spain void, which BARNEVELT had taken the utmost pains to bring to a conclusion, and this still increas'd their mutual animosity. About the same time religious disputes ran very high in Holland, which were first begun in the year 1608, by JACOB ARMINIUS and FRANCIS GOMAR, Professors of divinity at Leyden: ARMINIUS asserting the doctrine of free-will, as

CHAP. VI. GOMAR did that of predestination, and both of them maintaining their opinions with much zeal, scarce any other subjects were treated of, either in the schools or churches of the United Provinces. Whereupon the States appointed a conference to be held between ARMINIUS and GOMAR at the Hague, where after a long dispute, they parted without coming to any conclusion. However, it appear'd on this occasion, that the Magistrates and principal Burghers generally sided with ARMINIUS; and the clergy, the common people, and soldiery, who were in the interest of Prince MAURICE, took the part of GOMAR. ARMINIUS happening to die in the year 1609, his disciples drew up an account of their tenets, and presented it to the States General, wherein they stile themselves *Remonstrants*, which name they went by for some time afterwards; as their adversaries did by that of *Contra-Remonstrants*. BARNEVELT, being in the interest of the Remonstrants, prevail'd with the Curators of the University of Leyden to elect VORSTIUS, a disciple of ARMINIUS, Professor of divinity, in the room of ARMINIUS; but he was no sooner advanc'd to this dignity, than he was charg'd not only with Arminianism, but Socinianism, from a treatise he had before publish'd, *Of God*; but having been heard before the States, as to this charge, he was honourably acquitted: whereupon he printed his apology, dedicating it to the States of Holland; which happening to fall into the hands of JAMES I, King of Great Britain, he commanded his Ambassador at the Hague, Sir RALPH WINWOOD, to protest in a full assembly of the States against the doctrines contain'd therein, and all those who should protect such heresies; and order'd the book to be burnt in St. PAUL's Church-yard in London, and in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The English Ambassador having presented a memorial on this subject to the States, they return'd his British Majesty an answer in writing; wherein they seem'd to justify VORSTIUS, and used several expressions very much to his honour; assuring his Majesty at the same time, that if he could be convicted of any of the points he was charg'd with, they would not suffer him to enjoy the professorship. To which the King reply'd, That he would advise them with all possible speed to rid themselves of so dangerous and pestilent a fellow, whose doctrines contain'd the most execrable blasphemies; with many other severe expressions against the tenets of the Arminians or Remonstrants: and the States of Holland finding his British Majesty inflexible, commanded VORSTIUS to leave the city of Leyden, rather than incur his displeasure. In the mean time the parties were so inrag'd against each other, that scarce any thing but opprobrious language was to be heard even in their churches; one minister inveighing



CHAP. VI. weighing in the afternoon against what another had taught in the morning; and calling each other Atheists, Hereticks, Schismaticks, &c. which created such animosities among their auditors, that tumults and riots frequently ensued as they went from church. Prince MAURICE, the Stadtholder, did not at first, it seems, publicly declare himself for either party; but observing his great adversary BARNEVELT and the Republicans to take the side of the Arminians, in opposition to them he at length espoused the cause of the Gomarists; charging BARNEVELT with being in the Spanish interest, and endeavouring to introduce popery and slavery again; and papers were daily printed and publish'd to that effect, which oblig'd BARNEVELT to publish answers to them, in vindication of his reputation; and the States of Holland hereupon prohibited the clergy to treat of the doctrine of predestination in their sermons, which gave great offence to Prince MAURICE.

About this time the Dutch sent an embassy to King JAMES, offering him part of the money due to the crown of England for the auxiliary troops lent the States in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH; desiring he would evacuate the cautionary towns, which remain'd in the possession of the English, as a security for that money: and BARNEVELT, the chief person in the embassy, manag'd the matter so dextrously, according to the Dutch writers, that the King was surpriz'd into a promise of delivering them up. But the truth is, the King was in ill terms with his parliament, and could raise money no other way, which occasion'd his consenting to that destructive bargain, by the conclusion whereof, the United Provinces were render'd independent of Britain, and made great rejoicings for it. But however this matter was brought about, it drew a lasting odium on the English ministry, who transacted it: and the Dutch tell us, that the King would never forgive BARNEVELT for over-reaching him, and that this was the principal reason of his combining with Prince MAURICE to ruin that great Minister.

The Arminians being supported by the magistracy in the towns of Holland, and the Gomarists by Prince MAURICE, no day scarce pass'd without some bickerings between them; but the mob being generally on the side of the Gomarists, these in most tumults had the advantage; and proceeded so far as to attack a merchant's house at Amsterdam, where their adversaries the Arminians were assembled for divine worship, and having dispers'd the congregation, plunder'd the house of all the moveables to a very great value. And now the Gomarist Preachers in their sermons began to call in question the power of the Magistrates to intermeddle in religious matters: which oblig'd the States of Holland to publish a declaration, as-

serting their authority. The Gomarists hereupon exasperated to the highest degree, accus'd BARNEVELT with having procur'd this act of State in favour of the Arminians, by his crafty insinuations, to which eight Deputies of the cities only had consented; and by the powerful influence of Prince MAURICE, procur'd a judgment against this act of the States of Holland in an assembly of the States General. This being look'd upon as a novelty, and directly contrary to their constitution; that the Representative of the States General should take upon them to controul the acts of a Sovereign Province, which acknowledg'd no superiour, the States of Holland declar'd the said judgment of the States General to be void; requiring the Magistrates of Amsterdam, and the rest of the cities of Holland, to pay no manner of regard to it: they also strengthen'd themselves by levying new forces, who should take an oath only to the States of their province. The same precautions were taken by several cities in the provinces of Utrecht and Overijssel, where the Magistrates were Arminians. The Gomarists of Amsterdam, and several other places, on the other hand, prefer'd petitions to the Magistrates against BARNEVELT; desiring they would assert the authority of Prince MAURICE, which was invaded and violated by these new levies; and their example was follow'd by others. They were afterwards incited by their Preachers to desire a national synod, to settle all disputes concerning religion. In which, it seems, they were seconded by DUDLEY CARLETON, the English Ambassador at the Hague, who made a florid speech in the assembly of the States General, to induce them to call a national synod: to which the Arminians publish'd an answer, but it was suppress'd by the States. About this time the mob rose at Leyden, and fell upon the new-rais'd troops, for not carrying the Prince's arms in their colours; and had driven them out of the city, if the Magistrates had not interpos'd; in which skirmish some hundreds were kill'd or wounded. On the other side, at Rotterdam, and some other cities, where the Arminians were most numerous, they forc'd the Gomarist Preachers to abandon their churches. And as to a national synod, GROTIUS and the Arminian Doctors insisted, that as every province was an independent sovereignty, the controverted points in religion ought to be determin'd by their respective provincial synods, conven'd by each particular State, and not by a national synod.

Things being come to extremes, Prince MAURICE at the head of a great body of veteran troops, and attended by the Deputies of the States General, in the year 1618, march'd through the provinces, dispersing the new-rais'd forces, banishing the Arminian Preachers, and displacing the Magistrates of that persuasion; in whose stead he intro-



CHAP. VI. introduced his own creatures. In this manner he proceeded in the cities of Nimeguen and Zutphen, which had declared for the Arminians; and from thence he march'd into the province of Overysfel, where the city of Campen expressing a great zeal for the Arminians, he dragoon'd them into better manners, and restor'd the disciples of JOHN CALVIN to their pulpits. The same he did at Arnheim soon after; which city pretending at first to stand upon its defence, was betray'd into his hands by some of the Presbyterian zealots within the walls; whereupon he depos'd and banish'd such of their Magistrates as were of a contrary persuasion. From hence he continued his march towards the city of Utrecht, which also stood upon its defence; but his eldest brother PHILIP-WILLIAM Prince of Orange, dying at this critical juncture, the citizens of Utrecht were deliver'd from their fears at this time; for Prince MAURICE was oblig'd to return to the Hague to take order about the affairs of the deceas'd, who dying without issue, had left him the principality of Orange and the rest of his large possessions.

BARNEVELT, in the mean time, finding himself chiefly struck at by the Gomarists, in all their libels, publish'd an apology, which he address'd to the States of Holland; in which he took the liberty of representing the signal services he had done the republick, in the several great stations he had been employ'd for many years, in a stile so natural and free from all foreign insinuations, that it was evident they ow'd as much to his counsels and conduct, as to the Prince of Orange's sword, for their preservation; which had so powerful an influence on the States of Holland, that they openly took him into their protection. The Prince however having modell'd the States General to his mind, by placing and displacing whom he saw fit, proceeded in his project of changing the magistrates and garrisons in every town, which was not of his party; and particularly in the city of Briel in the province of Holland; at which the States of that province were greatly alarm'd, and sent to the Magistrates of all their cities for full powers to oppose the execution of the commission granted by the States General to the Prince of Orange, for removing their magistrates and garrisons, and enter'd into a confederacy with the other provinces for their mutual defence; a copy of which instructions were dispatch'd to Utrecht, and several other cities: but while Utrecht was deliberating on the affair, the Prince of Orange took advantage of some divisions amongst them, and advanc'd to their very gates, not giving them leisure to prepare for their defence. And notwithstanding Roodmold-HOOGEBETS, Pensionary of Leyden, and GROTIUS, Pensionary of Rotterdam, who had been before dispatch'd thither with MONTSBERG and Secretary LEDENBERG,

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and other Gentlemen of the province, did all that was in their power to animate the citizens and garrison, they were so terrified by the approach of the Prince of Orange, that they thought fit to open their gates to him: whereupon he disbanded the garrison, depos'd the Arminian Magistrates, imprisoning some, and banishing others.

The next thing the Prince of Orange resolv'd upon was to seize such persons as had been most active in opposing his desired Sovereignty; accordingly he procur'd a warrant from eight Persons, whom he had assembled for that purpose, and whom he was pleased to denominate *The States-General*, to imprison BARNEVELT, HOOGEBETS, GROTIUS, and LEDENBERG; and at the same time publish'd a manifesto, justifying the conduct of the pretended States, in taking these great men into custody, wherein he insisted chiefly on their inciting the commotions at Utrecht, and entering into other secret conspiracies against the States General. Their enemies the Gomarists also took this opportunity of reviving the clamour of their being popishly affected. But surely nothing could be more contrary to the fundamental constitution and articles of union of the Seven Provinces, in the year 1579, wherein it appears, that the States General have no manner of jurisdiction over the subjects of any particular province, much less over the Members of the States themselves, as these gentlemen were.

The King of France on this occasion sent to the Hague the Sieur DE BOISSISE, Counsellor of State, who had signaliz'd himself in many embassies, to endeavour in conjunction with Monsieur MAURIER, his ordinary Ambassador there, to procure a reconciliation of these differences; but the Prince of Orange found means to render this application of no effect, and proceeded without opposition to displace the Magistrates of the rest of the towns in Holland, which were not of his party. In Rotterdam, where the Arminians were most powerful, he left a garrison of twelve hundred men, and took from them one of their three churches in that city, and gave it to the Gomarists. This was follow'd by the banishment of VORSTIUS, PETER BERTIUS, and others, the most considerable Arminian Preachers; and amongst the rest of JOHN WYTENBOGART, a person highly esteem'd for his exemplary life and moderation, as well as for his moving eloquence; which could not however exempt him from this fate, on his adhering to a party opposite to that of the Prince, by whom he was highly caress'd till then.

The States of Holland hereupon publish'd a manifesto, demanding the release of BARNEVELT, HOOGEBETS, and GROTIUS, but to no purpose; and LEDENBERG of Utrecht expecting no quarter, (the States of his province having already submitted to the Prince) laid violent hands upon himself

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CHAP. VI.



CHAP. himself in prison, and thereby prevented a publick  
VI. execution. The French King being much concern'd at these violent proceedings, especially against BARNEVELT, renew'd his instances in the prisoners behalf; but the King of England joining with Prince MAURICE against them, render'd all efforts to save them abortive. And now most of those who had opposed the calling of a national synod being imprison'd or banish'd, a day was appointed for assembling a convocation of the clergy of the United Provinces at Dort; and that it might have the face of a general council, they invited the Divines of all the Reformed churches in Europe to send their Deputies thither; ordering provincial synods to be held in each province in the mean time, to agree upon points to be proposed in the national synod, and to appoint Deputies to represent them there. The Arminian party observing what unfair practices were used in the provincial synods to exclude them from the national synod, so that there were like to be ten to one against them in that council, they protested against the same, and every thing that should be transacted there, as illegal and void in itself; which so exasperated the Gomarists, that by the influence of the Prince of Orange, they procured the banishment of many more Arminian Preachers, under pretence of Immorality or Socinianism. And the States-General having dispatch'd their letters to the King of Great Britain, the French Hugonots, the Electors Palatine and Brandenburg, the Prince of Hesse, and several other German Princes, as also to the Swiss Cantons, Geneva, &c. to invite their respective Deputies to the national synod; they repair'd thither from all these places, except the Brandenburgers and French Hugonots: the latter by the articles of pacification granted them by King HENRY IV, being obliged not to send their Ministers to assist at any foreign synod, the Dutch Ambassador could not obtain permission of the French King for their repairing to Dort; but the chief reason is suppos'd to be, because the French court had espoused the cause of BARNEVELT and the Arminians.

The synod  
of Dort.

This famous synod being open'd on the 13th of November, 1618, in the name of the States-General; after two sermons preach'd, one in Dutch, and another in French, the Deputies of the foreign Divines were introduced into the assembly, and placed according to their rank, viz. first the English, next those of the Palatinate, Hesse, the Swiss Cantons, Geneva, Bremen, and Embden, the rest being not arriv'd. After which LYDIUS made a Latin speech, and implor'd the assistance of the Holy Spirit in a long prayer. And MARTIN GREGORY, one of the council of the duchy of Gueldres, and one of the Deputies of the States-General, began the first session in the name of his masters, by a speech suitable

to the occasion. After which LYDIUS read the commission of the States General, by virtue whereof eighteen Deputies of the States were appointed to assist at the synod; who chose for their Secretary the celebrated DANIEL HEINSIUS, Professor of history, and Library-keeper of the University of Leyden. At the second session, the Deputies of the respective provincial synods of the United Provinces presenting their credentials, it appear'd that there were not more than three Arminians among all the Deputies; such effectual care had been taken to prevent their being elected in every province: and those they excluded from their synod, summoning them, and several others of the same party, before them; whom they gave to understand, that they must not expect to be treated with by way of conference, but as such as were summoned to appear before their Judges; and that therefore after they had proposed their reasons in defence of their tenets, they must withdraw. Whereupon the Arminians delivered in a long memorial, shewing, That they could not acknowledge this synod to be a legal assembly, as being composed of persons who were both Parties and Judges, and enter'd a protest against all their proceedings. But an act of State was soon after procured from the States-General for their proceeding, notwithstanding this protest; with an order, that the Arminians should immediately enter upon their defence in writing, and should be no more allow'd to appear personally before that body. Thus they got rid of their Arminian brethren. But there happen'd afterwards very obstinate disputes between the Gomarists and the English and other foreign Divines, about the merits and sufferings of Christ; in which the foreigners were treated with that rudeness by the Dutch Clergy, that they left the synod, and were about to return home, if a deputation of the States had not come and promised them satisfaction, and prevailed with them to return to the assembly.

This synod having at length settled their canons, which related to the doctrines of predestination, election and reprobation, free-will, grace, perseverance, &c. and condemn'd the errors of the Arminians, as they called them; their resolutions were made a rule of faith in all the Calvinist churches in Europe; for though the Representatives of the French Hugonots, or of the electorate of Brandenburg, did not appear, yet the Elector promised their canons should be signed by the Clergy under his jurisdiction; and PETER DU MOULIN, the chief of the Hugonot Ministers in France, engaged that he and his brethren would do the like. And now the fathers of the Gomarists began to debate what judgment they should pass upon the persons of the Arminians; but the English, and the rest of the foreign Divines, except those of Geneva and Embden, desir'd this might be waved, alledging, that they had no jurisdiction over

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VI.



**H A P.** over the subjects of the United Provinces. The Dutch Clergy still insisting, that they should, at least, be adjudged enemies to their country, and disturbers of the publick peace; it was answer'd, that this did not belong to the ecclesiastical, but the civil jurisdiction: which produced some alteration in the intended sentence. The Deputies of England, Hesse, and Bremen, refused however to intermeddle in any thing relating to the persons of the Arminians; judgment was therefore given without their concurrence, in the name of the synod and deputies of the States General; whereby all persons were oblig'd publicly to renounce the Arminian tenets; and such of the Arminian Preachers, as had been guilty of raising and fomenting these divisions in the church, especially those who refused to conform to their decrees, should be depos'd from their ministerial functions, and declar'd incapable of any ecclesiastical benefices or academical preferments; which sentence was afterwards ratified by the States General: and the synod having thus finish'd the business they were conven'd upon, were dismiss'd, after they had sat about six months. The States General soon after publish'd a proclamation, to put the decrees and sentence of the synod of Dort in execution; after which they proceeded to banish some of the Arminian Preachers, and imprison'd others, confiscating their estates. The party of the Arminians being thus depress'd, the Prince of Orange proceeded next to finish the destruction of BARNEVELT, and the other prisoners of State, who, according to the constitution of the United Provinces, could only have been tried in their proper province; but the Prince, by his interest, procured twenty-six Judges to be appointed by the States General, all persons devoted to his service; who pass'd sentence of death on BARNEVELT, for having, as it was alledg'd, advis'd a toleration of the Arminians, and occasion'd many disturbances in the church; by asserting, that, according to the laws, each province had a right to judge and regulate points of religion in their respective jurisdictions, without the interposition of any or all the other provinces. The French Ambassador having notice of the sentence, desir'd instantly an audience of the States, who excusing their refusal on pretence of the unreasonableness of the time, he sent them a letter, conjuring them in the name of his Master the French King, not to shorten the days of so antient a Minister, who had spent his life in their service; but the influence of the Prince of Orange prevailing, BARNEVELT was beheaded the next day in the court of the Hague, over-against the Prince's apartment, who came to be the spectator of a tragedy, of which he had been the principal contriver; for which he was severely censur'd, even by his friends. BARNEVELT said little more at his execution,

but "that he did not die as a traytor, but as a true patriot, for having asserted the rights and liberties of his native country." And the people expressing a more than ordinary concern for this noble sufferer, the Prince of Orange did not think fit to proceed with the same severity against HOOGEBERT and GROTIUS, who were only condemn'd to perpetual imprisonment; and the sentence of MOERBERG, Counsellor of Utrecht, was still milder, being only confin'd to his country-house. GROTIUS afterwards made his escape out of the castle where he was confin'd, by the assistance of his wife. It seems he had obtain'd leave for a great trunk of books to be brought to him, which he sent backwards and forwards several times for near a twelvemonth; it was at first very diligently search'd by the guards, but finding nothing but books or linnen, they did not afterwards trouble themselves to look into it as it pass'd; whereupon his wife perswaded him to let her lock him into the trunk, and endeavour to make his escape; and he was accordingly carried off without any suspicion to Gorcum, from whence he got to Antwerp, and afterwards to Paris; where he was highly caress'd by the French King, and allow'd a pension of a thousand crowns per ann. His lady, who was left behind in his apartment, lay upon the bed in her husband's night-gown and cap, pretending he was ill, whereby she prevented any enquiry after him for several days, for which she was in some danger of being condemn'd to perpetual imprisonment; but was at length by a majority of her Judges honourably discharg'd, and follow'd her husband into France, where many other Arminians met with a kind reception, and were allow'd liberty of conscience.

As to the conquests of the Dutch in the East-Indies, and their monopolizing the spices of the east, by dispossessing the Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, of their dominions and settlements in that part of the world, between the years 1600 and 1640, these transactions have been treated of at large in the former volume of this history, when the state of India was treated of.

But it is necessary here to enquire into the original and progress of their West-India company, which we find as well as the former was projected by that great statesman BARNEVELT, tho' their first patent did not bear date, however, 'till two years after his death, in the year 1621, when they were empower'd by the States to plant colonies, erect forts, make alliances, and appoint governours and officers on the continent and islands of America, within the limits prescribed them. And a stock of seven millions two hundred thousand livres was rais'd towards their establishment. In pursuance of their design they fitted out two squadrons, one to drive the Portuguese out of Brazil, and the other

Grotius, &c. condemn'd to perpetual imprisonment.

Escapes to Paris.

The East-India company.

West-India company.



CHAP. other to attack the Spanish settlements in Peru, VI. and took so many prizes in their first expedition, that they were enabled to make a dividend of five and twenty per cent. on their first expedition, anno 1623. In the year 1624, the Dutch Admiral HERMITE defeated a Fleet of Spaniards on the coast of Peru, and took several rich prizes; and his countryman Admiral WILKINS made himself master of the city of St. SALVADOR the same year, bringing home the Viceroy, the Bishop, and several grandees of Portugal prisoners to Holland, and left JOHN VAN DORT governour of St. SALVADOR, and the territories belonging to it, for the Dutch West-India company; but the Portuguese retook the city the year following and cleared the country of Hollanders. The Dutch Admiral PETER ADRIAN, however, in the year 1628, engaged another Spanish Squadron, near the island of Cuba; and having forced most of them on shore, took out all the plate and merchandize, and set fire to the ships, returning laden with the spoils of the enemy to Holland. The Spanish plate-fleet also fell into the hands of PETER HEYN, another of the Dutch Admirals, and were all taken by him, the cargo amounting to seven millions two hundred thousand livres in silver, and three millions six hundred thousand livres in merchandize, and the shipping and artillery were valued at four millions more. On this flow of success the company divided no less than fifty per cent. which was at that time looked upon to be very imprudent by some, considering they were not then masters of any considerable settlement in America, and were engaged in a chargeable war with Spain. In the year 1630, the Dutch equipped a large fleet for Brazil, and made themselves masters of the province of Pernambuco, with the capital city of Olinda. They afterwards extended their conquests over the neighbouring provinces of Tamarica, Pareiba and Rio Grande; and in expectation of conquering the other eight provinces still in possession of the Portuguese, they conferred the dignity of General of Brazil, and the south coast of America, on JOHN MAURICE of Nassau, nearly related to the Prince of Orange, with the same powers as are exercised by the General of the East-Indies at Batavia. Count MAURICE arrived at Brazil on the 23d of January, 1637, with a fleet of thirty two ships and a body of land-forces; and advancing further into the Portuguese settlements, took the fortress of Pavaccaon; and having intelligence that the Portuguese forts on the coast of Africk were but in a weak condition, he detach'd part of the fleet thither, who made themselves masters of the town and castle of St GEORGE de la Mina, and many other places. The Portuguese having shaken off the Spanish yoke, and advanc'd the Duke of Braganza, the heir of their antient

Kings, to the throne in the year 1640; a truce was the following year concluded between the Dutch and Portuguese, whereby a liberty of trade was allowed to both parties; and each possess'd what they were masters of in Brazil and Africk: and for two or three years the truce was tolerably well observed; but Count MAURICE, the Dutch General, returning from Brazil into Holland in the year 1644, the Portuguese, who were settled in the Dutch Brazil, entered into a conspiracy with their countrymen in the provinces still subject to the Portuguese, to extirpate all the Dutch out of Brazil, to which they were provoked by the hostilities committed by the Hollanders in Brazil after the truce, and by their East-India company's falling upon their settlements in India. And tho' the conspiracy was timely discover'd, yet it occasion'd the war to break out afresh between the two nations in Brazil and Africk, as well as in the East-Indies, which ended in the entire expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil, and was fatal to their West-India company; but the acquisitions of the Hollanders in the East-Indies, and on the coast of Africk, made them ample amends for their losses in America. They also made a discovery of a vast tract of land to the southward of the Equinoctial in the East-Indies, extending from the tenth to the thirty-third degree of south latitude, to which they gave the name of New Holland; but what the country produces, and whether peopled or not, they have kept in a great measure conceal'd to this day; some random accounts we have received indeed of a barbarous people that have been seen on those coasts; but the country is generally represented by the Dutch, as yielding scarce any thing worth their notice: the true reason whereof probably is, lest other nations should be tempted to settle there, who might interrupt their spice trade, and perhaps come in for a share of it. And the reason the Hollanders do not send any colonies thither, or endeavour to make settlements on that continent themselves, is certainly because they are already possess'd of a greater extent of country in India, than they know how to govern or preserve; but it is surprizing to all mankind that the English do not send ships to make discoveries on that side, and endeavour to find out other places where cloves and nutmegs may be planted and cultivated, if they do not think fit to endeavour the recovery of those rich islands of Banda and the Moluccoes, which the Dutch treacherously and barbarously deprived them of, and still detain, notwithstanding several solemn treaties wherein they stipulated to deliver them up. I have already given an account of the attempts of the Dutch as well as the English to find out a north-east and north-west passage to the Indies, in which they met with no manner of success, and return.

CHAP. VI.

The Dutch driven out of Brazil.

Their discovery in New Holland.

The Dutch fix themselves in Brazil.



A P. return therefore now to a continuation of the  
VI. history of the Hollanders nearer home, from the  
time of the truce with Spain.

*actions  
Dutch  
Europe  
the  
with* The Dutch had no sooner concluded a truce  
with Spain, but they began to make some other  
Princes of Europe sensible of their power; they  
perfectly bullied the English and Danes out of the  
whale-fishery, compell'd the Danes to lower the  
duties for passing the Sound, took the part of the  
Elector of Brandenburg against the Duke of New-  
burg in their contest concerning the succession of  
the duchy of Juliers, &c. and took several towns  
from the Duke, though assisted by Spain; inter-  
esting themselves in the quarrels of several other  
Princes: and about the year 1619, the Protestants  
of Bohemia and the Catholics of that kingdom  
taking arms against each other, the Dutch en-  
couraged the Protestant party to form themselves  
into a commonwealth; but the Bohemians mak-  
ing choice of the Elector Palatine for their King,  
the Prince of Orange sent a body of troops into  
the Palatinate to his assistance, looking upon the  
establishment of his kinsman the Elector on the  
throne of Bohemia, as a considerable step towards  
the attaining the sovereignty of the Nether-  
lands he had so long aim'd at; but the Emperor  
FERDINAND obtaining a victory over the Elector  
Palatine at Prague, and thereby recovering the  
crown of Bohemia; the Palatine was driven also  
out of his own hereditary dominions in Germany,  
and forced to retire into Holland. And from this  
time, 'tis said, the Prince of Orange began to  
despair of obtaining the dominion of the United  
Provinces; an event, it seems, which was not to  
be compassed without foreign assistance, notwith-  
standing his being possess'd of the affections of the  
people, and having an army of Veterans under his  
command. The Dutch seem'd very averse to-  
wards the making this alteration in their consti-  
tution, when the Prince of Orange begun to dis-  
cover his intention of rendring himself absolute;  
insomuch, that when he came into any of their ci-  
ties, he was not receiv'd with the usual ceremonies  
and acclamations of the people, as formerly; and  
particularly as he went thro' the market-place of  
Gorcum, where crouds of people were assembled,  
not so much as one person moved his hat to him,  
which some imagine he took to heart, and observe  
that he was ever pensive and melancholly afterwards  
to his dying day.

*A plot against  
the Prince.* The truce with Spain expiring, the war be-  
tween the United Provinces and the Spanish Ne-  
therlands was revived and carried on with various  
success, during which a plot was discover'd against  
the life of MAURICE Prince of Orange, which  
was managed chiefly by WILLIAM of Olden  
Barnevelt, youngest son of the famous Pensioner  
BARNEVELT above mentioned, formerly go-  
vernour of Bergenopzoom, a man of a resolute

temper, who was determin'd to revenge his fa-  
ther's death upon the Prince of Orange; and  
drew several persons into the conspiracy, especially  
Arminians, under pretence of recovering their an-  
tient liberties by this means, which he suggested  
had been notoriously invaded of late years in the  
execution of his father, and the heads of their  
party, and imprisoning and banishing others with-  
out any colour of law. Mons. GROENVELD,  
the eldest son of Pensioner BARNEVELT, was  
also earnestly solicited by his brother to be con-  
cerned in the plot; but he refused, and dissuaded  
him from it, which could not however prevent  
GROENVELD's ruin. The design, it seems, was  
to have assassinated the Prince on the road be-  
tween the Hague and Ryswick, whither he often  
used to go in the company of a very few persons;  
and several people were lodged at inns who were  
to be actors in this tragedy, but without arms, to  
avoid suspicion; and a small chest of arms was  
order'd to be carried to a certain place, where  
they were to take them at the time of the intended  
assassination: but one of the conspirators having  
imprudently offer'd a piece of gold to a porter to  
carry the chest to the place design'd, rais'd a sus-  
picion in the fellow; and four seamen about the  
same time discovering to the Prince of Orange  
that they understood there was a design against  
his life, tho' they could not give any particular  
account of the scheme that was laid to take him  
off, the Prince return'd immediately to the Hague,  
and the news of the plot coming to be buzzed a-  
bout, the porter who had the chest imagining it  
contain'd something extraordinary, carried it to a  
magistrate, who upon the opening of it found se-  
veral pair of pistols, poniards, &c. and four per-  
sons being also found at an inn where the chest  
was to have been deliver'd, who could give no  
satisfactory account of themselves, being strictly  
examin'd confess'd the whole matter, and disco-  
ver'd their accomplices: whereupon the conspi-  
rators were soon after apprehended, try'd and exe-  
cuted, and amongst them GROENVELD the  
eldest son of the Pensioner BARNEVELT, and  
several others for not discovering the plot, tho'  
it appear'd GROENVELD dissuaded the conspi-  
rators from the attempt. And as most of the  
criminals were Arminians, this gave occasion to  
their enemies to throw the plot upon the whole  
party, and rais'd a fresh persecution against them,  
especially against their Ministers, those of them  
who remain'd in the country being either impri-  
son'd or banish'd: whereupon several able pens  
were drawn in defence of the Arminian cause,  
and among the rest, that of the celebrated GRO-  
TIUS, who endeavour'd to expose the practices  
of the Synod of Dort, and the illegal sentence of  
the judges who condemned OLDBN BARNE-  
VELT to death; which treatise was censured by  
the



**CHAP.** the States, and a great sum of money offer'd to  
**VI.** any one who would bring the head of **GROTIUS** alive or dead ; but he being under the protection of **LEWIS XIII**, despised their menaces. These severe proceedings, however, occasion'd great murmurings in Holland, especially at Rotterdam, and other towns, where the States found themselves obliged to keep strong garrisons to prevent insurrections. At the same time the State was engaged in a desperate war with the Spaniards and Imperialists, and had they not been supported both by the French and English with forces and treasure, their country would have been in great danger of falling under the power of the Spaniard again. The year 1625 was fatal both to their allie King **JAMES I**, and their Stadtholder **MAURICE** Prince of Orange ; the first of them died on the 27th of March, and the latter on the 23d of April, in the 58th year of age, and was buried at Delf, near his father Prince **WILLIAM**. He is generally esteem'd a great Soldier, and the best Engineer of his age ; but this excellency lay in managing a defensive rather than an offensive war. He does not seem to me to be of a very enterprising genius. The great successes the Dutch met with during his Stadtholdership were at sea, and in the East-Indies, to which they are much more indebted to the administration of **OLDEN BARNEVELT**, and to their Admirals, than to him.

The death  
of Prince  
Maurice.

Succeeded by  
his brother  
Frederick-  
Henry.

Upon the death of Prince **MAURICE** the five provinces of Gueldres, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Overijssel, chose his brother **FREDERICK-HENRY** their Stadtholder, Captain-General and Admiral, and each of them also declared him their particular Governour ; but the province of Groningen chose Count **ERNEST CASIMIR** of Nassau, (who was before Stadtholder of Friesland, and Lieutenant to Prince **MAURICE** in Groningen) their Stadtholder.

Prince **FREDERICK-HENRY I**, who became Prince of Orange on the death of his brother ; by which title I shall therefore generally speak of him for the future ; hoping to signalize himself at the entrance of his government, made an attempt to relieve Breda, at that time besieged by the Spaniards, but did not succeed, and was forced to be a witness of the surrender of that important place in June following.

The Arminians, who had been long oppressed by the opposite faction, found some ease under the administration of the new Prince of Orange, who upon several occasions gave evident proofs of his inclinations towards them ; however, lest he should disoblige the States General, he did not think fit to do any thing further for them at this juncture, than to put a stop to the persecution of them, and declare himself favourably in respect of **GROTIUS**, then at Paris. But the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, it seems, about

this time invited the Arminians to settle in their respective dominions. Those who went to Sweden generally fix'd themselves at Gottenburg near the Sound, as those who were invited to Denmark did at Gluckstat near the mouth of the Elbe ; but none gave them greater encouragement than **FREDERICK** Duke of Holstein, who some years before assign'd them a large tract of land on the banks of the river Eyder, where they founded a city, to which they gave the name of Frederickstadt, in memory of their great benefactor ; and the Duke conferr'd on them the privilege of choosing their own Magistrates, and many other immunities.

In the year 1627, the Prince of Orange took the city of Groll, situate on the confines of Zutphen and the bishoprick of Munster, from whence the Spaniards used to levy large contributions out of the provinces of Overijssel, Groningen and Gueldres ; but the conquest of this place render'd the Dutch secure on that side.

The intestine divisions between the Gomarists and Arminians were not yet entirely quieted, for the common people of Amsterdam raised an insurrection against the Magistrates under pretence of their being Arminians, notwithstanding they conform'd outwardly with their establish'd Presbyterian church ; but the Prince of Orange prevail'd with the States General to send a body of forces to suppress the tumult, and make an act of State, that the people should pay obedience to their Magistrates without regard to their opinions in religious matters. In the year 1629 the Prince of Orange, with the assistance of the French and English, besieged and took Hertogenbosch, or *Boisleduc*, one of the most considerable cities on the confines of Brabant, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Spaniards and Imperialists for its preservation. This success of the Prince of Orange had such an influence on the States, that in the year 1631 they declared his Son **WILLIAM**, then about five years of age, successor to him in all his offices and dignities ; and the same year the States enter'd into an alliance with the famous **GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS**, King of Sweden, against the house of Austria, and the Roman catholick party in Germany. In the year 1632, the Prince of Orange took Venlo and Ruremond in Guelderland, from the Spaniards ; in the siege of which last place, Count **ERNEST CASIMIR**, Stadtholder of Friesland, was kill'd by a musketball ; and the States General, in gratitude for the services done by his father, declared his son **HENRY-ERNEST** hereditary Stadtholder of the provinces of Friesland and Groningen. The same year the Prince of Orange took the large and strong city of Maestricht, situate on the Maes, in the bishoprick of Liege, but belonging to Brabant, after an obstinate siege of two months and upwards,

Boisleduc taken by the Dutch.

Venlo and Ruremond taken.

Maestricht taken.



A P. upwards, during which time the Spaniards and Imperialists often attempted to relieve it : and the loss of this place was follow'd by that of Limburg and Orfoy before the end of the campaign. The next year, 1633, he reduced the fortress of Rhineberg, situate on the Rhine between Wesel and Orfoy ; and soon after Fort Philip near Sas van Ghent in Flanders : but the Spaniards making great preparations for the retaking these places, the Dutch enter'd into an offensive alliance with the French in the year 1634, wherein they made a partition of the Spanish Netherlands (when they should be conquer'd), and it was agreed, that the provinces of Luxemburg, Namur, Hainault, Cambray, and most part of Artois, should belong to the French ; and the residue of the Spanish Netherlands to the Dutch. The French King soon after commanded the Marshal CHATILLON, brother-in-law to Cardinal RICHLIEU, to join the Prince of Orange in Brabant with twenty thousand foot and seven thousand horse ; and the Spaniards marching to prevent this conjunction, were defeated by the French near the village of Avein in Luxemburg. CHATILLON afterwards continuing his march towards Maastricht, there joined the army of the States, forming together a body of fifty thousand men, of whom the Prince of Orange was Generalissimo by the treaty ; but the Dutch on second thoughts being jealous that if the French should once become their next neighbours, by being possess'd of that part of the Spanish Netherlands above-mention'd, their state would be in a more dangerous condition from them than it was at present from the Spaniard ; and the Prince of Orange at the same time entertaining a particular pique against Cardinal RICHLIEU, the prime Minister at the court of France, on account of his endeavouring to surprize the city of Orange ; this alliance with France came to nothing : for the Prince of Orange declined entering upon any considerable action this campaign, and by marches and countermarches, and want of necessary provisions, so harass'd and distress'd the French troops, that of a gallant army of near thirty thousand men which came out of France into the Netherlands, scarce four thousand return'd, tho' there had not been any considerable enterprize undertaken. Notwithstanding which, Cardinal RICHLIEU finding himself surrounded with abundance of domestick enemies, and standing in need of the alliance of the States-General, was obliged to stifle his resentments, and enter into a new treaty with the Dutch, whereby he stipulated to pay them two millions of livres per annum, and fifteen hundred thousand more towards the charges of the next campaign ; and in order to regain the good opinion of the Prince of Orange, he order'd the French Am-

bassador at the Hague to give him the title of his Highness whenever he address'd himself to him, which the Prince and his posterity ever after retain'd, having before no other title than that of his Excellency. And thus a good harmony being establish'd between the Cardinal and the Prince, preparations were made for a vigorous campaign anno 1637, in which the Prince of Orange retook the city of Breda ; but on the other hand the Spaniards made themselves masters of Venlo and Ruremond again. The year 1638 proved disadvantageous to the Dutch, who had the worst of it in several engagements, but there happen'd no decisive battle. In the following year 1639, their successes against the Spanish Armada, which they destroy'd upon the coast of England, is almost incredible. The Spaniards, it seems, at the instance of the Emperor FERDINAND III, had agreed to fit out a powerful fleet of men of war, to join the Danes against the Swedes, whereby they hoped to make a considerable diversion, and thereby compel the Swedes to withdraw their forces out of the Empire, which they had long harass'd ; but first the Spaniards proposed to touch on the coast of Zealand, to give some countenance to their forces in the Netherlands. Accordingly the Spanish Admiral Don ANTONIO DE OQUENDO sail'd from the Groine with sixty-seven men of war, and twenty thousand men, in the month of July, and was to be join'd by fourteen sail more from Dunkirk ; of which the Dutch having received intelligence, and imagining by the extraordinary preparations that were making at Dunkirk, that the chief design of the Spaniards was against their coasts, they order'd Vice-Admiral TROMP to observe their motions, who fell in with one of their squadrons separated from the rest near Dunkirk, on the sixteenth of September at night, which he engaged with that fury that he entirely dispersed them ; but the Spanish Admiral bearing down to their assistance the next morning, boarded the Dutch Admiral, where he was so warmly received, that he was glad to quit him again, and being pursued by TROMP, was sunk with a thousand men on board, after which the fleets were parted by a fog : but the Dutch being join'd by eleven men of war the same evening, fell upon the Spaniards again at midnight, and compell'd them to fly to the Downs on the English coast, where then lay thirty English men of war, who took the Spanish fleet into their protection, there being at that time an alliance between the Kings of Great Britain and Spain, of which TROMP complain'd to the British court ; whereupon King CHARLES I, who was at this time engaged in a war with his Scottish Subjects, who had broke out into rebellion, and having reason to expect an insurrection in England,

CHAP. VI.

Breda retaken by the Dutch, and Venlo and Ruremond by the Spaniards.

Victory of the Dutch over the Spanish Armada in the Downs.



CHAP. England, determined not to break with the States,  
VI. but order'd his Admiral to forbear all hostilities a-  
gainst the Dutch.

TROMP afterwards receiving a powerful reinforcement, resolved to attack the Spaniards again, and even the English, 'tis said, if they persisted in protecting the enemy in the Downs. The Spaniards therefore finding they were to expect no assistance from the English fleet, took the opportunity of a thick fog in order to return home; but TROMP had intelligence of it, and overtook them with near an hundred men of war, whereupon there happen'd a smart engagement between the two fleets, and most of the Spanish ships were burnt, sunk or taken; a great Portuguese galleon particularly, of fourteen hundred tons and eighty guns was destroy'd, with eight hundred men on board, most of them gentlemen, and about twenty ships more run on shore in the Downs; and of the whole Spanish fleet not more than eight escaped into Dunkirk. The common people in England it seems had a notion, that this Armada was design'd against their own country, and were not displeased therefore to see it destroy'd: and perhaps King CHARLES found it would alarm his subjects, already sufficiently discontented, if he should permit the English fleet to take their part; or surely he would never have suffer'd the Dutch to have fallen upon them in our roads, an indignity that ought never to have been borne but in such circumstances as his Majesty was at this time. The Dutch lost but two ships and about fourscore men in the engagement, which plainly shews that they were better seamen even at that time than the Spaniards, for the Spanish fleet was deem'd at least equal to theirs in force and number of guns; but however that be, certain it is, TROMP gain'd immortal honour by the victory, and the Spaniards have never since made any figure at sea.

Arras taken  
by the  
French.

The son of  
the Prince of  
Orange mar-  
ried to the  
Princess  
Royal of  
England.

The French and Dutch acting in separate bodies anno 1640, as had been agreed, the Prince of Orange sat down before Damme, a city five miles from Bruges; but meeting with greater difficulties than he expected, was compell'd to raise the siege. The French had better success before Arras, the capital of Artois, which they took this campaign after a siege of two months. Count HENRY-ERNEST of Nassau, Governour of Friezeland, being killed in an engagement with the Spaniards, was succeeded in that province by his brother WILLIAM-FREDERICK; but the Prince of Orange, Stadtholder of the other provinces, was chosen Governour of Groningen and the Omlands; and the following year, 1641, the Prince of Orange married his son WILLIAM, being then fifteen years of age, to the Princess MARY, daughter to CHARLES I, King of Great Britain, and the young Prince go-

ing over into England, the marriage was consum-  
mated there on the second of May. The same  
year the Dutch had the good fortune to take the  
strong fortress of Gennepe, situate on the river  
Niers: as the French did the cities of Aire, Lens  
and Bapaume, in the province of Artois; but  
Aire was re-taken not long after by the Spa-  
niards.

Gennepe  
taken by  
Dutch.  
Aire and  
Lens by  
French.

In the year 1642 died the famous Cardinal RICHIEU, who had long supported the Dutch against Spain, and assisted them in humbling the house of Austria. And the following year his Master LEWIS XIII died, which did not however make any alteration in the measures of the French ministry, who enter'd into a stricter alliance with the United Provinces than ever; wherein the French agreed to give the States the title of High and Mighty, to furnish them with twelve hundred thousand livres, and to attack some considerable places on the coast of Flanders. In consideration whereof, the States engaged to have forty men of war on that coast to support their land-forces; and not to make peace with Spain without the concurrence of France.

In pursuance of which treaty the French laid siege to Graveling, while Admiral TROMP block'd it up by sea, and the place surrendred about two months after. On the other hand, the Prince of Orange made himself master of the strong fortress of Sas van Ghent the same campaign. And thus the French and Dutch went on, enlarging their respective frontiers at the expence of the miserable Spaniard: but the French made the most considerable advances, for in the Campaign of 1645, the French took Mardick, Bourbourg, Bethune and Armentiers, while the Prince of Orange was repuls'd in an attempt he made upon Antwerp; but he had the good fortune however before the end of the year to make himself master of Hulst in Flanders, the capital of the country of Waes.

Graveling  
taken by  
the French.

Sas van  
Ghent  
taken  
by the  
Dutch.

Mardick  
Bethune,  
&c. taken  
by the  
French.

Hulst taken  
by the  
Dutch.

The Prince of Orange in the year 1646 renew'd his design against Antwerp; and being join'd by six thousand French, was marching to invest it, when he was seized with an apoplexy, which disorder'd his understanding; and the Hollanders apprehending if this city were taken and made part of their State, the antient trade might be revived there to the disadvantage of Amsterdam, march'd back again without attempting any thing against that city.

In the mean time the French besieged and took Dunkirk, by the assistance of the Dutch fleet, which block'd up the harbour; of which they have since had sufficient reason to repent, it having been made a nest of privateers, from whence they have been infested in all their wars with France.

Dunkirk  
taken by  
the French.

In the spring following, viz. on the 14th of  
March

Prince of  
Orange died.



HAP. VI. March 1648, the Prince of Orange died, in the 67th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son WILLIAM the second, in the Stadtholdership of the six provinces which his father held; upon whose accession the States address'd themselves to him, intreating that he would contribute his utmost towards the conclusion of the peace of Munster, which was now negotiating, and not adhere too strictly to the interest of France, of whom they began to be very jealous since the conquests they had made in Flanders, and the rest of the Spanish provinces: and notwithstanding their engagements with that crown, they concluded a separate peace with Spain at Munster, in the year 1648; the principal conditions whereof were,

*An Abstract of the Treaty of Munster.*

THAT the King of Spain should acknowledge the Lords the States General of the United Provinces with their provinces, towns, lands, and appurtenances, sovereign States, provinces and countries: upon which he or his successors would not for the future make any claim or pretence. That each party should keep and enjoy the countries, towns, places and lordships in their respective possessions, with their dependencies and appurtenances. Whereby the Dutch were to enjoy Boisseduc, with the lordships, towns and villages thereto belonging; the town and marquisate of Bergen op Zoom; the town and barony of Breda, the town of Maestricht, and the district thereto belonging; the county of Groenloft, the town of Grave; the country of Luickhulst, and bailiwick of Hulst and Hulster Ambacht; and all the forts the States were possess'd of in the country of Waes, with their dependencies and appurtenances: as also all such other places as the States then held in Brabant or Flanders, with all right of sovereignty, in the same manner as they held the United Provinces. The States were also to retain all they possess'd in the East and West-Indies, Asia, Africa, or America. And the Spaniards were to continue their navigation to the East-Indies in the same manner they then did; but not to extend themselves on that side: and each party, both in the East and West-Indies, were to abstain from the navigation and trade of such places and countries as belong'd to the other. That the river Scheld, and the channels of the Sas and Swyn, and other entrances into the Sea thereabouts, should remain in the possession of the States, who might lay what duties they saw fit on vessels passing that way, and on goods going in and out of the harbours in Flanders. And the Dutch also were to have the customs of all goods passing thro' their country by the Rhine or Maes. It was also agreed, that no new Forts should be erected in the Low Countries on either side, and

that on the part of the King of Spain should be demolish'd near Sluice, the Forts of St JOB, St. DONAT, the Star Fort, the Fort TERESE, St. FREDERICK, St. ISABELLA, and St. PAUL; and on the side of the States, the two Forts in the island of Leafant, call'd ORANGE and FREDERICK; the two forts De Pas on the east side the river Scheld, and the Fort of Kieldrecht call'd Spinola.

The United Provinces now enjoying a profound peace, propos'd to make a reduction of their forces, which met with great opposition from those of the Prince of Orange's party, apprehending it would tend to the lessening his authority and influence; which was indeed the very reason that the other side were zealous for it, remembering the attempts that his uncle Prince MAURICE had made to obtain the sovereignty: an act of State therefore being drawn up for disbanding part of the army, the Prince labour'd with all his might to get the matter debated in another assembly; but the deputies who were for it following the advice of CORNELIUS BICKER, Burghomaster of Amsterdam, left the Hague abruptly, and thereby defeated all his stratagems. Hereupon it was propos'd by some of the Deputies of his party who remain'd at the Hague, that he should visit the cities of Holland in person, who were most averse to it, in order to obtain their consent for keeping up the army; but the province of Holland protested against this expedient as an encroachment on their liberties, and the city of Amsterdam in particular desired him to forbear coming thither; at which he was so exasperated, that he exhibited a complaint to the States General against that city, demanding satisfaction for the affront put upon him; in answer to which they publish'd a Manifesto justifying their conduct: but the Prince determining to be revenged on that proud city, sent orders for a great body of troops to assemble and invest it. He also imprison'd JOHN DE WITT the Pensionary, and five others of the province of Holland, whom he apprehended most averse to his designs, in the castle of Loevestein, from whence they were call'd the Loevestein Faction. The Prince's orders were executed with that secrecy, that the Amsterdammers had not any intimation of the march of the army to attack them, till the Hamburgh post-boy brought them notice there was a body of horse advancing towards them, the very morning the town was to have been invested; and had it not been for the rains and the darkness of the night, whereby some of the forces lost their way, and did not come in time to the appointed rendezvous, the city had been surrounded before they had received the least intelligence of his intentions; but having had time to put themselves in

A contest between the Prince of Orange and the States.

The Prince sends a body of troops to invest Amsterdam.



CHAP. a posture of defence, they sent to the Prince to  
 VI. know the reason of his approaching in that hostile  
 manner; and he insisting that the Burghomaster  
 BICKER should be deliver'd up and punish'd, they  
 took the opportunity while the conferences about  
 it continued, to open their sluices and drown their  
 country, so that it was now become impracticable for  
 his army to attack the place. The citizens, how-  
 ever, being desirous to remove so formidable a force  
 from their gates, and to procure the liberty of  
 DE WIRT, and the rest of their friends, whom  
 the Prince had imprison'd in the castle of Loe-  
 vestein, agreed at length to displace Burghomaster  
 BICKER, and his Highness, on the other hand,  
 consented to release the prisoners and withdraw  
 his troops, but could not help however discover-  
 ing his concern for the disappointment; and while  
 he was meditating which way to repair the dis-  
 grace, was taken ill of the small-pox at the  
 Hague, on the 29th of October 1650, and died  
 on the 6th of November following, contrary to the  
 opinion of his physicians, who declared him to be  
 out of danger; from whence it was afterwards sur-  
 mized that he was poison'd with a draught of Li-  
 monade: but however that matter was, certain it is  
 he was become very terrible to the republick; and  
 the late hostile attempt upon Amsterdam render'd  
 his death the less regretted; some of the Clergy  
 in their pulpits went so far as to ascribe it to  
 the just judgment of God, and some medals were  
 struck reflecting on his memory, among which  
 one represented the precipitate fall of PHAETON,  
 with those words in Ovid, *Magnis tamen excidit  
 ausis*. About a week after the death of WIL-  
 LIAM II, his son WILLIAM III was born, af-  
 terwards Stadtholder of the United Provinces,  
 and King of Great Britain, which gave great joy  
 to the Princess and the family of Orange, who  
 were before overwhelm'd with grief for the loss  
 of the late Prince, their great support, in the  
 flower of his age. Two days after the Betawe  
 and Velawe, and Utrecht, were good part of them  
 overflow'd by the breaking of the dikes of the  
 Yssel, &c. The sea also broke in upon North  
 Holland with a terrible inundation, and destroy'd  
 incredible quantities of merchandize, even in Am-  
 sterдам it self; so that however they might re-  
 joice at the death of the Prince of Orange, they  
 had reason to mourn for the calamities which soon  
 after beset them.

The office  
 of Stadthol-  
 der abo-  
 lish'd.

Upon the death of the Prince of Orange the  
 province of Groningen chose the hereditary Prince  
 of Friezeland, WILLIAM-FREDERICK of Nas-  
 sau, their Governour; but the other five pro-  
 vinces elected no particular Governour: and the  
 States General resolv'd to have no Stadtholder,  
 Captain-General, or Admiral, for the future;  
 and enter'd into a new union, whereby they  
 settled the sovereignty of the particular provin-

ces, declaring against the innovations of Prince CHA-  
 MAURICE and his successors, who had endea- VI.  
 vour'd to make every province subject to the  
 States General, or rather to themselves. Then  
 they publish'd a general toleration of all religi-  
 ons, excluding however from publick employ-  
 ments all who did not make a publick profession  
 of Calvinism. The five Gentlemen imprison'd  
 by the late Prince of Orange in the castle of  
 Loevestein, were set at liberty, and with Bur-  
 ghomaster BICKER restored to their offices and  
 dignities, and the proceedings against them de-  
 clared illegal and void. They also changed the  
 magistrates in many places, supplying their rooms  
 with such as were not well-affected to the house of  
 Orange, and disbanded good part of the army.

England, after the murder of King CHARLES I, The con-  
 anno 1648, was under the dominion of a Com- duct of the  
 monwealth in appearance, but really subject to States in  
 CROMWEL, who had usurp'd the supreme autho- relation to  
 rity, and driven King CHARLES II, and his King  
 brother the Duke of York into Holland, where Charles II,  
 they were well received by their brother and sister, and the  
 the Prince and Princess of Orange, at the Hague: Royal fami-  
 the States, in the mean time, gave frequent inti- ly.  
 mations that their residing in Holland would be  
 very inconvenient in their present circumstances;  
 and it was with some difficulty the Prince of O-  
 range prevented their sending them a message to  
 remove out of their territories. About the same  
 time Dr. DORISLAUS, one of the English regi- Dorislaus,  
 cides, coming as Envoy to the Hague, to propose Envoy from  
 an alliance between the two republicks, while he the English  
 was at supper in his house with some company, parliament  
 six or seven Gentlemen of North-Britain enter'd kill'd.  
 the room with their swords drawn, and WHIT-  
 FORD, one of them, dragging DORISLAUS from  
 the table, stabb'd him to the heart, saying, *Thus  
 dies one of the regicides*; then the Gentlemen put-  
 ting up their swords, walk'd quietly out of the  
 room, leaving the rest of the company in the  
 utmost consternation. This accident made the  
 Dutch still more uneasy, lest CROMWEL should  
 demand satisfaction, and occasion the removal of  
 King CHARLES from the Hague soon after; and  
 the death of the Prince of Orange, which hap-  
 pen'd about the same time, gave but small en-  
 couragement to hope for his Majesty's restoration  
 from that quarter. The year following, anno.  
 1651, the Commonwealth of England, as they  
 were call'd, sent over their Chief Justice ST.  
 JOHN and Mr. WALTER STRICKLAND as  
 their Ambassadors to the States, attended by two  
 hundred Gentlemen and a magnificent equipage,  
 to propose an offensive and defensive alliance be-  
 tween the two Commonwealths; who were re-  
 ceived with all imaginable respect by the States,  
 but were however frequently affronted and assault-  
 ed by the mob, who, notwithstanding a strong  
 guard



H A P. VI.

John  
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use of navi-  
gation.

guard constantly attended them, often broke their windows and pelted their servants with dirt and stones, crying out, *Long live King CHARLES and the Prince of Orange*. ST. JOHN also meeting the then Duke of York in the walks of the Voorhout at the Hague, and refusing to give him the way, or salute him, the Duke pull'd off his hat and told him, he ought to be taught to pay more respect to the King's brother: to which the Ambassador answering, that he knew no other Sovereign than the parliament of England, and reflecting grossly on the royal family, the Duke's attendants attack'd the Ambassador and his servants sword in hand, and being supported by most of the Gentlemen then in the walks, the Ambassador was obliged to retire with his people into his house. The States who pretended to remain neutrals between the King and Parliament of England, desired the Duke to retire from the Hague to a country-seat of his sister's, the Princess dowager of Orange, at Honslaerdike: after which they sent a deputation to the English Ambassadors, to express their concern for what had happen'd, and to assure them, that if any of their subjects had affronted them they should be punish'd with the utmost rigour: but ST. JOHN it seems was not to be appeased, and represented matters in such a manner to his masters, that they were soon after recalled. At their return it was proposed in the parliament to endeavour to prevent the mighty growth of the Dutch trade and advance their own by all possible means; the first attempt towards which, was by drawing up an act, since call'd the Act of Navigation, whereby foreigners were prohibited importing any merchandize into England which was not of their own growth; which affected Holland more than any other country, because the produce of that country is exceeding small, and one of their greatest advantages at that time consisted in their being the common carriers of Europe; and under colour of this law also the English frequently took an opportunity of searching the Dutch ships and making prize of them. The States hereupon sent over four Ambassadors to England, to expostulate with that remnant of a parliament, who were answered with the following demands: 1. That they should pay the arrears of tribute due for fishing on the English coast. 2. That they should restore the Spice-islands they had taken in the East-Indies. 3. That those who had assisted in the murder of the English at Amboyna and Banda, should be brought to justice. 4. That satisfaction should be given for the murder of DORISLAUS the English Envoy. And, 5. Reparation made for the damages sustain'd by the English in Russia, Greenland, &c. by the Dutch encroachments, to an immense sum. From these demands the States concluding that nothing less

than a war was intended, gave orders for fitting out a great fleet of men of war: the English Parliament, on the other hand, never imagining that the Dutch durst enter into a war with them, fitted out only the usual Squadron for the guard of the coast, giving their Admiral no particular instructions in case of a rupture. The admiralty of Holland, in the mean time, had order'd VAN TROMP with a fleet of forty two men of war to sail over to the English coast, and not to strike sail to that nation as he used to do. This Admiral accordingly in the month of May 1652, coming into Dover road, met with Admiral BLAKE, and a Squadron of twenty-six men of war there under his command, who perceiving the Dutch did not strike sail as usual, gave them three guns; whereupon TROMP hung out a red flag, and bore down directly to the English Admiral, giving him a broad-side, which being return'd, an obstinate fight began, that lasted till night parted them. On the Dutch side was one ship taken and another sunk: the English had a great many men killed and wounded, but lost no ship or officer of note, tho' the Hollanders pretended there were two English ships sunk and six taken; however, certain it is, BLAKE did not think fit to renew the fight the day following on so great odds, but retired in order to refit and reinforce his Squadron.

The States soon after sent an embassy to England, to assure the Parliament that the late engagement between the two fleets was without their knowledge, and contrary to their intentions, and begg'd of them, as they profess'd the same religion and love of liberty, they would enter into a treaty, in order to heal this bleeding wound, and avoid the further effusion of blood. To which the Parliament answered, That the extraordinary preparations the Dutch had made of a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail without any apparent necessity, and the instructions they had given to their sea-officers, gave too much cause to believe they design'd to usurp from the English the dominion of the sea; they thought themselves obliged therefore to endeavour, by GOD's assistance, to obtain reparation for the injuries and damages they had received: and having return'd this answer, immediately order'd BLAKE to sail northward and attack their fishing-busses, guarded by twelve sail of men of war, most of which he took and brought home as good prize. And Sir GEORGE ASCOUGH being sent with another Squadron to the southward, meeting with a fleet of Dutch merchant-men between Dover and Calais, took or destroy'd most of them; and afterwards standing westward, fell in with a fleet of sixty of the enemy's men of war, and thirty merchant-men near Plymouth, with whom he maintain'd a fight till night parted them, though

CHAP. VI.

The first  
sea-fight.



**CHAP. VI.** he had but thirty sail of men of war with him; but being damaged in his rigging, he could not come up with them the next day. However, these attempts struck such a terror into the Dutch, that for the future they chose generally to sail north about, rather than to run the hazard of being taken in the English channel; and notwithstanding all their precaution they lost six East-India ships, valued at four millions of livres, thirty-five more of their Portugal fleet, and many other vessels. King **CHARLES II** being now at Paris, and finding the English and Dutch republicks were come to an open rupture, made an offer to the Dutch Ambassador to join his interest with theirs, and go in person on board their fleet; but the Dutch resolving to clap up a peace with England, and apprehending the King's appearing among them might prove an impediment to it, refused the generous proposal. **VAN TROMP** about this time resigning the command of the Dutch fleet upon some disgust, **DE WITT** succeeded him, who with **DE RUYTER** appearing at the head of the Dutch grand fleet on the coast of Kent, were attack'd by **BLAKE** on the 28th of October; in which engagement the Rear-Admiral of the States was boarded and taken, two more of their men of war sunk, and a fourth blown up; whereupon the Dutch thought fit to retire, and were pursued to their own coasts. In the mean time a squadron of English men of war in the Mediterranean, consisting of five or six sail, were attack'd by sixteen Dutch, under the command of **VAN GALEN**, and forc'd to retire into the port of Leghorn for protection, having lost the Phoenix, one of their number; on which occasion the Hollanders triumphed as for a signal victory.

King Charles II offers to go on board the Dutch fleet.

Another engagement.

A third sea-fight between the English and Dutch.

In this war the Swedes declared for the English, and the Danes for the United Provinces; and the Danes engaged to send twenty men of war to the assistance of their allies, in case **VAN TROMP** was restored to his command; which being readily comply'd with by the States, that Admiral put to sea with eighty men of war and two fire-ships, and meeting **BLAKE** in the Downs, with between forty and fifty sail, a terrible engagement ensued on the 29th of November 1652; but the English being overpower'd, were at length compell'd to retire, with the loss of two ships taken, three sunk, and one burnt; and of the Dutch only one of their flag-ships was blown up. After which **TROMP**, in contempt of the naval power of England, rode with a broom at his top-mast head, shewing that he could sweep the channel of them. But this triumph was short-liv'd, for on the 18th of February following, the English grand fleet, commanded by **BLAKE**, **DEAN** and **MONK**, consisting of eighty sail, lying extended cross the channel over against Port-

land, to wait for **TROMP**, who was convoying home three hundred sail of merchant-ships with seventy-six men of war; the English Scouts discover'd the Dutch fleet on the 18th of February by break of day, whereupon another bloody battle was fought, which lasted three days: **VAN TROMP** on the third interposing between the English fleet and his merchant-ships, maintain'd a running fight till he recover'd the coast of Holland; having lost in the engagement eleven men of war and thirty merchants: there being but one ship lost on the English side. On the 2d of June 1653, there happen'd another engagement between Dover and Calais, when the English fleet, consisting of an hundred sail, was commanded by **MONK** and **DEAN**, who were both on board one ship: the Dutch fleet consisted of upwards of an hundred sail, and were commanded by **TROMP**, **DE WITT**, **DE RUYTER**, and the two **EVERTSONS**. It was about noon when the engagement began, and at the first broad-side Admiral **DEAN** was shot in two by a cannon-ball as he stood by **MONK**, who without being discouraged cover'd the body with his cloak, and then maintain'd the fight with great bravery, and before evening the Dutch bore away before the wind. The next morning, there being but little wind, the English could not come up with the Hollanders before noon, when the fight began afresh, and the Dutch were put into the utmost confusion; **TROMP** sent his boat aboard some ships, and fired at others, to oblige them to come into the line; but all to no purpose; he found himself obliged to retreat to their own flats, where there was no following them. In this engagement eleven Dutch ships were taken, six sunk, and two blown up; with very little loss on the English side.

A fourth sea-fight.

Fifth sea-fight.

Sixth sea-fight.

The Dutch, notwithstanding this defeat, fitted out a fleet of an hundred and five and twenty men of war within a little more than a month, commanded by **TROMP**, who meeting the English fleet upon the coast of Holland commanded by **MONK**, another famous engagement ensued, on the 29th of July, wherein **MONK** order'd his Captains neither to give or take quarter, which made this battle more bloody than any of the former: the famous **VAN TROMP**, the glory of the Dutch nation, as he is stiled by some writers, was shot with a musket-bullet as he stood on the quarter-deck with his sword drawn, encouraging his men; and seven and twenty Dutch men of war were sunk and burnt, but none taken, which was occasion'd by **MONK**'s orders to give no quarter. **DE WITT** taking upon him the command after the death of **TROMP**, and having maintain'd the fight till evening, the Dutch retired into their harbours. The English had a bundance of men kill'd and wounded in the en-



VI. A.P. engagement; but lost only one ship, and had two or three more disabled.

The Dutch, discouraged by the defeat of their fleet, and the loss of their Admiral, but more by the losses they suffer'd in their foreign trade, for it seems the English had taken in this short war no less than seven hundred sail of ships; sent orders to their Plenipotentiaries, who were already treating with CROMWEL at London, to hasten the conclusion of the peace almost upon any terms; to which they were moved also by frequent insurrections at home, and the suggestions of the Orange party, who perpetually insinuated that these misfortunes were occasion'd by their not having a Stadtholder. CROMWEL, though he had formerly vow'd the destruction of this State, began now to hearken to the proposals made him, in hopes the States might be assistant to him in maintaining his usurp'd sovereignty; for he had dispersed the remains of the long parliament, and taken upon him perfectly to new-model the constitution. Both parties therefore having their particular views in promoting a peace, the treaty was brought to a conclusion in April 1654, by which the Dutch renounced King CHARLES's interest, engaged to strike to the English at sea, and to bring such of their subjects to justice as had been concerned in the barbarities at Amboyna, if there were any of them living, and to make reparation for all the damages the English had sustained by their means in their foreign trade for thirty years past. CROMWEL also demanded that the States should exclude the Prince of Orange, grandson of King CHARLES I, and all his posterity, from being Stadtholders, or Governors of any particular province, city or fort; as also from being Admirals, Vice-Admirals, or even Captains of men of-war; which the States at length agreed to, under this limitation only, that this exclusion should extend only to such of the Prince of Orange's posterity, as should be lineally descended from the daughter of the late King CHARLES I; and that this should be a private article, and not inserted in the general treaty. About this time JOHN DE WITT, son of DE WITT the Burghmaster of Dort (who had been imprison'd in the castle of Loevestein by the late Prince of Orange) and his brother CORNELIUS DE WITT, began to grow very popular, and the one being Pensionary of Holland, and the other High Bailiff of Putten, they had the chief direction of this State during the minority of the Prince of Orange, WILLIAM III. These gentlemen were so very cautious of retaining any office in the commonwealth that might have the least resemblance to that of Captain-General, that they suppress'd even that of Field-Marshal, and kept no other General Officers in their pay but Count MAURICE of Nassau in quality of Lieute-

nant-General, and the Rhinegrave as Major-General of the horse; and if a body of troops was assembled on any occasion, they were usually commanded by the eldest Colonel.

CROMWEL, encouraged by the condescensions the States had already made, proposed to them an union between the two commonwealths under one form of government; but the cautious Hollander foreseeing that CROMWEL would have the direction of the whole, and probably in the end assume the dominion of both countries, rejected the proposal. He then offer'd to enter into a league offensive and defensive with them against the church of Rome; to which they answer'd, their business was traffick, and they must endeavour to live peaceably with all the world if possible: whereupon CROMWEL upbraided them with preferring their temporal interest before the advancement of the Protestant religion, and the destruction of Popery. But after all, few will believe that CROMWEL's religion put him upon making this proposal; how much soever he might pretend to an excess of piety, he had some temporal interest in view. If he had seen himself at the head of a Protestant league, there is no doubt but under the colour of advancing the kingdom of Christ, he would have advanc'd his own dominion over most of the kingdoms of Europe; and this that subtle people could not but be sensible of; the sham pretences of religion to cover a roguish project they were sufficiently instructed in, and were not to be caught in the same snare they had so often laid for others.

The war was no sooner ended between England and Holland, but the Dutch being jealous of the growing power of the Swedes in the Baltick, incited the King of Denmark to enter into a new war with them: they also took upon them the protection of Dantzick, then insulted by the Swedes, with which city they carried on a vast trade, and sending a fleet of men of-war thither with land-forces on board, compell'd the Swede to accept of such terms as they were pleased to prescribe. After which a new war breaking out between the Danes and Swedes, and the Danes proving unsuccessful, the Dutch sent another fleet to their assistance, with which they defeated the Swedes at sea, and relieved Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, which was then closely besieged; in which engagement, however, the Dutch lost two of their Admirals. The reason the Dutch gave for interposing in this war was, lest the Swedes should make themselves masters of both shores of the sound, and thereby render their trade to the Baltick precarious.

In the mean time, a kind of civil war broke out in the United Provinces. At Tergoes in Zeeland there happen'd an insurrection of the populace, and in Groningen another: and in the province.

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Cromwel proposes an union between the Republicks of England and Holland.

The Dutch assist the Danes against the Swedes.

Civil war in the United Provinces.



CHAP. V. province of Overijssel the cities of Campen and Zwoll declared war against Deventer and Haffelt; but by the interposition of the States General these commotions were at length composed.

Dunkirk taken by the French and English.

Cromwel dies.

King Charles's reception in Holland before his restoration.

In the year 1658, the French and English laid siege to Dunkirk and took it; and according to the treaty between them, the place was left in the possession of the English, to the great mortification of the Dutch, who were not well pleased to see their rivals in trade masters of both sides the channel, as they were in effect by the acquisition of Dunkirk. But the same year died CROMWEL the Usurper, or Protector, as he styled himself, on the 3d of September, leaving Britain in such confusion, that the Hollanders had little to apprehend from that side for the present; there was a fleet indeed sent to the Baltick by RICHARD CROMWEL, to assist the Swede against their ally the Dane, but the distractions which soon after follow'd in England prevented their entering upon action.

Things being come to a crisis in England, the people heartily weary of the many changes they had lately experienced in the government, were generally inclined to attempt the restoration of their natural Sovereign King CHARLES II; which the Dutch observing, and not apprehending it in their power to prevent, tho' they had entered into a confederacy with CROMWEL against the STUART family; his Majesty was no sooner arrived at Breda, but they sent a deputation of the States to compliment him on his arrival in their dominions, and to desire he would take up his residence at the Hague till he should embark for England, which the King readily accepted, arriving there on the 16th of May 1660; where he was not only magnificently entertained at the charge of the States, with all his dependants, but presents made him, amounting in the whole to the value of an hundred thousand pounds. And here all the Ambassadors and publick Ministers of such Princes as were at the Hague attended the King, congratulating his approaching restoration on their masters behalf, by whom but a very little before he had been intolerably slighted and ill used: and from the speech made by the deputies of the States at his Majesty's embarkation, none could believe that these were the very men who had a little before entered into a treaty with CROMWEL, his mortal enemy, to prevent his restoration, and even to exclude all of his blood from the Stadtholdership of the United Provinces:

A speech to the King on his embarkation.

Your Majesty, say they, may observe in the looks of all our people the joy they have in their hearts to see a Prince cherish'd by God, a Prince wholly miraculous, and who will probably contribute in a great measure to their quiet and felicity: our joy, say they, is common to us with that of

our subjects, but as we know better than they the CHAP. VI. inestimable value of the treasure we possess, so are we more sensible of this sad separation; and it would, Sir, (continued they) be insupportable to us if we did not reflect, that it was the thing in the world we most desir'd, and the greatest advantage also that we could wish to your Majesty. We therefore acquiesce, because we know that this removal is no less necessary for us, than glorious for your Majesty; and that it is in your kingdom we must find the accomplishment of the prayers we have made and still make for you and us. We pray God, Sir, that your return may be quiet and happy; and that as he hath disposed the hearts and affections of your subjects to acknowledge their lawful Sovereign, he will be pleased also to command the winds and the seas to expedite your voyage. And after you have received on your own coasts the vows that we shall reiterate, you may enjoy in your Royal Person, and in your never-ceasing posterity, all the felicity that can be wished.

The King having taken leave of the States, after ten days stay at the Hague, embark'd for England at Scheveling, where a squadron of men of war attended him under the command of Admiral MONTAGUE, the shores being throng'd with multitudes of spectators, who wish'd him all imaginable happiness. Nor is the sincerity of the common people to be suspected, who are ever infinitely joyful when they see right take place, and an injured Prince long banish'd from his inheritance peaceably restored to his dominions; but as for States and Courts, these are seldom govern'd by any other motives than such as seem conducing to their interest.

The Bishop of Munster having obtain'd a commission from the Emperor in the year 1663, to take possession of some lands in East-Friesland, in Westphalia, and amongst the rest of the castle of Eydeler on the river Ems; the Dutch under pretence that the Bishop might prove a dangerous neighbour to them, dispossessed him of that castle by force: and tho' the Bishop was not then in a condition to shew his resentment, he soon after enter'd into an alliance with the King of England, and became a terrible thorn in their sides; which brings me to enquire into the grounds of that war which happen'd afterwards in the year 1665, between England and the United Provinces.

The occasion of the quarrel between the States and the Bishop of Munster.

The account the Dutch give us of the occasion of this war, is a very confused one. They say, that in the year 1664, a squadron of men of war was sent by the Court of England to the coast of Africa under the command of Captain HOLMES, who took several forts and settlements from them near Cape Verd, and on the coast of Guinea; and that thereupon they sent DE RUYTER thither, and

The occasion of the war between the English and Dutch.



A P. and retook those places; whereupon the English afterwards seiz'd upon several Dutch ships in Europe, and made prize of them. That they had no mind to enter into a war with the English, but were ready to make them any reasonable satisfaction, and to refer the matters in difference between the two nations, to any indifferent umpire; but the English court were all for war.

The English on the other hand give a very different relation of this matter: for, in the month of April 1664, as appears by the journals of Parliament, the Lords and Commons of England resolved, That the wrongs, dishonours and indignities done to his Majesty by the subjects of the United Provinces, by invading his rights in India, Africa, and elsewhere; and the damages, affronts, and injuries done by them to our merchants, were the great obstructions of our foreign trade: and that his Majesty be humbly moved to take some speedy and effectual course for redress thereof, and for prevention of the like for the future. And in prosecution thereof, they declare, that they will with their lives and fortunes assist his Majesty against all opposition whatsoever. To which his Majesty answer'd, That he would examine the particular complaints which had been made to the Parliament; and thereupon appoint his Minister at the Hague to demand speedy justice and reparation from the States General. And in November following his Majesty sent a narrative to the two houses, containing a state of the differences between the two nations, sign'd with his own hand, which still remains among the records of the house of Lords.

His Majesty acquainted them in this narrative, that he had required his Minister at the Hague, to press the States to make him immediate satisfaction for the wrongs and oppressions his subjects underwent, which he had indeed solicited them to do for a year past, and would now bear no longer delay. That the States having deferred returning any answer to his Majesty for some months, with great passion and noise sent orders to their several admiralties to equip great numbers of ships of war, and to work night and day upon them, Sundays as well as other days of the week; and gave orders also for raising a great body of land-forces with all expedition. That in August last, 1664, they pretended to have received news that captain HOLMES, who with one of his Majesty's ships had convoy'd some merchants of the Royal African company to the coast of Guinea, had assaulted and taken possession of a Fort near Cape Verde, belonging to their West-India company: whereupon the States peremptorily required that his Majesty would forthwith give orders for the re-delivery of that Fort to them. The King thereupon assured the Dutch Ambassador that he had given no commission or order to Captain

HOLMES for that purpose: that he expected him shortly home, when he would strictly examine his proceedings, and cause exemplary justice to be done, as well in re-delivering the Fort, as in punishing the person, if his conduct deserved it. But this answer did not satisfy them; new orders were given for equipping out more ships, and for raising men and money; and they publish'd in their prints, that what HOLMES had done was by his Majesty's warrant and authority.

That his Majesty, notwithstanding these repeated provocations, did not lay aside all hopes of bringing the States General to a better temper, but put them in mind how readily he had redress'd every complaint they had made to him since his restoration; while instead of any return of this kind from them, though his Minister at the Hague had importun'd them for eighteen months to release twenty ships taken by them upon the coast of Guinea, and to give satisfaction for other affronts and damages in the East-Indies; and that tho' he had received no answer to these demands, he had nevertheless forbore to do himself justice. He put them in mind also of the declarations publish'd by their commanders in the East and West-Indies, interdicting all trade and commerce with all other nations to the natives of those countries, whom they call'd their subjects, thereby endeavouring to exclude the rest of Europe from all commerce with the Indies.

They had indeed, his Majesty observes, by their industry, and by acts of horrible injustice and cruelty, planted themselves in stronger forts and factories than any Prince in Europe had done, especially in the East-Indies, where their naval power was very great. And when they found the natives inclined to traffick with other nations, as they generally desire to do, being in truth universally weary of the oppressions of the Dutch; some of their ships are sent to lie before those ports, and to declare they are at war with this or that prince, or city, and thereupon prohibit all other nations to have any traffick with them; and thus did they restrain the English ships under the command of the Earl of Marlborough two years since from going to—and taking in a great cargo provided for him there by the East-India company, forcing his Majesty's ships to return empty home. That in some places they had compelled the English factories to remove, and in others incited the natives to rise and cut them in pieces, and assisted them in such attempts with their shipping, of which his Majesty had undeniable evidence.

The Lord Chancellor Clarendon in a speech to both houses of Parliament, in the year 1665, also takes an opportunity of remembering some of the inducements which prevail'd with the English to enter into this war. He takes notice, that every

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The grounds of the Dutch war, related by Clarendon.

day



CHAP. VI. day brought fresh accounts of the depredations of the Dutch on our merchants in all parts. That instead of delivering up the island of Poleroon (one of the spice islands in the East-Indies) which they were oblig'd to have done by treaty, they hinder'd our ships from taking in their lading of such merchandize as our factors had provided; upon pretence that the ports, where the merchandize was ready to be embarked, were in the dominions of some Princes whom they had declar'd to be their enemies, and therefore they would not suffer any traffick to be maintain'd with them. That they publish'd the like declaration, and challeng'd the same sovereignty in Africa; and by virtue thereof would not suffer our ships to trade upon that coast, where we had a trade long before the Dutch. That when the King had equipp'd a fleet to send to Africa, in order to procure justice to our merchants, and the Dutch desir'd they might remain in harbour, as theirs should, till matters could be amicably adjusted; at that very moment they sent to their Admiral DE RUYTER in the Straights, to make war upon the English in Guinea. "And in truth, says his Lordship, this stratagem of pretending one thing, and intending another; of promising with all solemnity, and never designing to perform; of swearing this day not to do a thing, when they had already serv'd their turn, and actually done it the day before clandestinely; is the highest pitch of their wisdom of state, by which they govern their affairs, and delude their neighbours."

That notwithstanding his Majesty had seiz'd on some of the Hollanders ships in Europe, upon intelligence of DE RUYTER's being sent to Africa to make war upon his subjects there; neither the ships or merchandizes were confiscated, till he had receiv'd certain information that DE RUYTER had put his orders in execution, by taking and seizing the English settlements and shipping upon that coast.

The reasons of the Dutch war summ'd up.

From the whole it appears, that the English had three very substantial reasons to come to a rupture with the Dutch, besides the business of the flag, and dominion of the sea, which the States at this time disputed. 1. They detain'd the island of Poleroon in the East-Indies, contrary to several solemn treaties and engagements to deliver it up; whereby we were entirely depriv'd of the spice-trade, at least of nutmegs and mace, the most valuable part of it. 2. They had seiz'd several English ships and merchandizes, and kept the men prisoners in loathsome dungeons, where many of them perish'd, though his Majesty's ministers had solicited their release from year to year. 3. They kept guard-ships upon the coasts of India and Africa, to prevent the English and all other European nations dealing with the natives. Either

they pretended the country was in alliance with them, and had agreed to trade with them alone; or they were at war with the Dutch, and then that was a sufficient reason for blocking up their ports, and seizing such boats and vessels as would come on board the English and other Europeans: so that in fact, they had actually monopoliz'd all the valuable branches of trade in India and Africa; which was the real occasion that the merchants of England, and of London in particular, applied themselves to the Parliament for a redress of these grievances, apprehending their foreign trade to be expiring, unless the Dutch were oblig'd to do them justice. And I find the Speaker of the house of Commons, in a speech to his Majesty, declaring, that they had examin'd the reasons of the decay of trade, and that they found the English merchants undermin'd by fraud and practice, and sometimes beaten out of the East and West Indies, in Turkey and Africa, by our neighbours the Dutch; who, besides the insufferable indignities offer'd to his Majesty and the crown of England, had in a few years spoil'd his subjects to the value of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds. And his Majesty in a letter to the States, just before the breaking out of the war, declares his great desire to maintain peace with them; but he saw with regret they went not about to give any satisfaction to the English for their losses; concluding with a protestation before God and man, That the States would be guilty of all the inconveniences and fatal consequences, if a speedy reparation was not made.

I have been the more diligent in searching the journals of Parliament, and examining the histories of these times, because there is a party in England so fond of the Dutch, that they are ever endeavouring to blind our eyes, and to cover the treachery and barbarity of their high and mighty friends; and lay the whole blame of our entering into this war on the English court, when we had, according to them, no real occasion for a rupture: but if the facts above recited are true, as I can aver they are from undeniable evidence, the nation must have been the meekest bubbles in nature to have borne such injuries and insults any longer: nay, we must have been content to have liv'd under the dominion of the Hollander, at least at sea, and given up every branch of our foreign trade; and as it is, we suffer them to retain and monopolize the spices of India, which are of more value than all the rest of the trade to India and Africa put together.

Having enquir'd into the reasons and grounds of this war, I proceed to give an abstract of the progress and success of it. In November, 1664, the grand fleet of England rendezvous'd at Spit-head, being commanded by the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral; and the Dutch keeping close

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**H A P.** VI. in their ports, the English intercepted their merchant-ships as they came home, to the number of one hundred and thirty, and condemn'd them as lawful prize, (in retaliation for DE RUYTER's taking the English forts and ships on the coast of Africk) without any previous declaration of war: for as the Dutch made no scruple of falling upon the English in that part of the world without proclaiming war, they could have no manner of reason to complain of the like usage in Europe, tho' their friends are to this day very loud upon the injustice of such a proceeding. The citizens of London were then so fill'd with resentment against the Dutch, for their usurpations upon their navigation and commerce, that towards the speedy equipment of the grand fleet, they advanc'd his Majesty an hundred thousand pounds, and after that another hundred thousand at his Majesty's request; for which the Parliament return'd them thanks at their next meeting, and voted his Majesty five and twenty hundred thousand pounds, to be rais'd in three years, towards carrying on the war: and on the fourth of March 1664-5, the war was formally proclaim'd at London, the declaration bearing date the second of February before. The States now finding the English in earnest, applied themselves to the French King, desiring his mediation, or rather assistance, against the English, as appear'd afterwards; for upon his British Majesty's refusing to submit to such terms as France was pleas'd to prescribe, they declar'd for the Dutch. In the mean time the grand fleet of England being assembled, to the number of an hundred and eight men of war and fourteen fire-ships, was divided into three squadrons: the Red, commanded by the Duke of York in person, assisted by the Admirals PENN and LAWSON; the White, by Prince RUPERT, assisted by MINNS and SANSON; and the Blue, by the Earl of Sandwich, under whom was CURTINS and ASCOUGH; stood over to the coasts of Holland, to prevent the joining of the Amsterdam squadron with that of Zealand: but the Dutch not appearing (after taking many rich merchant-ships, as they were entring into their harbours) the English fleet return'd to their own coasts; which gave the Dutch an opportunity of uniting their squadrons, amounting in the whole to an hundred and three men of war, and eleven fire-ships; commanded by Admiral OPDAM, and under him by EGBERT CORTENAER, Vice-Admiral of the Maes; old EVERTSON, Vice-Admiral of Zealand; and CORNELIUS VAN TROMP (son of the famous VAN TROMP) Vice-Admiral of Amsterdam. On the first of June the Dutch fleet stood over to the coast of England, and on the second these two great naval powers faced each other; but the Dutch, 'tis said, avoided fighting that day, as being ominous to

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them, having been beaten that day twelve years by General MONK. The next day, the third of June 1665, about four o'clock in the morning, the battle begun between the squadron commanded by the Duke of York, and that commanded by Admiral OPDAM; wherein the Duke plied OPDAM so warmly and so close, that, according to the English account, he beat his own fire upon him, which taking the powder-room, that great ship, with all the men, were blown up into the air. The Dutch say, this accident is to be imputed to the treachery of an English gunner on board the Dutch Admiral. But it is very probable, that neither one nor the other can give any certain account of the matter, any farther than that Admiral OPDAM, after an obstinate dispute with the English Admiral, was blown up by his own powder; soon after which, victory declar'd on the side of the English: for at the same time three Dutch ships which seconded their Admiral, being fallen foul of one another, and entangled with their masts and rigging, were all burnt at once by an English fire-ship. After the death of OPDAM, Vice-Admiral CORTENAER hoisted the Admiral's flag, being then closely engaged with Prince RUPERT; but this gentleman being killed, and his son soon after, the Lieutenant, despairing of success, fled with all the sail he could make, with the Admiral's flag at the top-mast head, which the Dutch say was the occasion of their defeat, the rest of the fleet steering after him. The Vice-Admiral of Zealand also made the best of his way, leaving his squadron to shift as they could: and only young TROMP with twelve men of war retir'd with any order to the Texel. And had not the English shortned sail, 'tis said, scarce any of the Dutch fleet had escaped: which is attributed to one BRUNKARD, of the Duke's bed-chamber, who, 'tis said, carried those orders to Sir JOHN HARMAN, Captain of the Admiral, when his Highness was laid down to sleep, without his knowledge; for which he was afterwards called to an account in the House of Commons. Of the Dutch eighteen capital men of war were taken, and fourteen sunk or burnt; and eight thousand of their men kill'd or taken prisoners. The English lost one ship and about a thousand men, besides some persons of distinction; particularly, the Earl of Falmouth, the Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Portland, the Lord Muskerry, and the Honourable Mr. BOYLE, with Rear-Admiral SANSON and Sir JOHN LAWSON.

The people in Holland began to be very mutinous upon this defeat, and particularly the clergy, representing it as an effect of the divine vengeance. But the States, after their usual manner, soon silenc'd their preachers, and executed two or three

E e

of

CHAP. VI.

The first sea-fight between the English and Dutch after the restoration.



CHAP. of their Captains for cowardice, as an example to  
 VI. the rest, who were most of them very defective in  
 their duty.

On the fifth of July following the grand fleet of England put to sea again, and visited the coast of Holland, but return'd without meeting the enemy; and a detachment from the fleet about the same time attack'd a fleet of India-men, and other merchant-ships under a strong convoy of Dutch men of war, in the port of Berghen in Norway; but had not the success they propos'd, the Dutch being protected by the Danish Governor. However in their way home they had the good fortune to take eight Dutch men of war, two India-men valued at a million sterling, and twenty other merchant-ships. And a few days after the English fleet fell in with eighteen sail more of Hollanders, of whom they took the greatest part, and amongst them four men of war.

In the mean time the Bishop of Munster, being supported by the King of England, fell upon the Dutch by land, and entering the province of Over-yssel, reduced great part of it, making himself master of most of the towns on the river Yssel. Whereupon the Dutch applied themselves again to the French King for assistance, who sent them a good body of troops, which repuls'd the Bishop, and oblig'd him to retire out of the Dutch territories; and not long after compell'd him to make a separate peace, without the concurrence of his ally, the King of Great Britain, who had supplied him with large sums of money. And now the French as well as the Danes, having made themselves parties in the war, sent considerable reinforcements to support the Hollanders against England, which was at the same time in a manner depopulated by the most terrible plague that has been known in this part of the world. The English Sectaries also threaten'd a rebellion, and kept a correspondence with the Dutch, and some of them actually went into their service: but under all these calamities the English bravely resolv'd to continue the war.

The second  
 sea-fight.

The grand fleet of England being commanded in the year 1666 by Prince RUPERT and General MONK, who, in order to prevent a conjunction between the French and Hollanders, had divided their forces, Prince RUPERT sailing westward, toward the French coast, while MONK attended the motions of the Dutch. On Friday the first of June 1666, the Dutch fleet, amounting to ninety sail and upwards, were discover'd lying at an anchor near Newport: MONK, who had then but fifty sail under his command, bore down upon them however, and there followed a most obstinate battle, which lasted three days; and had not Prince RUPERT with his squadron then come in to MONK's assistance, great part of the

English fleet had been lost; for the old General CHAP seem determin'd not to retire as long as his ship VI, would swim, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers. Upon the Prince's joining MONK, the fight was renew'd the fourth day, when the Dutch thought fit to retire to their coasts, and the English return'd to their harbours, being in no condition to pursue them. Both sides, however, made rejoicings for the victory, though both had sufficient occasion to mourn, for the Dutch lost fifteen men of war, and the English ten, and most of the ships in both fleets were miserably shatter'd.

Before the end of July the English and Dutch fleets met again to contest the empire of the ocean, as my author expresses himself, being about an hundred sail of a side; when the English obtain'd an uncontested victory, destroying twenty sail of Dutch men of war, and pursuing them to their coast; where Sir ROBERT HOLMES burnt an hundred and fifty sail of merchant-ships in their harbours, with the town of Brandaris in the isle of Schelling. The Dutch, however, to keep up the spirits of their people, who upon this ill success grew very mutinous, put to sea again the latter end of August, and endeavour'd to join the French squadron; but Prince RUPERT, who commanded the English, discovering them in Bologne road, they were forced to hawl their ships close to the shore to avoid another engagement; however, if a sudden storm had not happen'd, which oblig'd the Prince to stand off to sea, they had most of them been burnt or sunk, but by this lucky accident they escap'd to their own coasts. The French making some attempts in the mean time to join them, had a ship of a thousand tuns taking by the English; whereupon their Admirals also thought fit to retire to their harbours. The common people in the United Provinces, upon this ill success, were ready to break out into rebellion, and five of the seven provinces cried out for peace, declaring they could no longer contribute to the charges of the war; and what increas'd these distractions were the feuds between their Admirals DE RUYTER and VAN TROMP, who charg'd their ill success on each other. VAN TROMP's commission hereupon was taken away by the interest of the Pensioner DE WITT, who espous'd DE RUYTER's quarrel; and several of the Sea-Captains were executed or imprisoned on a pretence of cowardice, or breach of orders, to pacify the people. But to the great consolation of the Dutch and their allies, the latter end of this year on the fatal second of September, a day highly celebrated by their friends in England, the greatest part of the city of London was burnt to the ground. Under which calamity, with the plague that preceded, and that formidable confederacy of the Dutch, French, and Dane, against Britain,

The third  
 sea-fight.

The fire of  
 London  
 happen'd  
 during the  
 war.



H A P. VI. Britain, with a rebellion of the Scots, and perpetual conspiracies of the English Puritans against the government; it is amazing how the nation was able so bravely and successfully to defend itself.

the Dutch  
fire peace.

during the  
peace they  
attack part  
of the royal  
navy laid up  
at Chatham.

Articles of  
peace.

The Dutch finding little to be got by the war but blows, and thinking that under such a load of calamities the English would not be averse to peace, sent over to propose an accommodation; and by the mediation of Sweden a treaty was agreed on to be held between the contending Powers at Breda, which was open'd in the beginning of May 1667: and the preliminaries being settled, whereby it was agreed, that each party should keep what they had possess'd themselves of, either before or during the war; the English look'd upon the war to be at an end, and neglected to equip out their grand fleet, as they had done the preceding years; which neglect, or piece of good husbandry, as some stiled it, who were, as they pretended, for saving the publick treasure, brought a lasting disgrace upon the nation: for the Dutch taking advantage of this conduct, sail'd with a fleet of seventy men of war into the mouth of the Thames; and being piloted by some English Puritans, made themselves masters of the fort of Sheerness. They afterwards detach'd a squadron, which sail'd up the Medway as high as Chatham, and burnt three or four first and second rate men of war, which lay there unrigg'd, and brought off the hull of the Royal Charles; all which they perform'd with the loss only of two or three of their men of war which were run on ground, and set fire to by themselves; after which they fell down the river. This bold attempt put the city of London in the utmost consternation, expecting a visit of the like nature; whereupon fourteen or fifteen ships were sunk in the river, and several batteries rais'd upon the banks to prevent their sailing up: but the Dutch thinking they had ventur'd far enough, contented themselves with the success they had met with, and soon after stood out to sea again, sailing to Portsmouth, Plymouth, and other ports, in hopes of destroying more of the royal navy; but these places having been taken better care of than Chatham, they were prevented doing further mischief: whereupon they return'd to the Thames mouth, where Sir EDWARD SPRAGG with a squadron of English men of war disputing their passage, they put to sea a second time, and insulted the English coast, till they could no longer dissemble their knowledge of the peace being concluded at Breda, and then retir'd to their own coast. By this treaty, according to the preliminaries, each party was to remain in the possession of what they had acquir'd, and the Dutch were to acknowledge the right of the Flag to belong to the English. The French by a subsequent treaty

agreed to deliver up to the English their share of CH A P. VI. St. Christopher's, and such other islands in the West-Indies, as they had made themselves masters of during the war.

While these treaties were negotiating at Breda, the French King had made a surprizing progress in the conquest of the Spanish provinces of the Low-Countries, which indeed hasten'd the conclusion of them; for neither the Dutch or English desir'd to see him in possession of these provinces; but the Dutch were most nearly concern'd, seeing him advance so near their frontiers: having therefore first order'd a considerable addition to be made to their forces, in order to join the Spaniards if more peaceable measures could not prevail, they offer'd their mediation in conjunction with England to compose the differences between the two crowns; which the French King having accepted, a treaty was set on foot at Aix la Chapelle, and brought to a conclusion on the 2d of May, 1668; wherein it was agreed, that France should retain the possession of all such towns and places as she had taken during this war, viz. of Bruch, Aeth, Fort Scarpe, Doway, Tournay, Oudenard, Lille, Armentiers, Courtray, Bergues, and Furnes, with their territories, domains, seigniories, appurtenances, and dependencies.

The insolence and vanity of the Dutch on the procuring of this peace and the former, is not to be imagin'd, for which they not many years after paid very dear; they caused medals to be struck containing vile reflections on the most potent Kings in Europe; in one of which they represented Holland resting upon trophies, with an inscription, purporting, "That they had assisted, defended, and reconciled Kings, restor'd the free navigation of the seas, and peace and tranquillity to Europe, by the force of their arms." Some differences arising afterwards between the commissioners of France and Spain on settling the limits of the new conquests in Flanders; and the French court declaring, that unless they had speedy satisfaction given them on that head, they would do themselves justice; the Dutch, notwithstanding their late vain boasts and insolent behaviour, began to be in some consternation; and for the security of their frontiers applied themselves to England, desiring to enter into a still stricter alliance with that kingdom; which being agreed to, and Sweden also coming into it, this treaty was afterwards denominated, *The triple Alliance*; whereby each of these powers was to furnish fifteen thousand land-men for the defence of the Spanish Netherlands, besides a considerable fleet with forces on board; but the French King soon found means to render this alliance abortive. In the meantime the States of Holland, by the influence of the Pensionary DE WITT, pass'd a perpetual

Conquests of  
the French  
in the Spa-  
nish Nether-  
lands.

The triple  
alliance.



## CHAP. VI.

The occasion of the second Dutch war.

and unalterable edict, as it was called, for the support of the liberty and preservation of the union and tranquillity of the province of Holland; wherein it was provided, that the dignity of Stadtholder should cease and never more be reviv'd; which was sworn to by all who had any places or employment in the government, and even by the Prince of Orange himself, not without some compulsion we may suppose; which the King of England, whose nephew he was, and who had in a manner taken him into his protection, could not but resent. Thus the Dutch wantonly and unnecessarily, by their brutal behaviour, drew upon them the indignation of two mighty Kings, who weary of their repeated insolence, if we are to credit our writers of secret history, had agreed to divide the United Netherlands between them, reserving only the province of Holland for the Prince of Orange, of which they propos'd to make him Sovereign; but this is a piece of history which has but a very slender foundation to support it. I make no manner of question however, but that both Kings had a design to humble this proud State, and not without reason; for it is not conceivable with what contempt they treated them, and all other sovereign Princes in the East-Indies, Africa, and elsewhere; representing themselves as Lords of the ocean, and superiour to all the Powers in Europe, and as such they actually oppos'd and hinder'd the subjects of Britain, France, Portugal, and all other nations, from carrying on a free trade in those parts of the world: and not content with these injuries and indignities at a distance from home, they made the infirmities and misfortunes of sovereign Princes their sport and entertainment in Holland, every day producing some ludicrous medal or picture to expose them. So self-sufficient they seem'd to be, as to despise and laugh at the rest of the Powers of Europe; which surely from an upstart commonwealth, compos'd of the most boorish and clownish part of mankind, was never to be born. Whatever colour their own historians, or their brethren of England, who seem much more in the interest of the Dutch than of their native country, may put upon these practices, the Lord Clarendon, whose ingenuity and veracity is applauded by most of our own writers, speaking of the Dutch to the Parliament of England, has these expressions, viz. "They load us with such reproaches, as the civility of no other language will admit the relation of; they have a dialect of rudeness so peculiar to their language and their people, that it is high time for all Kings and Princes to oblige them to some reformation, if they intend to hold any correspondence or commerce with them."

The first effects the Dutch felt of the French King's indignation was on the side of Munster,

which Prelate the States having sufficiently provoked, was easily induced, on an assurance of being supported by France, to arm against the Hollanders. His next step was to dissolve the alliance between England and Holland, which he found but little difficulty to bring about; the Dutch having in several instances broke the treaty of Breda, and continued to disturb and obstruct the trade of the English in India, and other parts of the world. Should it be admitted that the French King had no reason to fall upon the United Provinces, besides the vindication of his honour; certain it is, if the English had suffer'd those encroachments on their foreign trade they complain'd of, to pass without any resentment, they would in a short time have had very little left; and as it was, such has been the management of their friends in England, from that day to this, that they have supplanted us in almost every valuable branch of it.

But the friends of the Dutch observe, that tho' the war with that State should be admitted to be just on the part of the English, yet it was not honourably begun; for that we fell upon their Smyrna fleet in the channel in the beginning of March 1671-2, before the war was proclaim'd: but if we are to give as much credit to facts related in the English Gazette, as to Dutch surmises, this was pure accident, and altogether owing to the obstinacy and insolence of the Dutch, in refusing to strike to us, as they had agreed to do at the treaty of Breda. The account given of this occurrence in the English Gazette is as follows:

"Whitehall, Wednesday, March 13. Five of his Majesty's frigates cruising by the isle of Wight, met with the Dutch fleet of Smyrna men, and others of about fifty sail, convoy'd by six men of war; and of their merchant-men twenty at least carried between twenty and forty guns a-piece. When our frigates came near them, we shot to make them strike and lower their top-sails; which the Dutch refusing to do, our frigates shot through and through them; and though they then lower'd their top-sails, yet they refused to strike, upon which the fight began. This happen'd about three of the clock that afternoon, and continued until night, at which time three more of our frigates came in. Thursday, the next morning the fight began again, and continued all that day. In the evening were taken five of their richest merchant-men; and Captain JOHN HOLMES in the Gloucester boarded their Rear-Admiral and took her; but she was so shatter'd and torn, that she sunk within a few hours in his possession. This Squadron was commanded by Sir ROBERT HOLMES in the St. Michael; the Earl of Ossory, Vice-Admiral, in

CHAP. VI.



HAP. VI. "in the Resolution; and Sir FRETCHVILLE  
"HOLLIS, Rear-Admiral, in the Cambridge;  
"Captain LEGG commanded the Fairfax, Cap-  
"tain ELLIOT the York, Captain FOWLIS the  
"Diamond, and Captain WATSON the Success,  
"who all behav'd themselves with great gallan-  
"try." This, in a late writer's words, must have  
been the most impudent assertion that ever had the  
sanction of publick authority, if it was false, for the  
thing might have been disprov'd by a thousand wit-  
nesses in a week's time; so many gentlemen of  
quality are here named, who commanded the se-  
veral ships engag'd, that the government could not  
have been render'd more contemptible than it must  
have been on their return to London, if the re-  
lation was not true. What could it avail the go-  
vernment to have procured Sir ROBERT HOLMES  
to have affirm'd the truth of this story, when the  
Earl of Ossory, and so many persons of honour  
were upon the spot, and could have contradicted  
him? And there is this further reason to believe  
there was no premeditated design of falling upon  
this fleet, and making prize of it, namely, that  
Sir ROBERT HOLMES had but five frigates with  
him, who would no doubt have had a much  
stronger squadron, if such a thing had been in-  
tended; and indeed the Dutch, to give an air of  
probability to the story, affirm, that the English  
squadron consisted of thirty or forty sail; but we  
cannot depend on their veracity in giving a rela-  
tion of this or any other engagement between  
them and the English, who usually sute the story  
to their circumstances.

An alliance  
between  
France and  
England a-  
gainst the  
Dutch.

War de-  
clar'd.

The swift  
progress of  
the French  
arms in the  
United Pro-  
vinces, an.  
1672.

The Kings of France and England having en-  
ter'd into an alliance against the Dutch, the Duke  
of Monmouth in pursuance of that treaty, em-  
bark'd with six thousand British troops in the be-  
ginning of April 1672, to join the French army  
in the Low Countries, war having been declar'd  
in both kingdoms the seventeenth of March pre-  
ceeding. In the beginning of May the French  
King divid'd his army, consisting of an hundred  
and twenty thousand men, into three bodies, with  
which he attack'd the United Provinces in three  
different parts, while the Bishops of Munster and  
Cologne attack'd them in a fourth; and such was  
the weakness and consternation of the Dutch,  
notwithstanding all their boasts and vain inscrip-  
tions, which they had stamp'd on their medals  
but a very little before, that they made no man-  
ner of defence: insomuch, that the French King  
within the space of two months over-run three of  
the seven provinces, viz. Guelderland, Overysiel,  
and Utrecht, and made himself master of most  
of their great towns, some of which had been  
deem'd impregnable, with very little opposition;  
the French King keeping his court at Utrecht  
this summer.

In the mean time DE RUYTER, the Dutch  
Admiral, having assembled a fleet of men of war,  
consisting of an hundred sail and upwards; and  
having the advantage of the wind, attack'd the  
united fleets of England and France in Solebay,  
upon the coast of Suffolk: but was so warmly re-  
ceiv'd, that after a terrible slaughter he was ob-  
lig'd to retire, being pursued by the Duke of York,  
Admiral of the English, to the coast of Holland.  
This train of misfortunes put the Dutch in the  
utmost confusion; the people grew head-strong,  
and publicly arraign'd the conduct of their ma-  
gistrates, and threatned their destruction, unless  
the Prince of Orange was declar'd Stadtholder;  
which the DE WITTS, who had so long go-  
vern'd the State, were not able to prevent:  
and the perpetual edict, which excluded the Prince  
from any share in the government, was imme-  
diately repeal'd. Their next step was to lay the  
province of Holland under water, whereby they  
effectually stopp'd the progress of the French King's  
arms, till they could form their alliances, and  
join the Germans, who were marching to their  
assistance; for all the Prince of Orange could do  
with the little army he had assembled (notwith-  
standing he was restor'd to his antient honours and  
command) was to cover such parts of the coun-  
try, as were most liable to be invaded.

The advancement of the Prince of Orange  
prov'd the destruction of CORNELIUS and JOHN  
DE WITT, who had ever oppos'd him, and pro-  
cur'd the perpetual edict for excluding him from  
the government; and such was the rage of the  
people against these two Ministers, whom they  
charg'd with betraying their country to the ene-  
my, and with all the calamities that had befallen  
them, that one of the brothers was stabb'd in the  
street, but not mortally, for which fact indeed  
the assassin was condemn'd and executed. But  
CORNELIUS DE WITT, being afterwards charg'd  
with a conspiracy against the life of the Prince of  
Orange, of which his Judges neither acquitted  
or convicted him, but sentenced him to be ba-  
nish'd, probably to give him an opportunity to  
escape; his brother DE WITT the Pensionary  
went in his coach, and a greater equipage than  
ordinary, to fetch him out of prison: whereupon  
the mob rose, knock'd down both the Pensionary  
and the Prisoner, as they were coming down the  
stairs of the prison, and afterwards tore them in  
pieces; nor did their fury stop there, but they  
cut their hearts in pieces, and distributed the  
flesh among their friends to be broil'd and eaten;  
a strain of brutality not to be parallel'd in history,  
and yet were not any of the offenders brought to  
justice for it.

The Hollanders still finding their affairs despe-  
rate, sent three of their Deputies into England to  
implore

CHAP. VI.

The first  
sea-fight in  
the second  
Dutch war.

John De  
Witt the  
Pensioner  
and his bro-  
ther torn in  
pieces.

The Dutch  
desire peace.



CHAP. VI. implore peace, whereupon King CHARLES sent a solemn embassy to his ally the French King at Utrecht, to see how he stood inclined, and to assure the States by the way, that he never intended their destruction, but to bring them to reasonable terms. The war however was still carried on by sea and land, and three battles more were fought between the English and Dutch at sea the following summer, viz. the 28th of May, the 4th of June, and 11th of August, in all which the English had the advantage, and obliged the Dutch to retire into their harbours; but the French squadron not doing their duty, their victories were not so complete as might have been expected. The Dutch keeping close and not venturing to sea afterwards, the English had projected a descent upon their coasts, but were prevented putting it in execution by a furious storm, which arose at the instant they were about to land; tho' there are some superstitious writers which impute that disappointment to a miraculous alteration of the tides, contrary to the course of nature. In the first naval fight the Earl of Sandwich was blown up in the Royal James, with a thousand men; and in the last, Admiral SPRAGG. The Dutch also lost Admiral VAN GHENT, and some other officers of note: and in the West-Indies the English took the island of Tobago from them.

The French abandon the Dutch territories.

The latter end of the year 1673, the United Provinces having entered into an alliance with Spain and the Emperor, and the English being ready to clap up a peace with them, the French King found he should not be able to maintain the conquests he had made; and therefore having extorted large sums from all the towns he had possessed himself of, he retreated with his army out of the Dutch territories, retaining scarce any place of note except Maestricht: whereupon the three provinces which had for some time been dismember'd from the rest, were upon their earnest application united to the body, and their deputies admitted again into the assembly of the States General. About the same time the dignity of Stadtholder and Captain-General was confirmed to the Prince of Orange, and settled upon his heirs male.

A treaty of peace between the English and Dutch.

200,000 l. paid by the Dutch towards the charges of the war.

A treaty of peace was concluded about the same time between England and the United Provinces; whereby the right of the flag was again acknowledged by the Dutch, and it was agreed that all places that had been taken by either party should be restored, and that the States should pay his British Majesty eight hundred thousand patacoons, amounting to near two hundred thousand pounds; which is a demonstration to me of the success of this war, notwithstanding our historians in general make it a very unfortunate undertaking. Nor had the English any reason to put an end to it at this time, if the growing power of France had not made them apprehensive of the

Grand Monarch's designs against the liberties of Europe. The Dutch may magnify the courage and conduct of their young hero the Prince of Orange as much as they please, but if the English had not changed hands at this time their State must have been inevitably ruined; and perhaps they were not less obliged to the English for their preservation now, than they were to Queen ELIZABETH for their first establishment.

Still the war continu'd between the Dutch, the Germans, Danes and Spaniards on the one side; and France and Sweden on the other: and the French King in the campaign of 1674, made himself master of the duchy of Burgundy, or Franche Comte; but the confederates having assembled an army of sixty thousand men, endeavoured to put a stop to the further progress of the enemy, which occasioned the memorable battle of Seneff, where both sides claim'd the victory, but neither had any great occasion to rejoice, the slaughter being great on both sides, and very little advantage gain'd by either.

Upon the peace with England, the Dutch had proposed to carry on the war against the French by sea as well as land, and accordingly fitted out a strong squadron under DE RUYTER, to attack Martinico and other French settlements in the West-Indies; while VAN TROMP was order'd to harass the coasts of France, and make a descent in Normandy, where some malecontents had promis'd to join them; but they were unsuccessful in both these attempts, and returned home without effecting any thing: The Dutch had the good fortune however to make themselves masters of the town of Grave, while their allies the Germans were beaten in two engagements on the Rhine. About this time the province of Gueldres offer'd the Prince of Orange to make him their sovereign under certain limitations; but the Prince finding the rest of the provinces alarmed at the proposal, thought it most prudent to discountenance the offer.

The sovereignty of Guelderland offer'd to the Prince of Orange.

In the campaign of 1675, the French took the towns of Liege, Dinant and Huy, before the confederates march'd out of their winter quarters, which the Dutch excuse on account of the Prince of Orange's being taken ill of the small-pox at that time; but when the Prince was recover'd, and had assembled an army of forty thousand men, he was nevertheless forced to be witness of the taking of Limburg by the French soon after. The allies of the States, the Danes and Brandenburgers had much better success against the Swedes, who were upon the point of being driven out of Germany. The Imperialists also obliged the French to retire over the Rhine; and upon the Moselle, the Duke of Lorraine having laid siege to Triers, and the French General, Marshal CREQUI, marching to its relief, was entirely defeated; but

Liege, Dinant and Huy taken by the French.

Limburg taken.



HAP. VI. but found means however, with some of his troops, to throw himself into the place, which he defended bravely for a month; after which, expecting no relief, he was obliged, with his garrison, to surrender prisoners of war. The Prince of Orange about the same time having laid siege to Binch, a little town between Mons and Charleroy, took it, and demolished the fortifications; and the campaign of the northern confederates concluded with the taking of Wismar, a considerable seaport on the Baltick, from the Swedes; but the Dutch suffered very much the latter end of this year by storms and inundations.

All parties seeming now desirous of peace, the King of Great Britain offer'd his mediation, which was readily accepted, and Nimeguen appointed for the place of congress: The French however made great efforts, and rais'd a prodigious army against the next campaign, especially in Flanders, where the French King commanded an army of fifty thousand men in person, the Duke of Luxemburg another great army upon the Rhine, and the Duke of Noailles a third in Roussillon. The French having ravaged and plunder'd the Spanish Flanders to the very gates of Hulst and Sas Van Ghent, laid siege to Conde, which the Prince of Orange attempted in vain to relieve, the place being taken by storm on the 26th of April, 1676, and those within the town put to the sword, except 1200 men who capitulated for their lives. The French King immediately after laid siege to Bouchain, which the Prince of Orange also not finding himself in a condition to relieve, the place surrendered in less than a week; after which his most Christian Majesty returned to Versailles, and the armies went into quarters of refreshment. The Prince of Orange however reassembling his forces about the beginning of July, and being joined by some reinforcements from the German Princes, laid siege to Maestricht, one of the strongest towns on the frontiers of the United Provinces, and then in possession of France. Here were many brave actions performed on both sides, the bastions and out-works being taken and retaken several times; in which service, 'tis said, the English troops, who compos'd part of the Prince of Orange's army, signaliz'd themselves; but the Confederates being much weaken'd by the siege or sickness, and the French advancing with a superiour force to the relief of the town, the Prince was forced to raise the siege after he had lain before the place near two months; which ill success made the States very desirous of peace, while their allies the Imperialists having taken Philipsburg this campaign, were no less zealous for continuing the war.

Messina and some other cities of Sicily, having a little before this time revolted from the Spaniards to the French, the States sent a strong squadron

of men of war into the Mediterranean, under the command of Admiral DE RUYTER, to the assistance of Spain, which arriv'd in the road of Milazzo in September 1675. They had several smart engagements with the French fleet near Sicily; but were defeated in every one of them, the French, as the Dutch relate, being double their number; but the greatest loss they sustained, was in their brave Admiral DE RUYTER, whose left foot was shot off, and great part of his right thigh by a cannon-ball, of which he died soon after, in the seventieth year of his age, of which he had serv'd his country fifty years with remarkable success.

The States sent another squadron into the Baltick under the command of Admiral TROMP (much about the same time that DE RUYTER sail'd to the Mediterranean) to the assistance of their ally the King of Denmark against Sweden; in which expedition the Dutch met with better success than in the former, for having join'd the Danish fleet, they attack'd the Swedes on the eleventh of June 1666, and gave them a total defeat, destroying nine of their men of war. Of which success the Danes taking the advantage, made a descent upon Schonen, and took the towns of Elsingburg, Landskroon and Christianstadt, but were soon after beaten out of them again by the Swedes.

While the States were thus engaged abroad in a very extensive war, religious feuds began to grow very high at home. In their Universities were many learned men who espoused the Arminian doctrine, and not a few among their clergy and magistrates, whereby the antient animosities were revived, which so distracted these provinces about the time of the Synod of Dort. In Zealand the Prince of Orange deposed the ministers and magistrates who were supposed to be of that persuasion, (for all of them are obliged publicly to profess Calvinism, or they cannot be admitted to any preferment in Church or State.) The city of Amsterdam however, were not for these severe proceedings, and took a quite different method to allay these heats and animosities among their people; namely, by declaring in their consistories, That there was no essential or real difference between the opinions of the contending parties.

The French, as usual, were very early in the field the next campaign; and on the first of March 1676-7, laid siege to Valenciennes, and by the seventeenth the garrison consisting of three thousand men surrendered prisoners of war. On the twenty-second of the same month the French King in person sat down before Cambray, which surrendered also the fifth of April; and the Duke of Orleans laying siege to St. Omers at the same time, the Prince of Orange march'd to its relief, but

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Success of the Dutch fleet in the Levant.

De Ruyter kill'd.

Success of the Dutch squadron in the Baltick.

Religious disputes in Holland.

Valenciennes, Cambray and St. Omers taken by the French.



CHAP. but was defeated near Cassel; whereupon the castle  
VI. of Cambray and St. Omers immediately surren-  
dred.

The Prince  
of Orange  
married to  
the Princess  
Mary.

Upon the conclusion of the campaign in the year 1677, the Prince of Orange came over into England to make his court to the Princess MARY, eldest daughter to the Duke of York. In which it is reasonable to suppose his Highness had more views than one. As, 1. The uniting the interests of England with those of the United Provinces. 2. The rendering his own authority in those provinces more considerable. And, 3. as the Duke of York had no son at that time, he could not but entertain some hopes that the Princess he married might probably one day succeed to the crown of England; but surely he was not then sanguine enough to expect that she should exclude herself to set him on the throne, as in fact she did at the revolution. He had abundant reason no doubt to make her a very complaisant husband, but as to affection I don't perceive there was a great deal more on his part than is usual in political matches; tho' certain it is, she was a fine woman, and wanted neither sense or good-humour; and if any thing, had more of the latter than was consistent with her true interest, being through an easiness of temper surprised sometimes into schemes very disadvantageous to herself and family by those about her. But to leave these reflections, and proceed to the match. The King having given his consent to it, possibly with a view of advancing both their interests, the one being his sister's son, and the other his brother's daughter; the Duke, who never flatly contradicted the King in any thing he insisted on, thought fit to resign himself wholly to his Majesty's pleasure on this occasion, though he was not without some apprehensions of the consequences that might attend it. And on the fourth of November, the Prince's birth-day, in the evening, the marriage-ceremony was performed at St. JAMES's palace by the Bishop of London.

Plan of peace  
agreed on be-  
tween King  
Charles II.  
and the  
Prince of  
Orange.

The Prince having thus happily finished this great affair, represented to his Majesty the weak condition of the Spanish Netherlands, and the probability of their falling into the hands of France, if England did not interpose to prevent it: whereupon, 'tis said, that the King agreed, that unless France would restore to the Emperor, the Duke of Lorraine, and the States, all that had been taken from them during the war; and to the Spaniard the towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenard, Courtray, Tournay, Conde and Valenciennes; he would join the Confederates with a considerable army, and compel France to come into these terms by force. And upon the refusal of the French King to submit to this demand, his British Majesty did accordingly raise an army, and join the Confederates in the Low Countries; but the Dutch running precipitately into a separate peace,

the terms afterwards agreed on were less advantageous to their allies than they would otherwise have been; but this is a transaction which belongs to the succeeding year: We must first attend the Prince and Princess into Holland, who arrived there the latter end of November 1677, and observe the events of the following campaign in the Netherlands, which began exceeding early, for before the end of February 1677-8, the French King marched at the head of a great army into the Low Countries, and having made a feint, as if he intended to lay siege to Mons or Namur, and drawn the Confederate forces that way, he on a sudden bent his march towards Ghent and Ypres, of both which towns he made himself master before the end of the month. Hereupon his British Majesty, as has been intimated already, rais'd an army of twenty thousand men, as fine troops as any in Europe, and embark'd them for Flanders with incredible expedition, which actually did, when nothing else could, prevent the remainder of the Spanish Netherlands falling under the power of France; and would the Dutch now have resolved to continue the war, they and all their allies might have had ample satisfaction for their losses; but they had made their own terms advantageously, and had not honour enough to consider their allies of the Empire, who came into the war in their greatest distress, purely to prevent their being swallow'd up by France: Tho' it must be said to the honour of the Prince of Orange, that he laboured with all his might to defeat this separate treaty, which was carried on between France and Holland at Ghent, while the Ambassadors of France, and of all the Confederates, were negotiating a general peace at Nimeguen, where this treaty being at first begun, and with some intermissions concluded, afterwards obtain'd the name of the Peace of Nimeguen; before the conclusion whereof, however, his British Majesty obliged the French to abandon all their conquests in Sicily, and resign the whole island into the hands of the Spaniards again; that being of too great consequence to the trade of England in the Levant to be left under the dominion of France.

But notwithstanding the States and the French had agreed upon all other matters, his most Christian Majesty refusing to evacuate the towns in Flanders which were to be restored to Spain, 'till the places taken from the Swedes in Germany were restored to that crown; the negotiations were upon the point of breaking off, and more vigorous preparations made for war than ever: Marshal Luxemburg block'd up Mons, and the Prince of Orange being joined by the English auxiliaries, was marching to the relief of it; but the French Ministers, on the last day given them to declare whether they would evacuate the towns in Flanders or continue the war, consented to the im-  
mediate

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Ghent and  
Ypres taken  
by the  
French.

England  
comes apart  
in the war



VI. *the peace was sign'd, in 1678.* diate surrender of the places agreed on, and the peace was sign'd that very night. In the mean time the Prince of Orange, either not knowing, or dissembling his knowledge of the peace, attack'd the Duke of Luxemburg in his camp at the abby of St. DENNIS near Mons, on the 14th of August 1678, and obtain'd a signal victory, though with great slaughter on both sides. The next morning the Prince sent a letter to Marshal Luxemburg, to acquaint him that the peace was concluded; and this seems to be almost the only action in which the Prince of Orange met with success during the whole series of the war, which his friends ascribe to the slowness of their German allies, and the poverty and indolence of the Spaniards, their forces being seldom in a condition to take the field till the French King had taken two or three of the strongest frontier towns. But to proceed; the Spaniards thought fit to accept the conditions the Dutch had procured for them, and their plenipotentiaries sign'd the peace accordingly about the latter end of September, tho' their German allies still stood out in expectation of better terms.

*plan of the peace enter'd into by the English and Dutch.* I should have taken notice, that while the French were wavering and starting difficulties about the execution of the treaty between them and the Dutch, England enter'd into a defensive alliance with the United Provinces, wherein it was agreed, that the Kings of France and Spain should be obliged to conclude a peace upon the following terms, viz. That the towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenard, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, and St. Gillian, with the duchy of Limburg and town of Binch, should be restored to his Catholick Majesty, with all the towns and places the French had possess'd themselves of in Sicily; but that the duchy of Burgundy, or Franche Comte, should remain in the hands of France. And as to France and the United Provinces, all places should be restored which had been taken on either side; whereby the Dutch recover'd that important city of Maestricht and its dependencies. As to the Emperor and Empire, France was to restore all that had been taken from the Emperor, or the Princes of the Empire, during the war; and the duchy of Lorraine was to be restored to the Duke of that name; but we find several alterations made in this scheme afterwards, occasion'd by the too great eagerness of the Dutch to conclude the peace, for the Spaniards were not only obliged to renounce their interest in the duchy of Burgundy, or Franche Comte, comprizing the city of Besançon and its district; but the towns of Valenciennes, Bouchain, Condé, Cambray, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton, Poperinghen, Pailleul, Cassel, Bavay and Maubeuge, with their appurtenances and dependencies, were also yielded

to France, which had been taken from the Spaniard in this war, together with the town of Dinant, which the King of Spain engaged, that the Bishop of Liege, the Sovereign of it, should transfer to France.

By the treaty between the Emperor and France, which was concluded at Nimeguen, the third of February 1678; it was agreed, That the peace concluded at Munster anno 1648, should be the foundation of this treaty and remain in force, where it was not alter'd by the present treaty. And the City of Philipsburg, which had been taken by the Emperor during the war, should be confirm'd to him by his most Christian Majesty, as the city of Friburg, which had been taken by the arms of France, should be confirm'd to the crown.

His most Christian Majesty agreed also to yield up to the Duke of Lorraine all that duchy (except the capital city of Nancy and its dependencies, which were by this treaty transferred to France) and the Duke of Lorraine was obliged to lay out a road half a league broad through his country; from the confines of France to Alsace, for facilitating the march of the French troops, which were to have a passage through his country at pleasure, and all the villages and lands included in those roads were to be the property of his most Christian Majesty. But his said Majesty, in consideration of the town of Nancy, did transfer to the Duke of Lorraine the city of Toul; and if the revenue of Toul did not equal that of Nancy, the French King was to pay what was deficient. And by this treaty the Emperor agreed to restore the famous Prince WILLIAM EGON of Furstemburg to his liberty; the occasion of whose confinement has been already related in the modern History of Germany.

Soon after the peace of Nimeguen, the States General sending a solemn embassy to the French court, and insisting that their Ambassadors should be received with the same marks of honour as those were who came from crown'd heads, were for some time refused audience by the French King: but the Dutch tell us, that having shewn that these honours were granted them by HENRY IV, and LEWIS XIII, and even by his Majesty himself in the year 1660; and that Ambassadors from the Venetians, the Duke of Savoy, and the Swiss Cantons were not denied this piece of respect; his most Christian Majesty at length complied with their demands, and they were admitted to their audience. But probably the principal inducement to this piece of complaisance was the hopes of prevailing with their High Mightinesses to stand neuter, while the grand Monarch made himself master of the rest of the Spanish Netherlands and Alsace. The next year, anno 1680, the French proposed that the States should

Abstract of the peace between the Emperor and France concluded at Nimeguen 1678.

The duchy of Lorraine restor'd to the Duke under some limitations.

The Prince of Furstemburg set at liberty.

The Ambassadors from the States allowed the same honours as those from crown'd heads.



**CHAP.** enter into a defensive alliance with that crown,  
**VI.** at which the British court taking the alarm, their Minister at the Hague declared that his Majesty could not look upon this proposal otherwise than as intended against him, and used very moving arguments to dissuade the States from entering into an alliance with France, which had the desired effect. The French however did not lay aside their design upon Flanders and Alsace, but sometimes under pretence that the Spanish commissioners would not fairly adjust the limits with them in Flanders; and at others, that his Catholic Majesty retain'd the title of Duke of Burgundy, though that province was surrendered to France, threaten'd a sudden rupture with the Spaniards. Upon the Rhine also the French erected courts or chambers of re-union, as they called them, by virtue whereof they extended their dominion over several places and countries in the possession of the Imperialists and German Princes, under pretence that they belong'd to some cities or fortresses yielded to them by the late treaty of Nimeguen, or some former treaties; and not content with this, they proceeded to surprize and seize the Imperial city of Strasburg, the capital of Alsace, in the year 1681, at that time a town of as good trade, and as populous as most in Germany, but the fortifications miserably neglected, after the custom of the Germans: they have since been mightily improved by the French, while the trade is no less decay'd under their tyrannical government; garrisons and citadels ever proving the bane of traffick. The French about the same time took possession of almost the whole province of Luxemburg in the Netherlands, blocking up the capital city thereof with their troops. Whereupon the Dutch looking upon a rupture on that side to be inevitable, enter'd into an alliance with Sweden, and proposed the same to the court of Britain, which his British Majesty declin'd, but assured the States that if the French possessed themselves of any considerable place in Flanders, he would declare war against them. The Emperor also finding no end of the encroachments of the French upon the Rhine, under colour of re-unions, came into the alliance with the States and Sweden for the defence of the German frontiers, as did several other Princes of Germany; at which the French King was so exasperated, that he seiz'd on the principality of Orange in France; nor would he be prevail'd on to restore it, notwithstanding the British Court espoused the interest of that Prince, and join'd with the Dutch in representing the injustice of this proceeding.

Strasburg  
seiz'd by  
the French.

And the  
duchy of  
Luxemburg.

And Orange.

The Dutch  
seize the  
English  
settlement  
at Bantam.

But while the Dutch were soliciting the assistance of the English in Europe, it seems they were dispossessing them of their settlements and factories in India. Bantam in Java, the most commodious situation in the east for carrying on

a trade with the Indian islands, was now to be ravish'd from us by our good friends the Dutch, even in a time of full peace, and when they were begging our protection against their enemies in this part of the world. By the account the Dutch themselves give of this transaction, it is of a piece with the rest of their behaviour towards the English in India. They represent Bantam as a powerful and populous kingdom, where trade flourish'd extremely by the resort of European nations thither, especially the English; and pretend that the King of this place had made several attempts upon their darling settlement of Jacatra, or Batavia, a town about forty miles to the eastward of Bantam; that they were apprehensive the neighbourhood of this Prince would sooner or later be fatal to them, unless he was subdu'd: adding, that a favourable opportunity happen'd in the year 1681, when the old King of Bantam having resign'd the government to his youngest son, (the eldest having devoted himself to religion) the people dissatisfied with the young gentleman's administration, deposed him, and taking his brother out of the cloister, placed him on his throne, whereupon the old King resumed the government again, or rather march'd to the assistance of his younger son, while the eldest having made himself master of the castle of Bantam, implored the assistance of the Dutch. Our good allies hereupon immediately sent him very considerable reinforcements both by sea and land, and having defeated the father, and afterwards deposed the son their ally, they usurped the government of the place, seized upon the goods and effects of the English, and other European merchants, and expelled them the island, keeping possession of the English settlement, the most considerable they had in India, without making any satisfaction for the merchandizes they seiz'd, or restoring the factory from that day to this; which is represented by their friends in England as a trifling injury, not worth our demanding satisfaction for of our good friends the Dutch. But if we consider the situation of the place upon the straits of Sunda, by which the seas of China and India have a communication, and that whoever is master of these straits, and those of Malacca, (as the Dutch now are), have it in their power to restrain all nations from entering the Chinese seas, or having any intercourse with the Molucca's and Banda islands, of more value for their spices than all the other Indian trade, must acknowledge that a more irreparable damage could not have been done to Britain: tho' had this been the only stratagem of this kind practis'd on that side of the world, we might possibly have imputed this enterprize to their fears of the King of Bantam, as is pretended. But it has been the constant practice of the Dutch to force the Prin-

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HAP. VI. ces and Governors in the Indian islands, either to enter into contracts with them not to sell the product or manufacture of their respective countries to any but themselves; or if they refuse, then to make war upon them, burn and destroy their countries, and massacre the inhabitants. At other times we find them blocking up their ports, and denying entrance to any ships but their own, assuming to themselves the empire of the Indian seas, and all the islands and countries that lie dispersed in them; and the only reason they suffer us yet to trade to China and some parts of India is, because very little advantage can accrue to Britain from the trade they have left us: and should they deprive us of the whole, they might awaken the most drowsy and indolent amongst us to demand satisfaction of them in Europe. But it must certainly render us despicable in the eyes of all the world, that we suffer that treacherous and encroaching people to deprive us entirely of the spices of the East, without so much as attempting the recovery of them; for it is these alone that render the trade of the Indies valuable. These the Dutch exchange for other merchandizes all over Asia and Europe, and have occasion to lay out little treasure in purchasing the product of other countries. They have this inconceivable advantage by monopolizing the whole, that they set what price they please upon them, which they could not do while the English had a share in the spices; this induced them to enter upon those scenes of cruelty and treachery at Amboyna and Banda, mention'd in the former volume, and afterwards upon this villainous transaction at Bantam, lest we should one day attempt the recovery of what they formerly took from us, or discover some other country where these spices grow; either of which would bring down the price, and put us upon the level with them. If it be alledged, as it often is, that we must not quarrel with the Dutch on any account whatever, I must say we are in a very happy situation: Do we indeed stand in as much need of the Dutch as they formerly did of us, and can no longer subsist without their protection? I should be ashamed to hear any Englishman affirm this; not that I am for falling out with them or with any nation whatever, but upon the last necessity. At the same time I cannot for my life apprehend, why we are not entitled to be fairly dealt with by the Dutch. Where two nations enter into an alliance or confederacy, it is presumed to be for their mutual advantage, and not to give the one an opportunity under a colour of friendship, of plundering the other of all they have. In partnership, where one shall lay violent hands on what belongs to the other, and then represent the ill consequences of quarrelling with him, would not the world look upon the injur'd

party as a very despicable animal, not to assert his right? Shall a man be esteem'd litigious, because he refuses to part with his own and his family's subsistence? Or, will that people be thought unreasonable who insist upon restitution from a faithless allie, who has dispossessed them of part of their territories and traffick in a time of full peace, and this in an hundred instances. The English East-India company upon this last instance of Dutch treachery, apply'd themselves to his Britannick Majesty for redress, who ordered his Minister at the Hague to demand satisfaction and restitution of the factory at Bantam; which the Dutch indeed promised from time to time, without any intention of performing; at least never any thing was done in it from that day to this, for which it is not very difficult to account.

The French continuing their encroachments in the Spanish Netherlands on one pretence or other, the Spaniards, in hopes of being supported by the Germans and the Dutch, declared war against them in the year 1683; but being unprovided of men and money, they lost Courtray and Dixmude in one campaign, and Luxemburg the next, when the Dutch marching to their assistance, the French King was content to grant them a truce for twenty years, which was signed the 15th of August 1684 at Ratisbon; but their High Mightinesses could not procure any satisfaction to be made to the Prince of Orange for his principality, which the Grand Monarch had taken possession of, as is above related.

Some English Malecontents, who had been engaged in conspiracies against King CHARLES II, of whom the Duke of Monmouth, natural son to that Prince, and the Earl of Argyle, a Scot, were the chief; being fled into the Low Countries, and hearing of the death of his Majesty, concerted measures with their friends in Britain, soon after King JAMES's accession to the crown, to raise an insurrection; the one in the west of England, and the other in Scotland, and bought up great quantities of arms and ammunition in Holland, to be employed in that service; of which the King, who succeeded his brother in the throne on the sixth of February 1685, having intelligence, required the States to deliver them up: whereupon the Duke of Monmouth retired to Brussels; but the Marquis de Grana, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, receiving a letter from King JAMES, intimating that the Duke was fomenting a rebellion against him, his Grace was obliged to leave the Spanish territories; and returning into Holland again, he prepared, with the Earl of Argyle, for their intended expedition against Britain. Dr. BURNET acquaints us, that Argyle having met with a rich widow at Amsterdam, zealous for the cause, she furnish'd him with ten thousand pounds, with



**CHAP. VI.** which he bought arms and ammunition for the enterprize, and that the Duke of Monmouth would have embark'd for Scotland with him, but that Argyle did not offer him the command, and on the contrary, advised his making a diversion in England; which the Lord GREY, FERGUSON, and the Lady HARRIOT WENTWORTH, who constantly attended the Duke, were very zealous for. He adds, that in point of conscience, the Duke and this Lady look'd upon their cohabitation to be very innocent, his Grace having been married to the Duchess before he was capable of making a choice, (though he was above the age of consent the law requires), and therefore they held the marriage with the Duchess was void. That the Lady HARRIOT had so possess'd him with her enthusiastical conceits, that they fancied their living together was approved by God. The Duke pawn'd his jewels to buy arms for the intended expedition, which were pretended to be shipped for Spain: but the Earl of Argyle being first ready, embark'd the second of May 1685, and setting sail the same day with three ships, arrived on the fifth of the same month at the isles of Orkney, in the north of Scotland, where sending his Secretary and Surgeon on shore, they were both seiz'd by the inhabitants, and sent to Edinburgh. The Earl therefore meeting with such discouragements here, set sail again for the west Highlands, and on the 20th landed near Dunstaffnage, a ruinous castle of his own, where he left a garrison, and march'd afterwards through the counties of Argyle and Lorn, inciting the inhabitants to join him: but all the men he could raise did not amount to above four or five thousand, with whom he march'd to the isle of Boot, and encamp'd; but being pursued by the King's troops, they fled from one island to another, leaving their spare arms and ammunition in the castle of Ellengreg, with an hundred and fifty men to defend it; but two or three small frigates coming before the castle the same day, the garrison fled, and the King's forces took possession of the place, where they found five thousand small arms, five hundred barrels of gun-powder, and the rest of the rebels ammunition. Argyle in the mean time march'd thro' his own country of Argyleshire towards Glasgow, being closely pursued by the King's forces; and the rebels not finding themselves in a condition to make head against them, soon after dispersed, and Argyle himself running into a bog up to the neck, was knock'd down and taken prisoner the 17th of June, and beheaded the 30th of the same month at Edinburgh, standing outlaw'd for high treason on a former conspiracy against the government. With him was taken RUMBALD the maltster, who proposed the assassinating the late King CHARLES II, as he came by his house, called

Argyle's expedition to Scotland.

the Rye-house, in Hertfordshire, who was also hang'd at Edinburgh; and thus ended this ill-concerted insurrection in Scotland.

The Duke of Monmouth having hired a man of war of 32 guns, and three small vessels in Holland, embark'd arms for five thousand men upon them; of which the English Envoy at the Hague having notice, press'd the States to stop them in their ports: and one of the small vessels was actually seized, but the Duke used such diligence, that he escaped out of the Texel with the rest on the 24th of May. The States, as well as the Prince of Orange, were very averse to this expedition of the Duke's, for they were conscious if it succeeded the Prince must never expect to mount the throne of England; therefore King JAMES no sooner made application to them to send over the six British regiments in their service, but they comply'd with him, and readily offer'd to enter into any other measures to defeat the Duke's designs. His Grace has been blamed by some of his friends for entering so precipitately on this enterprize, but as Argyle was at this time making a diversion in his favour in Scotland, and himself and his friends were in danger of being seiz'd in Holland, he was really under a necessity of embarking as he did, and could not defer it. The Duke meeting with cross winds and a tempestuous passage, was longer at sea than he expected, it being the 11th of June when he appear'd before the port of Lyme in Dorsetshire. He went on shore with his small body, which did not amount to 100 men, the same afternoon; and having in a short prayer implored the blessing of heaven on his undertaking, he set up his standard in the market-place of Lyme, and order'd a long declaration, containing the reasons of this expedition, to be read to the people; in which he charges King JAMES (the Duke of York, as he there styles him) with usurpation and tyranny; with assassinating the Earl of Essex, and even poisoning his brother, the late King CHARLES; declaring that he will pursue the said Duke of York as a mortal and bloody enemy, and endeavour as well with his own hand as the assistance of his friends, to have justice executed upon him: and so exceeding popular was the Duke of Monmouth at this time, that multitudes of the common people came over to him. On the other hand, King JAMES having acquainted the houses of Parliament with the Duke's being landed at Lyme, they attended his Majesty with an address, promising to stand by him with their lives and fortunes, and immediately pass'd a bill of attainder of high treason against the Duke, desiring his Majesty would set a reward of five thousand pounds upon his head. From Lyme the Duke march'd to Taunton-Dean in Somersetshire, having increased his army to five or six thousand men; and here he took upon him

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VI.  
The Duke of Monmouth barks.



him the title of King, and was solemnly proclaimed. On the 21st of June, he advanced to Bridgewater, the militia constantly retiring before him, and some of them deserting over to him, which made their officers cautious of engaging, finding them more inclin'd to the Duke than to the King; but his Majesty sending down a body of regular troops against the rebels, under the command of the Earl of FEVERSHAM and the Lord CHURCHILL, this soon alter'd the case, and the Duke of Monmouth received a total defeat at Sedgmore, near Bridgewater, on the 6th of July 1685; the Lord GRAY, who commanded his horse, being taken prisoner the next day, and on the 8th the Duke himself was found in a ditch cover'd with fern, in a very abject condition, and being brought prisoner to London, was beheaded on the fifteenth of the same month. But to return to Holland.

The English Envoy at the Hague presented memorial after memorial to the States upon the affair of Bantam to very little purpose, he demanded also that Dr. BURNET and some others who had been convicted of a conspiracy against his Majesty might be deliver'd up; but as the Dutch were now concerting measures to incite an insurrection in Britain themselves, and the Doctor was made use of by them as an instrument to effect it, their compliance was not to be expected in this particular, any more than the sending back the six British regiments in the service of the States, which that Minister also demanded; for this had been to defeat their grand design. And it must be confess'd, that the measures King JAMES had taken ever since the defeat of Monmouth to render his subjects malecontents, had given the Dutch but too much cause to promise themselves success upon an invasion of Britain: for he had introduced Popish officers into civil and military employments in all the three kingdoms, and claim'd and actually exercised a power of dispensing with the laws. He set up an ecclesiastical commission, prosecuting the clergy and universities in an unprecedented manner, displaced many Protestant officers in the army, and supply'd their rooms with Irish Papists; and according to some, was entirely govern'd by Jesuitical councils: but I take the Jesuits to be a more subtle generation than to have put the King upon such measures as must infallibly ruin both themselves and him. There is much more reason to believe that he was put upon doing many things by false friends in his councils, on purpose to render him odious to his people; for it may be demonstrated at this day, that some who had the greatest influence on his councils kept a constant correspondence with his enemies, and his bigotry for his religion so blind'd him, that he did not sufficiently animadvert on their conduct, though he had repeated intimations

of their treacherous practices: even the birth of the Prince of Wales, which the King's friends look'd upon to be of vast advantage to his cause, by the reports which were industriously spread of his being spurious, was made instrumental to his ruin. The Prince of Orange indeed sent over a Minister to compliment the King on his birth, and order'd the same prayers to be used in his chapel at the Hague for the Prince of Wales as were used in the churches in England; but still it was suggested by the friends of the Prince of Orange, that this was a cheat put upon him by the Jesuits, in order to exclude the Princess Royal his consort from the throne. The common people of England, who were terrified with the apprehensions of Popery and Slavery breaking in upon them, made no difficulty in crediting the story of the Prince's illegitimacy, and the Dutch had more reasons than one to promote the belief of it. While King JAMES remain'd upon the throne they had sufficient reason to believe he would insist upon a share in the Indian trade, and a restoration of the islands and factories they had taken from us: that both the English and French would endeavour to reduce their naval force, and restrain that insolent State within due bounds. Whereas if they could give a King to Britain, and, according to their own expression, take us out of the hands of France, they had reason to believe the English would be made subservient to all their designs; that they should hear no more of their encroachments on the British trade: on the contrary, when the Prince of Orange should be at the head of the English forces, they might rest assured he would defend their frontiers against France, and perhaps enlarge them at the expence of other nations. And there appear'd to be but little hazard or difficulty in bringing about a revolution in Britain; for the ministry there had put King JAMES upon doing so many illegal and unpopular things, with an intention of ruining him; that his subjects were in general become malecontents, and even the soldiers and seamen in his pay ready to desert on the first appearance of a competitor: the very Prime Minister and others of the council, many of the Bishops, the Nobility and Gentry, the Generals and Admirals had join'd in an invitation of the Prince of Orange, to secure them against Popery and Slavery; insomuch, that if the Prince had the least spark of ambition in him, which his friends say he did not want, so favourable an opportunity of placing himself at the head of the Protestant interest, and of a much more extensive confederacy, was not to be resisted. For the Emperor and most of the German Princes, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, and even the Pope himself were ready to support him in his intended enterprize, under an apprehension that if England should unite its forces

CHAP. VI.  
The States reasons for assisting the Prince of Orange in his expedition.

with



CHAP. with France, the rest of the powers of Europe  
IV. would soon lie at the mercy of LEWIS XIV.

The Prince of Orange therefore and the States having all imaginable encouragement to attempt a revolution in England, order'd a fleet of fifty sail of men of war, and five hundred transports to be prepared with all expedition, selecting fourteen or fifteen thousand of their best troops to be embark'd on board the fleet, whose places were supplied by others from Sweden, lest the French King should attack the Netherlands in their absence. Of these preparations King JAMES received intelligence from Mr. SKELTON, his Minister at the Hague, and from the French King, assuring him that this armament was intended against England; but the Ministers in the English Court who had the greatest influence over that Prince, and actually maintain'd a correspondence with his enemies, lull'd him asleep, and made him neglect the proper means for his defence, till every thing was ready for the descent. The French King, apprehending of what consequence the deposing of his allie the King of England might be to his ambitious designs, propos'd the sending over twenty or thirty thousand men to his assistance; which King JAMES's treacherous Ministers had the address to prevail with him to refuse. Then his most Christian Majesty threatned the Dutch, that if any attempt was made upon his allie the King of England, he would look upon it as done to himself, and immediately invade their frontiers; but the confederacy against him was so great, and the bringing Britain into it of that importance, that his threats were slighted, and only served to make his enemies more industrious in their preparations.

King JAMES being at length convinced of his mistake, and finding he had been betray'd and flatter'd into measures the most opposite to his interest, hoped to retrieve the affections and esteem of his subjects, by undoing all that he had done for two or three years past. Accordingly he endeavour'd to reconcile himself to the Bishops and Universities, by restoring to them their authority and privileges. He restor'd also the charters of London, and other corporations which had been taken from them, displaced many of the Popish Officers and Magistrates he had introduced, and disgraced the Minister, by whose advice he had been principally governed and precipitated into those fatal measures.

The Prince of Orange embarks his forces.

In the mean time the Prince of Orange proceeded to embark his forces, and publish'd a declaration, dated the tenth of October 1688, N. S. wherein he charges King JAMES with male-administration in all the instances above-cited, and with imposing a pretended Prince upon the nation: Assuring them, that this expedition was intended only to procure a free Parliament, to whom he should refer the enquiry into the legiti-

macy of the pretended Prince of Wales; to restore CHA the constitution of the government to its antient VI legal state, and secure the people against Popery and Arbitrary Power.

The States also publish'd their reasons for assisting the Prince of Orange with a fleet and army; wherein having taken notice of the invitation given him by the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the kingdom, they declare the apprehensions they had of the French King, if King JAMES should render himself absolute, and join his forces with his most Christian Majesty; suggesting that nothing less than the absolute ruin of their state would probably be the consequence of it: for both Kings, either for reasons of state, or out of an aversion to their religion, would probably endeavour to subdue their country; which this expedition therefore was intended to defeat. From whence, and what has been already observ'd on this head, it is evident, that it was their own preservation and interest which put them upon this invasion, more than any regard to their good friends on this side the water; though for some years after the revolution, it was thought impossible ever to pay that immense debt of gratitude we ow'd to these our high and mighty deliverers. But to proceed; the Prince having assembled a fleet of fifty men of war of the line, twenty-five frigates, as many fire-ships, and between four and five hundred transports, on which he embark'd ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, set sail from the Briel the nineteenth of October; being accompanied by the Earl of SHREWSBURY, the Earl of MACCLESFIELD, the Lord Viscount MORDANT, the Earl of ARGYLE, the Lord WILTSHIRE, the Lord PAWLET, the Lord ELAN son to the Marquis of Halifax, the Lord DUNBLAIN son of the Earl of Danby, Admiral HERBERT, Colonel SIDNEY, Mr. RUSSEL, Sir ROWLAND GWYN, the infamous FERGUSON, and Dr. BURNET. The Prince himself was on board a frigate of thirty guns, with some few officers and intimate friends of the Dutch nation, and took his station in the centre of the fleet during the voyage. The flag he carried at the top-mast-head had the arms of the Prince and Princess wrought in it with these words, viz. *The Protestant Religion and Liberties of England*. The fleet had not been many hours at sea before there arose a terrible storm, which drove them back to Helvoetsluys, but without any considerable loss.

On the first of November the Dutch fleet put to sea again, and stood to the northward, the original design, 'tis said, being to have landed in Yorkshire; but the wind coming about easterly, it was afterwards determin'd to sail for the channel, and on the third of the same month they past by the mouth of the river Thames, where the Earl of Dartmouth lay at anchor with the English



English fleet. The fourth the Prince was driven by a strong gale beyond Torbay, the place where he design'd to have landed; but the wind shifting to the west on a sudden, they were soon after brought into the bay; and the next day, the fifth of November, 1688, they landed most of their troops.

But it is very natural to enquire here, what was become of that gallant army and fleet which King JAMES had rais'd and fitted out to prevent a descent, that the Prince of Orange met with no opposition at sea, or at his landing? It has been intimated already, that the military men were not less disgusted than other people, by breaking many Protestant officers, and supplying their rooms with English or Irish Papists; which disgust JOHNSON and some other pamphleteers had heighten'd, by exposing the administration. A declaration also was publish'd by the Prince of Orange, wherein he addresses himself to the army, and tells them, he was come to rescue them from Popery and Slavery, and hopes they would not be made instruments of enslaving the nation, and ruining the Protestant religion; for when that was done, they must expect to be cashier'd, as the English officers and soldiers in Ireland had been, and many Protestant officers in England, for adhering to the constitution and religion establish'd: That they must not flatter themselves to be better used in the end, and therefore invites them to join his forces, promising rewards to those who should come over to him.

A letter from Admiral HERBERT also was printed and dispers'd in the English fleet; wherein he represents the ruin that attended them and their families, if they delay'd to join the Prince of Orange; and how infamous they would appear to posterity, if by their means the Protestant religion and the liberties of their country should be destroy'd. That he was well assur'd the best part of the army, as well as the nation, were in the Prince's interest, and exhorts them to be beforehand with the army, in assisting an enterprize which was undertaken to secure all that was valuable to them.

King JAMES was not backward in his naval preparations to defeat the designs of the Dutch; for we find him in June 1688, dispatching his cruisers to observe the motions of their fleet; and not long after a squadron of men of war, under the command of Sir ROGER STRICKLAND, put to sea to intercept their passage, if they should come out, or at least to follow them and prevent their disembarking any troops, whether they bent their course northward, westward, or into the Thames mouth; for the King had no manner of intelligence for what part of England they were design'd; and it seems probable their own Commanders were not determin'd what course to steer,

till they found how the winds would favour them. The King seems most apprehensive of their landing in the north by his marching a body of his troops that way, and leaving the west in a manner destitute of forces. The first of October following, the English fleet being increas'd to three-score sail, of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle, the Lord Dartmouth was appointed Admiral. The King, in his written instructions to that Lord, acquaints him, that he had undoubted advice that a great and sudden invasion from Holland was intended, and that therefore he should hasten the equipping out such ships as were not come to the appointed rendezvous, and endeavour to prevent the approach of the Dutch fleet to the English coasts, and their making a descent. The English fleet being at the Gunfleet (in the mouth of the river Thames) at this time, a council of war was held, and by a great majority, it was resolv'd to continue there; though some were of opinion it was more advisable to proceed to the coast of Holland, and there attend the coming out of the Dutch fleet: which last proposal, says my author, Secretary BURCHET, certainly carried great weight, *Had there been a real design of obstructing the Prince of Orange in his passage to England.* But instead of that, matters were so concerted and agreed among the Flag-officers and Commanders, who had frequently private meetings, that had the Admiral come fairly up with the Dutch, it would not have been in his power to have done much against them: while they were busied in these cabals, the Dutch fleet pass'd by the Gunfleet in sight of them. And since the Commanders were thus affected, it is no great matter whether the storm which Mr. BURCHET mentions, or their own inclinations, prevented their weighing anchor, and sailing in pursuit of the Dutch; they would have left their anchors behind them, 'tis presum'd, if they had been very zealous for the service. There is little heed to be given to what some officers alledge as an excuse for deserting their Prince, that the winds upon all occasions favour'd the Dutch, and were contrary to the English. Nor does there seem to be any thing very miraculous in the case, notwithstanding Dr. BURNET's opinion of the matter, that people who were resolv'd not to fight, should seldom meet, and if they did, should part without striking a stroke; but heaven is ever dragg'd in to favour what we desire should succeed; this having been found one of the most effectual stratagems to wheedle the vulgar in all ages. But to proceed in Mr. BURCHET's account of this transaction: So soon, says he, as the English fleet could purchase their anchors, they put to sea, and bent their course westward; and coming in a few days off of Torbay, the Dutch ships were there discover'd. We had not view'd them.

CHAP. VI.



CHAP. them long, e'er a storm arose, and forced us out  
VI. of the channel; but returning in a little time, we gave the Dutch an opportunity of seeing what our strength might have enabled us to do, *Had our inclinations been to treat them as enemies.* (From whence it is evident, it was want of inclination, and not the want of favourable winds, that prevented their falling upon the Dutch at this time, as it is extremely probable therefore it was before, when they pretended they could not get up their anchors at the Gunfleet.) But the Prince being landed, says Mr. BURCHET, and all things favouring his designs, the Admiral sail'd with his fleet to the Downs; where several officers known, or at least suspected to be Roman Catholicks, being dismiss'd from their employments, an humble address was presented from the rest to his Highness the Prince. After considering which account, I believe few people at this day will be of opinion, that heaven need have been at the expence of a miracle, to prevent the English fleet's falling upon the Dutch.

The Prince of Orange being landed, proceeded no less prosperously on shore than he had done at sea; for he advanc'd on the eighth of November to Exeter without opposition, and made his entry into that city in a triumphant manner; but the people did not seem at first very forward in coming in to him, having been terrified not long before with the executions that follow'd the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion. Here therefore the Prince thought fit to make a halt, till he was better inform'd how the country stood affected; and he was in such suspense at this time, that it was once debated, whether he should not re-imbark his troops, and return to Holland. But a few days mightily alter'd the face of his affairs; for on the fifteenth of November great numbers of gentry of the neighbouring counties came in, and offer'd their assistance to the Prince; among whom were Sir EDWARD SEYMOUR, Sir WILLIAM PORTMAN, Sir FRANCIS WAR, &c. who propos'd the entering into an association for their mutual defence, and an instrument was drawn up accordingly; wherein they promise to the Prince, and to each other, to maintain the cause they were engag'd in, and never to separate, till their religion and liberties were secur'd to them in a free Parliament. And if their enemies should attempt any thing against the life of the Prince, they solemnly engage to pursue them, and all they found in arms against them, with the utmost severity of a just revenge; which being sign'd by all the nobility and gentry about the Prince, was sent to Oxford and other parts of England, where it was sign'd by many more. In the mean time several others of the nobility and gentry join'd the Prince at Exeter, particularly the Lord COLCHESTER, son to the Earl of Rivers, an officer of the life-

guards, and some private troopers of that body, CHA the Earl of ABINGDON, Mr. RUSSEL, and o- VI. thers; and soon after the Lord CORNBURY, son to the Earl of Clarendon, a Colonel of dragoons lying at Salisbury, who pretending orders from the King to dislodge the enemy from an advanc'd post, brought over his own regiment, and great part of the regiments of horse of Berwick, St. Albans, and Fenwick, and at the same time there were insurrections in the Prince's favour in all parts of the kingdom.

King JAMES, observing how the Prince's troops every day increas'd by the defection of his own, which he apprehended could only be prevented by his appearing at the head of them, and entering upon immediate action, went down to Salisbury; but to his great surprize, some of the principal Officers of the army desired the Earl of Feversham, their General, to acquaint his Majesty, that though they were ready to spill the last drop of their blood for him on any other occasion, they could not in conscience serve against the Prince, who was come over with no other design than to procure the calling of a Free Parliament, for the security of their religion and liberties. And the next day the Lord CHURCHILL, who commanded a brigade, and was the King's principal favourite, and consequently the last man whose fidelity he could have suspected, went over to the Prince, accompanied by the Duke of GRAFTON, and many of his officers and soldiers which serv'd under him. And now the King being entirely convinc'd there was no confiding in his troops, thought fit to return towards London, being deserted on the way thither by Prince GEORGE of Denmark, the Duke of ORMOND, and others of the first quality, who left him at Andover: and arriving at Whitehall the twenty-sixth of November, he found the Princess ANNE of Denmark also had privately retir'd from thence the night before; which so affected him, 'tis said, that in the anguish of his soul he cried out on entering his apartment, *God help me, my own children have forsaken me!*

In this distress his Majesty summon'd the Lords spiritual and temporal, which were about town to attend him, and give him their advice; who unanimously agreed, That considering the present state of the kingdom, it would be advisable for his Majesty to grant a general pardon to all who had join'd the Prince before or since his landing; and that he would depute some Lords to treat with the Prince concerning a suspension of arms, and bringing matters to an accommodation: and lastly, to quiet his people's fears, would immediately turn all Roman Catholick Officers and Magistrates out of their employments. And accordingly a proclamation was issued the 30th of November, for the Parliament to assemble the 15th



HA P. 15th of January following, and the Marquis of VI. Hallifax, the Earl of Rochester, and the Lord Godolphin, were appointed Commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. As to the turning out the Roman Catholicks, his Majesty declar'd he would leave that also to the Parliament. The Commissioners set out from London to attend the Prince the second of December, the Earl of Clarendon having deserted his Majesty the day before. On the sixth of December the King receiv'd an express from the Commissioners, acquainting him that they were to meet the Prince that night at Amesbury; but the next day there arriv'd a second express, to acquaint him that the Prince would meet them at Hungerford, and had sent the Earls of Clarendon and Oxford to them to desire their proposals in writing: which answer was not only look'd upon as dilatory and evasive, but to express a contempt of his Majesty; and the rather, because the Earl of Clarendon, the profess'd enemy of the Marquis of Hallifax, the King's principal Commissioner, was sent with it. But however that was, the Commissioners on the eighth of December deliver'd to the Prince their proposals in writing; wherein they observ'd, that as all the causes of complaint enumerated by the Prince seem'd to be referr'd to a free Parliament, the King had actually issued a proclamation for their meeting, and they were come to adjust all matters necessary to the freedom of elections, and the security of their sitting.

In answer to this, the Prince requir'd, 1. That all Papists and unqualified persons should be disarm'd and remov'd from all employments. 2. That all proclamations against him and his adherents should be recalled. 3. That the Tower of London and Tilbury-Fort be put into the hands of the city. 4. That if his Majesty remain'd at London during the sitting of Parliament, his Highness might be there also with an equal number of troops; or whatever distance the King thought fit to be, his Highness might be at the same distance. 5. That the armies be thirty miles from London, and no other forces admitted into the kingdom: and for prevention of the French landing, that Portsmouth be put into such hands as should be agreed between his Majesty and the Prince. And lastly, that part of the publick revenue be assign'd for the subsistence of the Prince's troops.

With these conditions his Majesty did not at first seem to be dissatisfied; but the Popish party about him, 'tis said, dreading nothing more than the meeting of the Parliament, concluding that their religion at least must be given up, and some of them sacrificed to atone for past miscarriages; and the King himself apprehending that such limitations would be put upon the prerogative, and his power so restrain'd, that he should be little

more than a cypher in the government; but chiefly CHAP. IV. relying on the assistance of the French King to restore him to his dominions, he determin'd to retire into France, and wait for a favourable opportunity, when he might return again with honour. And it was supposed, that the Prince also had some good Protestants about his Majesty, who encourag'd him in these sentiments, and terrified him with imaginary plots against his life, believing they should be best able to accomplish the scheme they had laid in his absence. But whatever were the motives, in the night between the ninth and tenth of December, the King sent away his Queen and son, an infant of six months old, who landed safely at Calais the next day; and the following night the King took water at Whitehall, in order to embark for that kingdom, leaving a letter directed to his General, the Earl of Feversham; wherein he tells him, that if he could have relied on his troops, he would have had one blow for it, but though there were many brave men amongst them, he had been advised by the General himself, and several other officers, that it was no way advisable to adventure himself at their head, or fight the Prince of Orange with them; therefore he could only now thank those who had been loyal and faithful to him, and hoped they would still retain their fidelity, though he did not expect they should expose themselves at this juncture, but hoped they would keep themselves free from associations, and such pernicious snares. Before his Majesty took water, 'tis said, he order'd the writs which were issued for calling a Parliament to be recalled, and in his passage cross the Thames, threw the broad-seal into the river; which his adversarie afterwards made an evidence of his abdicating the government.

Upon the King's withdrawing himself, the officers of the army who were about town met at Whitehall, and sent an express to the Prince of Orange to acquaint him with it; assuring his Highness, that they would assist the Lord Mayor in keeping the city quiet till his arrival there. At the same time the Lords spiritual and temporal, to the number of thirty, which were about the city, assembled at Guildhall, among whom was the Archbishop of Canterbury; and having sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, drew up a declaration; wherein reciting that his Majesty had withdrawn himself, as they apprehended, in order to depart the kingdom, they unanimously resolved to apply themselves to the Prince of Orange, and to assist his Highness in the obtaining a free Parliament wherein their laws, liberties, and properties might be secur'd; and that in the mean time they would endeavour to preserve the peace and security of those great cities of London and Westminster, by disarming all Papists about the same; which declaration being sign'd by all the Lords present,

King James leaves Whitehall, and attempts to go beyond sea.



CHAP. VI. the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Viscount Weymouth, the Bishop of Ely, and the Lord Colepeper, were appointed to attend his Highness with it; and to acquaint him that they had taken the keys from Colonel SKELTON, Lieutenant of the Tower, and given the command of it to the Lord LUCAS, which the Prince approved.

The city of London also addressed the Prince, desiring his protection, and that he would repair thither: and another address of the same purport was presented him by the lieutenancy. And notwithstanding the militia were under arms, the mob rose and demolish'd the mass-houses, plundering the houses of some persons of quality of the Popish religion, particularly those of the Spanish and Florentine Ambassadors, where many wealthy Roman Catholics had lodged their best effects, and where the consecrated plate and utensils belonging to the royal chapels were deposited, as in places of security, and what the mob could not carry away they burnt; neither were they much interrupted in these riotous practices, either by the militia or civil magistrates, who were most of them secretly pleased to see them exercise their fury against the Papists, from whom they were apprehensive of a treatment of the like nature but a little before. The Lord Chancellor JEFFERIES also fell into the hands of the mob, and was in danger of being pull'd to pieces, but was secured by the militia, and carried to the Tower at his own request, as a place where he might be most secure from the insults of the people, who were sufficiently enraged against him, as one of the principal instruments in their late oppressions.

The Earl of Feversham in the mean time having received his Majesty's letter at Uxbridge, (where he lay with part of the army, in expectation of his Majesty's coming down thither) having drawn out the troops, read the letter at the head of them, and afterwards disbanded the army, which contributed to the distractions of the times; the soldiers being destitute of all means of subsistence, and forced to commit some irregularities. The next day happen'd that universal alarm over the whole kingdom, which obtain'd the name of *the Irish-Fright*; when it was given out that the Papists and Irish regiments were burning and destroying the whole country. And as this report was spread in all parts of the kingdom at the same instant, it is supposed to have been a stratagem of the Prince's Generals, to create in the minds of the people the greater abhorrence of the late administration; as was a former account of the Papists preparing saws, spits, grid-irons and other instruments of cruelty, in order to begin a persecution against the Protestants, that should equal any of those in the primitive times. Those fictions, how incredible soever, wrought wonderfully upon the common people, and even among those who would

be esteem'd something above the vulgar, and serv'd to establish the Prince's interest, and to beget in the people the utmost detestation of the late King and his Ministers. CHAP. VI.

In the mean time his Majesty by contrary winds, or some other cross accident, was detain'd upon the coast of Kent near Feversham, when the sea-men and fishermen thereabouts taking the liberty to search all vessels that passed that way for Popish priests, as they pretended, pillaged the passengers of what they had; and happening to seize the vessel the King was in, used him a little roughly before they knew him, taking from him four hundred guineas, with some valuable seals and jewels: but a constable of the place at length discovering it was his Majesty, fell upon his knees, and begg'd his pardon for the rudeness of the mob, commanding them to return what they had taken; but the King distributed the gold amongst them, and kept only the seals and jewels. From hence his Majesty was carried to an inn in the town, and sending for the Earl of Winchelsea, who was at his seat in the neighbourhood, he prevail'd upon the King not to leave the nation, but to return to London; and the Privy-Council also hearing where he was, sent some of their number to attend him and invite him to Whitehall. His Majesty thereupon set out from Feversham on the sixteenth of December, and arriv'd at London the same night, with his guards and usual splendour, being welcom'd thither by the loud acclamations of the people, who made bonfires, rung their bells, and illuminated the streets, as if his Majesty had return'd from some glorious expedition; which appear'd to be no small mortification to the Prince of Orange, who did not expect to have seen any thing of this kind, after the intelligence he had received of his Majesty's being embarked for France: and it is evident this occurrence did a little ruffle the hero's temper, and induce him to forget the respect due to so near a relation and a crown'd head; for the King sending the Earl of Feversham to the Prince, kindly to invite him to come to St. James's palace, that they might personally confer together of the means for redressing the publick grievances, his Highness, instead of returning any answer, made the Earl of Feversham prisoner, and sign'd a kind of an order, requiring King JAMES to remove out of his palace of Whitehall the seventeenth instant, to a house of the Duchess of Lauderdale's at Ham, and commanded the Dutch guards to take possession of the posts about Whitehall that night by force, if the King's guards did not quit them voluntarily. King JAMES hereupon sent for Count SOLMES, who commanded that detachment of the Dutch troops, who were order'd to take possession of Whitehall, and earnestly desir'd him to let him have his own guards that night; but the Count an-



CHAP. VI. answering he had positive orders to take the posts at that time, the King bid him do as he was commanded, and the English guards thereupon retir'd. The Dutch having thus taken possession of Whitehall, three English Lords from the Prince intruded into the King's apartment a little after midnight, when he was in bed, and shewed him the Prince's order above-mention'd for his leaving his palace, and removing to Ham, desiring he would be gone early in the morning, that he might not meet the Prince in his way to London, whither he was to come that day; with which his Majesty answer'd he would comply, but desired he might rather go to Rochester than Ham, to which the Prince consented; but would not suffer him to have his own guards or coaches to carry him by land, but compell'd him, tho' the King urged the rigour of the season and his ill state of health, to go by water to Gravesend. And now, says one of our reverend English historians, the Prince having a clear stage, took this favourable opportunity of making his first appearance in London, (the same day the King was driven from his palace) where he received the congratulations of the nobility and gentry, and of the city of London, who but two days before had express'd no less joy at the arrival of his competitor King JAMES. The mob also, while their betters were complimenting the Prince, and offering him the administration, plunder'd the houses of the Papists, not sparing those of the nobility and foreign ministers.

The King goes over to France,

The King having been used in that imperious manner by the Prince and his adherents at his return to London, and finding by their refusing to treat with him, that he was no more to be consider'd as a sovereign Prince, was apprehensive that the next step would be imprisonment at least, which his present condition seem'd to border upon, being put under a guard of foreigners; he took the opportunity therefore of a dark night, and went on board a ship provided for him in the river, on the twenty-third of December, early in the morning, and was soon after landed in France, to the unspeakable joy of the Prince's party, as well as his own.

The Prince of Orange in the mean time having assembled about sixty Lords, who sat in their own house, and about an hundred and fifty Commons, who were members in the reign of King CHARLES II, with the Aldermen of London, and part of the Common-Council, who sat in the Lower-House; he desired their advice in the present conjuncture, and particularly as to the calling of a Parliament: whereupon they advised his Highness to send his letters to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the several counties, universities, cities, boroughs, and cinque-ports of the kingdom. The letters for the counties to be di-

rected to the Coroners of the respective counties, CHAP. VI. and in default of the Coroners to the respective Clerks of the peace; the letters for the universities to be directed to the Vice-chancellors; and the letters to the corporations to be directed to the chief Magistrate in each; containing directions for chusing members to represent them in Parliament: notice of which elections to be publish'd in the churches, and the said Parliament to meet at Westminster on the twenty-second of January 1688-9.

The Prince of Orange also having assembled as many of the Scotch nobility and gentry as were about London, made a speech to them much of the same purport with that he made to the English Lords and Gentlemen, viz. That the only reason that induced him to undergo so great an undertaking was, that he saw the laws and liberties of these kingdoms over-turn'd, and the Protestant religion in imminent danger, and desired their advice in this conjuncture. Whereupon the assembly, having chosen Duke HAMILTON their President, address'd his Highness, thanking him for this generous undertaking to preserve their religion, laws, and liberties, and desired he would take upon him the administration of the government, and the disposal of the publick revenue, and call a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh the fourteenth of March. But the Presbyterians in Scotland had been before-hand with the Lords, and taken the government into their hands; if it may be called a government, which consisted chiefly in plundering all that differ'd from them in opinion, not only Papists, but the Bishops, Clergy, and people of the then establish'd church.

King JAMES, apprehending from the steps that were taken in England, that there was a design to depose him, wrote letters to the Lords and others of his privy-council; wherein he desires them to observe, that he had taken away all causes, and even pretences of discontent, and redress'd all those grievances that were set forth as the occasion of the invasion: That the Prince notwithstanding had laid a restraint upon his person, and render'd it impossible to have a free Parliament by confining him; for as it was absurd to call that a free Parliament, where a force was put upon either of the Houses, it was much more so where the Sovereign, by whose authority they meet and sit, and from whose assent all their acts receive their life and sanction, is under actual confinement: That the sense of the indignities he had suffer'd, and the apprehension of further attempts from those who had already endeavour'd to murder his reputation, by suggesting he had imposed a Prince of Wales upon the kingdom; and the consideration of his royal father's maxim, *That there was little distance between the prisons and the graves of Princes*; had induced him to free himself



CHAP. himself from that unjust confinement, as well for  
 VI. the security of his person, as to put himself in a  
 capacity of contributing to the peace and settle-  
 ment of his kingdoms; and that no provocation  
 of his subjects, or any other consideration should  
 prevail with him to make the least step contrary  
 to the true interest of the nation; which he re-  
 quired the Privy-Council to make known to the  
 Lords, the city of London, and the rest of his  
 subjects, and that he desired nothing more than  
 a free Parliament, wherein their religion, liber-  
 ties, and properties might be secured. He desired  
 their advice therefore concerning his return to  
 his people for the accomplishment of these ends.  
 This letter was printed and dispersed about Lon-  
 don, but no notice being taken of it by the  
 Privy-Council, upon the assembling of the Con-  
 vention-Parliament King JAMES wrote another  
 directed to the Lords and Commons: wherein he  
 acquaints them, That nothing should be wanting  
 on his part for the redressing of former errors, or  
 securing the Protestant religion, or the property  
 of the subject; desiring to refer the whole to a  
 Parliament legally called, freely elected, and held  
 without restraint: That he should extend his  
 mercy even to those who betrayed him, some few  
 excepted, resolving by an act of oblivion to cover  
 all past faults. This letter was presented to the  
 Speaker of the House of Lords the Marquis of  
 Halifax by the Lord Preston, and a copy of it  
 was also given to the Speaker of the Commons;  
 but neither the one or the other was open'd, and  
 very little notice taken of them.

Various opi-  
 nions on the  
 abdication.

In the convention, though it was generally  
 agreed to provide against the return of King  
 JAMES, and his being admitted any more to the  
 administration of the government; yet various  
 were the opinions on whom the government should  
 devolve at this conjuncture. One set of men in-  
 sisted, That King JAMES having deserted the  
 kingdom, and appointed no person to administer  
 the government in his absence, this amounted in  
 law to a demise, and the next heir ought to suc-  
 ceed as if he was dead. Another party were of  
 opinion, That King JAMES having broken the  
 original contract between King and People, by  
 violating the fundamental laws, and abdicating  
 the government, the throne was thereby become  
 vacant, the government dissolved, and the people  
 were empower'd by the law of nature to fill the  
 throne, or to set up any other form of govern-  
 ment they saw fit. A third sort held, That  
 King JAMES having embraced a false religion,  
 which obliged him to destroy those subjects he  
 ought to protect, the case was the same as if the  
 King was under any natural incapacity, as phrenzy  
 or dotting old-age; and that then the next in blood,  
 according to the English constitution, ought to  
 assume the administration of the government in

the room of the disabled Prince (but in his name) CHA  
 during his life, or so long as such incapacity VI  
 remain'd.

The Lords upon the question resolved, that the  
 throne was not vacant, because by the laws of  
 England the throne is always full; that on a de-  
 mise of the former King the throne is immediately  
 filled by the Successor.

The Commons insisted there could be no de-  
 mise while the King was living, but that the King  
 by his male-administration had forfeited the crown  
 for himself and his posterity; and therefore, *That*  
*the Throne was vacant*, and the people empower'd  
 to make a new election.

I shall not pretend to say here, which of these  
 opinions had most law or reason to support it;  
 but after a long debate on this subject between  
 the two houses, they were given to understand,  
 that the Prince of Orange was determined to have  
 the administration of the government lodged solely  
 in himself, exclusive of his Princess, or he would re-  
 turn to Holland again, and leave the people to shift  
 for themselves: which put the two Houses into such  
 a consternation, that on the thirteenth of February  
 1688-9, they declared the Prince and Princess of  
 Orange to be King and Queen of England during  
 their lives, and the life of the longer liver of them;  
 but, *That the sole exercise of the Regal Power be only*  
*in and executed by the said Prince of Orange*, in the  
 names of the said Prince and Princess during their  
 joint lives, remainder after their decease to the  
 heirs of the Princess, and for default of such issue  
 to the Princess ANNE of Denmark and the heirs  
 of her body, and for default of such issue to the  
 heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange.  
 And the Prince in pursuance of this declaration  
 took upon him the regal titles and authority. But  
 the following Bishops, notwithstanding they had  
 agreed in committing the administration of the  
 government to the Prince of Orange, on King  
 JAMES's withdrawing himself, thought fit to refuse  
 taking the oaths to King WILLIAM, viz. the  
 Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of  
 Gloucester, Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, and  
 Peterborough. And about the middle of March  
 the royal Scots regiment of horse quarter'd at A-  
 bington, and great part of DUNBARTON's regi-  
 ment declared for King JAMES, and marched  
 towards Scotland: but a detachment of Dutch  
 troops being sent after them, they were brought  
 back prisoners to London.

The Dissenters having wheedled themselves  
 into the good graces of King WILLIAM about  
 this time, he proposed to the Convention, that  
 they might be admitted into places of trust and  
 profit, and the oaths altered for their satisfaction;  
 but the two Houses did not think fit to comply  
 with the motion. On the eleventh of April King  
 WILLIAM and Queen MARY were crown'd at  
 West-

The Pri  
 and Pri  
 of Oran  
 declared  
 King an  
 Queen.



HA P. VI. Westminster by the Bishop of London, Dr. BURNET preaching the coronation-sermon; and the same day they were proclaim'd King and Queen at Edinburgh, the convention there having before declar'd the throne vacant, according to the precedent England had set them. But it was some months before King WILLIAM was so universally acknowledg'd in Scotland as in England: for the Duke of Gordon having possessed himself of Edinburgh-castle, did not surrender it till the thirteenth of June; and on the sixteenth of July a battle was fought between the Lord DUNDEE, General for King JAMES in Scotland, and General MACKAY, wherein MACKAY was routed; but DUNDEE happening to be killed in the action, the interest of King JAMES declined in that kingdom, and his friends never appear'd in a considerable body afterwards. On the twenty-second of the same month an act passed in Scotland for abolishing episcopacy there.

On the other hand, Ireland being generally in the interest of King JAMES, he was convoyed thither by a squadron of French men of war, and landed there with five thousand troops of that nation: soon after which he caused Londonderry to be invested, and assembled the Parliament of that kingdom, which met on the twenty-ninth of April 1689, and attainted the Duke of Ormond, the Archbishops, seven Bishops, and many of the nobility and gentry of Ireland. But King WILLIAM having found means to relieve Londonderry by sea, King JAMES's forces were obliged to raise the siege. On the twelfth of July Duke SCHOMBERG was detach'd from England with a body of ten thousand forces to support King WILLIAM's interest in Ireland; but the bloody flux reigning in the English army this campaign, they did not enter upon any considerable action.

The year following, anno 1690, King WILLIAM transported an army of between thirty and forty thousand men into Ireland, commanded by himself in person, and fought King JAMES, his father-in-law, on the banks of the Boyne, on the first of July, obtaining a compleat victory over the old King. For the greatest part of his army consisting of new-raised Irish regiments, not half arm'd, they were soon forced to give way to the veteran bodies of Germans, Dutch and English, of which King WILLIAM's army was composed. The French and Swiss however in King JAMES's army made a regular retreat, and the King finding it impossible to maintain his ground after this defeat, retir'd into France; whereupon his son advanced to Dublin, making a kind of triumphant entry into that city on the third of July. In the mean time the French fleet had defeated the English and Dutch, commanded by the Lord Torrington (formerly Admiral HERBERT) off of

Beachy-head, and the French rode triumphant on our coasts, making a descent with some few forces they had on board, and burning Tinmouth, put the kingdom into a very great consternation. King WILLIAM however went on successfully in Ireland, and made himself master of Waterford and other places; but sitting down before Limerick, was forced to raise the siege, his heavy cannon being rendred useless as they were coming to Limerick by a detachment of the enemy, commanded by Sarsfield, who defeated their convoy, and destroy'd the carriages and ammunition: whereupon King WILLIAM return'd to England. The following year, anno 1691, his Generals gave the enemy another defeat at Agrim; after which Limerick was taken, and the whole kingdom reduced under his power.

Having seen King WILLIAM in the peaceable possession of England, Scotland and Ireland, it is time to return to Holland, and observe the face of affairs on that side the water. The French King had threatned the Dutch, as has been observ'd already, to attack their frontiers if they made any attempt against England; he was exasperated also against them for taking part with Prince CLEMENT of Bavaria, who stood candidate for the bishoprick of Cologne against his creature Cardinal FURSTENBURG; it was expected therefore that he would have fallen upon the Dutch with the greatest part of his forces, to have diverted the Prince of Orange from his British expedition: but instead of this, the Dauphin march'd with the flower of the French army into Germany, and made himself master of Philipsburg, Worms, Spiers, Mayence, and other places on that side. As to the Dutch, they contented themselves with barely declaring war against them, on the 26th of November 1688, N.S. but march'd no troops towards their frontiers; though the Prince of Orange was at that time actually landed in England. In the year 1689, the French made dreadful ravages in the Palatinate, destroying the cities of Heidelberg, Mannheim, Frankendal, and all the places which had escaped them the preceding year. The Imperialists, on the other hand, took from them the cities of Mayence, Keyserwaert, Rhineberg and Bon. Upon the advancement of the Prince of Orange to the throne of Great Britain, the States sent a solemn embassy to compliment him upon the occasion, and to concert measures with him to oppose the French, against whom war had been proclaimed at London on the 7th of May 1689, by the English, as it was between the French and Spaniards much about the same time. And on the 15th of August 1689 happen'd a smart engagement near Walcourt in Flanders, between the Confederates, commanded by Prince Waldeck, and the French commanded by the Marshal D'HUMIERS; but it proved



CHAP. VI. proved a drawn battle. In the same month the English Parliament passed an act for the payment of six hundred thousand pounds to the States, for the charges of King WILLIAM's expedition to England.

Six hundred thousand pounds paid the Dutch for the charges of their expedition to England.

Terms of the grand alliance against France an. 1690-1.

The French made their greatest effort in Flanders in the year 1690, and gain'd a victory over the confederates in the plains of Fleury on the 1st of July, taking six thousand pri'oners, and all their cannon. The same year the Duke of Savoy came into the confederacy, and a grand congress being held at the Hague between all the Ministers of the allies in January 1690-91, King WILLIAM went over thither to assist at it. Wherein they came to these resolutions, and solemnly engaged, 1. That they would never make peace with LEWIS XIV, until he had made reparation to the Holy See for all injuries and encroachments upon it: nor till he had annulled and made void all his infamous proceedings against the present Pope INNOCENT XI. 2. Nor till he had restored to every one of the allies all he had taken from them since the peace of Munster. 3. Nor till he had restored to the Protestants of France all their possessions and goods, and granted them an entire liberty of conscience. Nor till the Estates of France were establish'd in their antient rights; so that the clergy, the nobility, and third estate might enjoy their lawful privileges. Nor till the King of France should consent to call together his said three Estates whenever any supply was to be raised, without whose consent he should not levy money upon any pretence whatsoever. Nor till he should consent to restore to the Parliaments of that Kingdom, and the rest of his subjects all their just rights. And in conclusion, the subjects of France were invited to join the confederates in this undertaking, for restoring them to their rights and liberties; and ruin and devastation was threatned to all that opposed them.

At this famous congress there were present many sovereign Princes besides King WILLIAM; as the Elector of Bavaria, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke of Lunenburg-Zell, the Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Prince of Wirtemberg, the two Princes of Anspach, the Duke of Cologne, the Duke of Holstein, the Rhinegrave, and a multitude of other German Princes; with the Ministers of the Emperor, Savoy, Denmark, Sweden, Saxony, Bavaria, Brandenburg, Treves, Mentz, Cologne, Munster, Lunenburg, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, Hanover, the Elector Palatine, Poland, Holstein-Gottorp, Liege and Ham-  
burgh

Notwithstanding this numerous confederacy, the French were masters of the field in Flanders almost every campaign during the war. They

sat down before Mons in the beginning of the year 1691, and compelled that strong fortress to surrender on the first of April, O.S. King WILLIAM indeed put himself at the head of the confederate army, giving out that he would relieve the place; but finding it impracticable, return'd to the Hague. The same campaign the French took Hall, and falling upon the rear of the confederate army afterwards, as they were decamping from Lens, put them into some confusion at first; but the confederates made good their retreat, with the loss only of a thousand men.

The French open'd the campaign of 1692 with the siege of Namur, which King WILLIAM not finding himself in a condition to relieve, the town surrender'd on the fifth of June, after a siege of three weeks, and the castle on the 20th of July following, being one of the strongest fortresses in the Low Countries. On the other hand, the English and Dutch fleets under the command of the Admirals RUSSEL and ALLEMOND, gain'd a signal victory over the French near La Hogue, on the 19th of May, this year, burning and destroying one and twenty capital men of war, and among the rest the French Admiral, the Rising Sun, which was run on shore and burnt on the French coast, in sight of the French army, that was intended to have made a descent in England, if their fleet had met with success at sea. How the French came to bear down so boldly on the English fleet, as they did, when their own consisted but of sixty sail, and the confederates of eighty at least, still remains a mystery; though some, who would not be thought ignorant of the motives of any action, relate, that the French King apprehending the English and Dutch fleets could not be joined so soon, gave Admiral TOURVILLE express orders to fight as soon as he discovered the enemy. Others are of opinion, that they had an assurance of Admiral CARTER's squadron coming over to them; but the Admiral behaved himself with that gallantry as perfectly cleared him from any suspicion, and lost his life in the action.

Still the French were victorious in Flanders; for King WILLIAM attacking Marshal LUXEMBURG in his camp near Steinkirk, was forced to retreat with the loss of many thousands of brave officers and soldiers; which disgrace was ascribed to Count SOLMES, the Dutch General, who did not in time support the English in their first attack. Towards the latter end of the campaign, a reinforcement of fourteen thousand English for the confederate army landed at Ostend and Newport, and possess'd themselves of Furnes and Dixmude. The following campaign of 1693, was open'd by the siege of Huy, which surrender'd to the French on the eighth of July, after a siege of five days; which King WILLIAM expecting should have lasted

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**HAP. VI.** lasted much longer, had detach'd the Duke of Wirtemberg, with part of the confederate army, to raise contributions within the French lines; when the Duke of LUXEMBURG taking advantage of the separation of the confederate army, fell upon King WILLIAM on the 19th of July, near Landen, and obtain'd a compleat victory: after which he laid siege to Charleroy, and took it on the first of October. The same unfortunate campaign, Marshal CATINAT defeated the confederate army under the command of the Duke of Savoy, near Turin, where Duke SCHOMBERG, who commanded the English forces, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. This was the first battle where the foot charged with bayonets at the end of their loaded Muskets, to which stratagem the success of the French in this battle is generally ascribed.

The French continuing superiour to the confederates in Flanders, the Commons of England resolved to increase their land-forces to eighty thousand men, and granted an aid of four shillings in the pound, as they had done the preceding year, that being the first that ever was raised in England. The campaign of 1694 proved unfortunate to the Spaniards, who were defeated by the French in Catalonia on the 27th of May, and the city of Palamos taken by storm on the 8th of June following. The last day of the same month Gironne in Catalonia surrender'd to the French; but Admiral RUSSEL, with part of the confederate fleet, being commanded to protect the Spanish coasts in the Mediterranean, prevented the further progress of the enemy, and saved Barcelona at this time. Another part of the confederate fleet, with a great body of land-forces on board, under the command of General TALMASH, were order'd to make a descent on the French coasts near Brest, which they attempted the eighth of June; when the General landing with the first six hundred men, found such batteries and intrenchments, and other preparations made to receive them, that he found himself obliged to retire to his ships; but the tide ebbing, the flat-bottom'd boats stuck upon the ouse, and many of them were not able to get off. Most of them that landed were killed or wounded, and amongst the rest General TALMASH himself was mortally wounded, and died on his return to Portsmouth. The confederate fleet however afterwards bombarded Diep, Havre de Grace, Dunkirk and Calais; but the powder and shot spent against them, amounted, 'tis said, to as much as the damage the French sustain'd. The grand armies in Flanders being pretty near equal this campaign, they seem'd cautious of entering upon action, and there happen'd nothing considerable on that side, except the siege of Huy, which surrender'd to the confederates on the 17th of

September, after a week's open trenches. In the mean time religious disputes began to revive in Holland, between the Calvinists and Arminians, insomuch that the States found themselves obliged to interpose, and command a general silence concerning the things in dispute, which put a stop to them for the present. The winter following Queen MARY, King WILLIAM's consort, died of the small pox on the 28th of December, at Kensington. This did not however hinder the Hero from taking the field in Flanders the next campaign anno 1695, where he found Marshal VILLEROY at the head of the enemy's troops, that successful General LUXEMBURG dying the winter before. On the third of July King WILLIAM invested the city of Namur, which surrender'd the fourth of August, and the castle the second of September following. This was the most memorable siege that happened during the war, for the town and castle are of themselves exceeding strong, and had a garrison of fourteen thousand men in them, commanded by BOUFFLERS, a Marshal of France, who defended themselves so well, that the confederates lost twelve or fifteen thousand men before the place. While they were busy at this siege, Marshal VILLEROY had very near surprized Prince VAUDEMONT, who commanded a separate army of the confederates in Flanders, of thirty thousand men; but the Prince made a fine retreat to Ghent, without any considerable loss, upon which his military skill was much applauded, the enemy being twice his number. But the French met with better success against Dixmude and Deynse, which they took the latter end of July, and made the garrisons, consisting of six thousand men, prisoners of war, whom the French refused to exchange, till Marshal BOUFFLERS was arrested on his marching out of Namur, and obliged to give his parole of honour for their release. Before the castle of Namur surrender'd, Marshal VILLEROY also took the opportunity of bombarding Brussels, which was begun the thirteenth of August, and continued for eight and forty hours with the utmost fury, with bombs and red-hot bullets, whereby five and twenty hundred houses in the heart of that fine city were entirely destroy'd, besides churches and publick buildings, whose very foundations were blown up, and converted into heaps of rubbish: and this the French did (though it was contrary to the Cartel to bombard any capital city) by way of retaliation for the towns the confederates had bombarded upon the French coasts, without any view of taking them, which was look'd upon as a barbarous way of making war among Christians. About this time there happen'd a dangerous insurrection at Amsterdam, on account of some alterations that were introduced into their burial-service, which lasted several

**CHAP. VI.**

Queen Mary dies.

Namur retaken by the allies.

Brussels bombarded.



CHAP. VI. veral days, the houses of many wealthy citizens being plunder'd, and their persons abused, till at length the militia being assembled under arms, fired upon the rioters, as they were ravaging the quarter of the Jews, and dispersed them; and some of their leaders being executed for a terror to the rest, the city was reduced to its former tranquillity. The following winter the French had concerted with King JAMES the making of a descent upon England, and King JAMES, with a great body of forces, was actually march'd to the coast of France, with an intent to embark, waiting only to hear his friends in England were ready to receive him; for it seems there was a conspiracy in England to have fallen upon King WILLIAM's guards, and to have made him prisoner; and they were charged also with a design to assassinate him, which occasion'd this conspiracy to obtain the name of the *Affassination-Plot*: but 'tis certain the conspirators deny'd this last part of the plot at their deaths, though they made no scruple of acknowledging their design of joining King JAMES if he had landed. However, the plot being discover'd, and some of the principal conspirators apprehended, and a good body of troops brought over to England from Flanders, to oppose the intended invasion, the French King march'd his troops back again from the coasts, and King JAMES return'd to St. Germain.

The following year 1696, passed without any action in Flanders, and in Italy the Duke of Savoy having advantageous offers made him by the French King, made a separate peace; whereupon the confederates concluded a treaty with France, for the neutrality of Italy; and the following winter a treaty was agreed to be set on foot between France and all the Confederates. The King of Sweden being accepted for mediator; the conferences between the respective Plenipotentiaries for treating of a general peace were open'd at Ryswick near the Hague on the 29th of April O. S. 1697. The French however, sensible what a mighty influence the successes in the field have upon negotiations of this nature, made their utmost efforts on all sides this campaign. In Flanders they laid siege to the strong fortress of Aeth the 6th of May, and made themselves masters of it the 26th of the same month. In the Spanish West-Indies Admiral POINTY storm'd Cartagena and plunder'd it, bringing home to France twelve millions of crowns, according to the Spanish account. And into Catalonia the French march'd a powerful army, and laid siege to Barcelona, which was obliged to surrender on the 5th of August, tho' well defended by the Prince of Hesse-Darmstat, with a numerous garrison, which induced the Spaniards very unwillingly to sign the peace with the English and Dutch on the 10th of September O. S. The Imperialists were still more averse to the

signing the peace, and not without reason; for the terms the English and Dutch had procured for them were extremely disadvantageous to the Empire; Strasburgh with its dependencies and all Alsace being yielded to the French by this treaty. But the English and Dutch having gained their main point, in getting King WILLIAM acknowledged King of Great Britain, were not very solicitous for their allies. The Dutch especially were glad to make an end of the war when they found the English Parliament began to insist on their bearing their share of the expence. And the English had no reason to be fond of continuing it, when they were every year obliged to make good the deficiencies of their allies. The Germans also not finding themselves in a condition to maintain the war alone, agreed first to a cessation of arms, and on the 30th of October O. S. their Minister sign'd the treaty.

By the treaty between France and Savoy, the Duke obliged himself to abandon his confederates and procure a neutrality for Italy, or if that was refused by the allies, to enter into a league offensive and defensive with his most Christian Majesty against the Confederates. The French King, on the other hand, agreed to surrender to his Royal Highness the city and citadel of Pignerol with their dependencies, the fortifications being first demolish'd; but his Royal Highness was allowed to inclose the said city with a single wall not terrass'd. His most Christian Majesty also stipulated to restore to his Royal Highness the rest of the towns and countries he had conquer'd and taken from him, amongst which were Montmelian, Nice, Villa Franca, and Suza; and it was further agreed, that the Duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin's eldest son, should marry Madame the Princess, his Royal Highness's daughter: That the Ambassadors of Savoy in the court of France should receive the same honours as those of crown'd heads: That those who inhabit the Valleys of Lucerne by the name of Vaudois should have no communication with the subjects of France; nor should any Protestant Preacher come from thence into his Majesty's dominions: And as his Royal Highness should not suffer the exercise of the pretended reformed religion in any of the territories or places relinquish'd by his Majesty, so neither would his Majesty suffer it in his kingdom.

By the treaty between England and France, concluded at Ryswick the 10th of September O. S. 1697, the French King promised not to disturb King WILLIAM in the possession of the British Dominions, or to give any assistance to his enemies: And that he would restore to England all countries and places taken during the war. In like manner the said King of England agreed to restore all that had been taken from France. The French King also agreed to restore to

England threaten'd with an invasion.

The peace of Ryswick, an. 1697.

The treaty between France and Savoy.

The treaty between England and France.



HAP. VI. to the King of England the principality of Orange, and the rest of the territories belonging to him in France. And by a separate article it was agreed, that the Emperor should have time till the first day of November to accept the terms offer'd him by his Most Christian Majesty.

By the treaty between the French King and the States General it was agreed, That all countries, towns and places which had been taken during the war, should be restored on either side; and the late treaty between the most Christian King and the Duke of Savoy was thereby confirm'd: the rest of the treaty contain'd nothing but matters of course.

By the treaty between France and Spain, Gironne, Roses, Barcelona, and all other places taken by the French in Spain, were restored to his Catholick Majesty: and in the Low Countries, the city, province, and duchy of Luxemburg, and county of Chinay, the fortress of Charleroy, the city of Mons, the town of Courtray, and all towns and places which his most Christian Majesty had taken during the war, were restored to Spain. The town and castle of Dinant also were restor'd by his most Christian Majesty to the Bishop and Prince of Liege.

By the treaty between the Emperor and Empire on the one part, and France on the other, concluded the 30th of October 1697, it was agreed, That the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be the foundation of this treaty, where it was not otherwise expressly agreed to the contrary; and that restitution should be made to his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, and to the States and Members thereof, by the most Christian King, of whatever had been taken during the war; but yet so as that the Roman Catholick religion should continue in the state it then was, in the places to be restored. But as it was thought proper to make an exchange of some places, his Imperial Majesty yielded to his most Christian Majesty the city of Strasburg and its dependencies, on the west side of the Rhine, to be incorporated with the Kingdom of France. On the other hand, his most Christian Majesty yielded to the Emperor the Fort of Kehl, the city and castle of Friburg, the Fort of St. Peter, and the Star Fort; the town of Brisac, and fortress of Philipsburg, with all their dependencies; and the Duke of Lorraine was restored to the possession of his capital city of Nancy, and the rest of the duchy of Lorraine; the fortifications of Nancy only to be demolish'd, and the fort of Saar-Lewis, with some other small places, to be reserved to his most Christian Majesty; and his forces were to have liberty to march through the duchy to and from their frontier towns. It was stipulated also, that Cardinal FURSTENBERG, Bishop of Strasburg, should be restor'd to the pos-

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session of his territories and rights in the Empire. CHAP. VII.

As to the remainder of the Modern History of the United Provinces from the peace of Ryfwick to this time, the reader will meet with it in the former part of this Volume, blended with the history of Germany; wherein all the actions of the confederates and the French during the last war are described. I proceed therefore in the next place to enquire into the nature of the soil, and the produce of the United Provinces.

## CHAP. VII.

*Contains an account of the nature of the soil, and produce of the country, viz. their plants and animals.*

AS to the maritime provinces, it has been already intimated that they lie upon a perfect flat, cut through with numberless canals; except that on the western part of Holland, from the Maese to the Texel, containing the space of fourscore or an hundred miles, there lies one continued ridge of sand-hills, which serve to break the fury of the Ocean, the soil whereof produces only herbage enough to feed the rabbits, which are very plentiful all along that coast. The strand between the sand-hills and the sea is exceeding pleasant, whither multitudes of people resort on summer evenings, and are entertain'd with the prospect of ships and vessels under sail, going to and returning from all parts of the world; nor is it easy to say whether a smooth calm water, or a tempestuous sea, where the mariner is forc'd to use his utmost skill to preserve a leaky bark, affords the most exquisite delight. That part of the country which is not a barren sand consists either of arable, rich pasture, or a spongy marshy soil, out of which they dig turf, the general firing of the country. Their arable is tolerably fruitful, but does not produce corn enough however for half the numerous inhabitants. Their meadow or pasture, which is most of it under water in the winter, on the return of the summer, either by the sun, or the help of wind-mills, is drain'd or dried up, and the waters leaving a fat slime behind, become exceeding fruitful; on which they either feed such lean cattle as come from Denmark and the North, or milch kine, with which they make vast quantities of as good butter and cheese, as are to be met with in Europe. They have also large plantations of flax and hemp, but much the greatest part of what they work comes from Germany, or the Baltick. The turf which they dig in their bogs, or *Veens*, as they call them, are an excellent firing, which burn as clear and sweet as the best wood; and this earth, 'tis said, after cutting, swells and grows up

H h



CHAP. up again in the space of a few years, and may  
 VII. be cut for the same use again. As for timber,  
 there is very little in the country, except some  
 groves and plantations on the side of their canals,  
 intended more for pleasure than profit. As to  
 the inland provinces of Utrecht and Guelder-  
 land, here indeed the country begins to rise into  
 hills, and there is much the same variety of high  
 and low lands, woods and champaign, as we meet  
 with in England, and the country produces a to-  
 lerable quantity of grain. They seem to take  
 pleasure also in fine gardens and orchards, and  
 are arrived to a great perfection in flowers. Mi-  
 nerals they have none, nor do they dig below  
 the surface of the earth upon any account, un-  
 less it be for turf or clay. The province of O-  
 veryssel consists chiefly of heaths and marshes, and  
 is the worst inhabited of any of the seven. The  
 grain which is produced in the United Provinces,  
 is either the common wheat, or buck-wheat, rye,  
 barley, peas and beans. They have also some  
 plantations of hops and rape-seed, out of the last  
 of which they draw oil. Their fruit is much the  
 same with ours, and frequently blasted in the  
 spring, or blown down in autumn by the tem-  
 pestuous winds on their coasts, before it comes to  
 maturity. Their milch cattle are very large, and  
 give incredible quantities of milk; and those  
 which they buy from the northern countries, and  
 fat in their pastures, grow to a very great bulk.  
 Their common breed of horses are large and hea-  
 vy; but, 'tis said, care has been taken of late  
 years to mend it. Their sheep are very good, e-  
 specially in Zealand, where they feed on the salt-  
 marshes. Their hogs-flesh is but indifferent. In  
 the uplands there are plenty of hares, rabbits and  
 squirrels, but scarce any deer. Their wild beasts,  
 which are found chiefly in the provinces border-  
 ing on Germany, are wolves and wild hogs. Here  
 are all manner of tame fowls as in England; and  
 of the wild, the stork, about the bigness of a  
 heron, is the most remarkable, which builds on  
 the tops of their chimneys in most of the towns  
 and villages; and by virtue of a national supersti-  
 tion in their favour, are never destroy'd. They  
 take their flight with their young brood about the  
 beginning of August, and, as some conjecture, re-  
 tire into Africa, or some other warm country,  
 returning again in February. There are prodig-  
 ious numbers of wild geese, ducks, and other  
 water-fowl also, which visit the Low Countries  
 from the North every winter; nor do they want  
 partridges, snipes, quails, or pigeons.

Fish. The fish in their rivers are salmon, perch, trout,  
 jacks and eels; and their sea-fish, haddocks, ha-  
 berdine, sturgeon, soles, mackerel, smelts, crabs,  
 and some other sorts of shell-fish; but there are  
 scarce any oysters or herrings upon the coast.

The game is generally the right of the nobility CH A  
 and gentry, inferior people being excluded these VII  
 recreations, as in England; and the fisheries in  
 some places are appropriated also to them, but in  
 others are open to every man who likes these kind  
 of amusements. I proceed next to give some ac-  
 count of their grand fisheries, especially that of  
 herrings.

## CH A P. VIII.

### *Treats of their great fisheries.*

THE three great fisheries, which by all that The gre  
 treat of the United Provinces are look'd up- fisheries  
 on to be of such vast advantage to their state, are,  
 the herring-fishery, the whale-fishery, and the  
 cod-fishery. In these fisheries the provinces of The her  
 Holland and Zealand are principally concerned; ring-fishe  
 and that of Holland alone, according to Pensio-  
 nary DE WITT in his time, annually set out no  
 less than a thousand sail, from twenty-four to  
 thirty tun, to be employ'd in the herring-fishery,  
 which are since increased in bigness from thirty  
 to fifty tuns. These busses, with the vessels that  
 attend them, and those which are employ'd in  
 carrying and dispersing them all over Europe, a-  
 mount to many thousand sail, and at a moderate  
 computation, in all the maritime provinces, oc-  
 casion the employing of fourscore thousand hands,  
 which makes it a noble nursery for seamen. The  
 busses are sent out three times every year, and be-  
 gin to fish the first season on midsummer-day,  
 near the islands of Schetland (belonging to the  
 British crown) and on the north of Scotland;  
 and this season lasts till September, when the  
 busses having discharged their lading in Holland,  
 fish near Yarmouth, and at the mouth of the  
 Humber, on the coast of England; and hither  
 they make two trips every year, the season not  
 being over till the latter end of November. Ac-  
 cording to Sir WALTER RALEIGH's computa-  
 tion in the reign of King JAMES I, the Dutch  
 fished on the British coast, with no less than three  
 thousand ships, and fifty thousand men; and em-  
 ploy'd and set to sea, to transport and sell the fish  
 so taken, and to make returns thereof, nine thou-  
 sand ships, and one hundred and fifty thousand  
 men more; adding, that every twenty busses main-  
 tain'd eight thousand people at sea or on shore.  
 These calculations I find some writers think to be  
 of the largest; but I believe very few that have  
 succeeded Sir WALTER are better qualified to  
 make a computation of these matters than he was;  
 and as the scheme was laid before King JAMES,  
 with whom this gentleman was not in very good  
 terms, it is to be presumed he took care to have  
 proof of what he advanced.

However,



CHAP. VIII. However, if it should be admitted that the Dutch employ only one thousand busses in the herring fishery, and that these busses at a medium may be reckon'd forty tons each, and that they make three trips every year; then every bus may be supposed to take an hundred and twenty tun, and consequently the whole fleet an hundred and twenty thousand tun of herrings. Again, if every tun is supposed to be worth twenty pounds, then do they by the herring-fishery alone, make annually two millions four hundred thousand pounds; out of which, if we allow a third part for charges, there remains clear sixteen hundred thousand pounds; to which if we add the profits they make by the goods they take in return for them and export again, two millions sterling is the least they can be supposed to make annually, clear of all expences; and the multitude of hands that are employ'd in the making of nets and casks, shipping and tackle occasion'd by this fishery, and in the salting, curing, and packing of them, makes it an inconceivable advantage to Holland. If it be demanded why the subjects of Britain, on whose coasts alone these fish are caught, reap so very little profit by this fishery, and their neighbours so much, it is generally answer'd, 1. That we do not understand the right method of curing them, which is the reason they will not go off at foreign markets as long as the Dutch have any to sell. 2. That though we have timber for building vessels of our own growth, yet the Dutch can import timber from Germany much cheaper than ours is at home; and that by their saw-mills, and other engines, they save such a number of hands, that the building of ships and other vessels is perform'd for half the expence it is here. 3. That the shipping sent to the Baltick with herrings, loads back with corn, timber, and other heavy goods, which the English having little occasion for, must return empty, and thereby lose their freight homeward bound. 4. That the rivers Rhine and Maese running through a vast tract of a well-peopled country, and discharging themselves into the sea through the United Provinces, the Dutch have an opportunity of furnishing the people which lie near the banks of those rivers with herrings, and of taking their merchandize in return, which the subjects of Britain by their situation are perfectly excluded from. To the first of these objections against the subjects of Britain applying themselves to the herring-fishery, I find it reply'd, that there is very little mystery in the curing and pickling of herrings, and that the true reason the Dutch herrings are better than ours, is, because we want proper vessels to cure and salt them in: That the Scots particularly fish in open boats, and let their herrings lie exposed to the weather till they come on shore, before they salt them; while the Dutch busses are cover'd,

and the fish salted in them before they are well dead. But this might certainly be done by the English as well as the Dutch, and would be so if the fishery was under any regulation, and made a government concern. It cannot be expected indeed that foreigners should take off our herrings on the same terms they do those of Holland till we cure them as well, and then we need not doubt their custom: but methinks we have this advantage of the Dutch, that our coasts are so near the fishery, that we may put our herrings on shore, and prepare them for the market much sooner than the Dutch can: for though the first salting be perform'd in the busses, they are all taken out and prepared in a different manner, and put into other casks when they come on shore, in order to be sent to foreign markets. And admit there be an art in the pickling them that we are yet unacquainted with, surely we are not so dull, but by sending over half a dozen clever fellows thither to observe their method, or inviting some of them over hither by good rewards, we might soon come into it: and indeed till we do make them as good and as merchantable as the Dutch, it is in vain for our superiours to concern themselves in the matter, and beg foreigners custom, as we did lately at Hamburgh; for we must ever expect the same answer that city gave us on this occasion, viz. That if our fish were equally good, they would with all their hearts deal with us as soon as with the Dutch. It is however to be remember'd in favour of the natives of this island, that though our pickled herrings are not so good as those of Holland, our red herrings are the best in Europe, and are a manufacture almost peculiar to Britain, which is one great encouragement to the entering on this fishery.

2. As to that objection, That timber for building vessels and naval stores are dearer here than in Holland, this seems generally admitted at present; but the case would be wonderfully altered if due encouragement were given for importing them from the British plantations, where there is more timber stands neglected, and more pitch and tar, flax and hemp might be produced at an easy expence, and brought us in return for the native commodities and manufactures we export, than are sufficient to supply all the shipping of Europe. This would produce such a variety of benefits, of such importance to Britain, and of such a lasting duration, that, 'tis presumed, the government will not long overlook them. We want, in short, nothing to make us the greatest and wealthiest people upon earth, but to improve the advantages we have in our hands. The very traffick we might maintain between our own people of the old and new world, would soon give us a vast superiority over the rest of the nations of Europe. As it is, this trade does not employ



CHAP. VIII. less than a thousand sail of ships from an hundred to five hundred tons; whereas a little more than an hundred years ago we had little or no traffick with that part of the world. But I forbear to enlarge on this subject here, and proceed to consider the second part of this article; namely, That the Dutch can build their busses for the herring-fishery cheaper, because they have more expeditious ways of working their timber by saw-mills, &c. by which means one man will do the business of ten: nor is this to be denied; for it seems we are afraid to introduce these machines, lest our people should want employment. Now did we consider the irreparable injury we bring upon our country by neglecting to introduce such engines, as might enable us to work as cheap as our neighbours, not a man of us would make this trifling objection against them; especially against such as promote our navigation and manufactures. The cheaper we can build ships, and work our manufactures, the cheaper we can send them abroad, and afford the better pennyworths to all we deal with: and this is one of those important secrets by which the Dutch have ever undermin'd and work'd us out of our foreign trade. As for their living more frugally, and working their vessels with fewer hands, I look upon these articles to be trifles: for what mighty difference can it make in the voyage, where fifteen or twenty hands are employ'd in navigating a ship of three or four hundred tuns, where the Dutch shall spend four shilling; and the English five shillings a head per week; what great difference, I say, can this make in a cargo of three or four hundred tuns, even where it is of the meanest value? And perhaps if it be consider'd, as we employ more hands, consequently we breed up more mariners, and our ships are liable to fewer hazards, I question whether in the main they have any advantage of us in these respects. But further it is to be observed, That we should in this case be so far from having our poor multiply upon us, and of having too many idle hands, that we should have much fewer than we have at present. If we could build our vessels cheaper than we do now, and work our manufactures with less charge, consequently there would be a great deal more of them taken off our hands; and as our foreign trade flourishes, so does the home trade of course. A multitude of rich merchants will always find employment for a multitude of inferior people; which is not a meer notion, but we actually find it thus in Holland, where there is not an idle hand in the country; nay, the trader, among that croud of people, finds it difficult to procure servants and labouring men for his money, so little are they in danger of being over-run with poor in those countries where they employ all manner of machines to enable them to work with a few hands. As

there is no spot of ground of the same dimensions on the face of the globe where there are so many rich merchants, so there is no place where labouring men are better paid, and live more comfortably. CHAP. VIII.

As to the third objection against promoting the herring-fishery in Britain, namely, That our ships which carry them to the Baltick would for the most part return empty, because we do not import corn, timber, and other cumbersome goods from thence, in such large proportions as the Dutch do; I answer, If we could once prepare our fish as well as the Dutch do, and consequently could find as quick a market for them, I do not doubt but our merchants would find something to import from thence which might turn to a tolerable account: and as I propose in the foregoing articles, that our trade, if not neglected, will suddenly be improved and extended in other parts of the world, possibly we may find it as advantageous to carry our herrings to some other places, as the Dutch do in carrying them to the Baltick. And this also may serve as an answer to the fourth objection, as to our situation, whereby we are excluded from the trade of the Rhine and the Maese, in which rivers the Dutch dispose of great quantities of herrings.

As to our right to the herring fishery exclusive of the Dutch and all other nations, this fishery lying all along close to our own shores and nowhere else, this has been made sufficiently evident by Mr. SELDEN, and many other writers: And for my life I can't see why foreigners have not as much right to the oysters upon the British coast as the herrings. Should it be admitted that seas and desarts are generally free for all mankind to travel in, and wild animals the property of every one that can take them, yet surely there are some instances wherein seas and desarts may be, and are appropriated, as well as their wild inhabitants. And as to the Dutch, who have actually appropriated the seas about the Molucca's, Amboyna and Banda, where the fine spices grow, and would, if they had power, also exclude all other nations from the rest of the Indian seas under pretence that they are Lords of the ocean, the very title they give themselves in that part of the world; against these people surely our claim will be allowed to have its full weight, for we may with as much right appropriate to ourselves the seas on our own coasts, as they do the seas about the spice-islands, which they so unjustly and treacherously possessed themselves of, and which lie ten thousand miles from the shoars of Holland. Should a British ship offer to sail within sight of the coasts of Amboyna and Banda, the Dutch would make no scruple of taking or destroying her; why then should they be permitted to come close to the British shores, drive away our fishermen, and disperse the shoals of



CHAP. VIII.

bias their understandings, they will certainly close with. The Dutch, as well as the English, can't but observe, that many powerful nations at this day, are endeavouring to improve their foreign trade and navigation, and will probably in a short time fall into some branches of commerce which the Hollander at present monopolizes, and reaps great advantage by. We may see them, as I have already hinted, attempt the herring-fishery, and to discover some countries where the fine spices grow, which are not under the power of the Dutch; or they may possibly wrest some of the spice-islands from them which they are possessed of, as they wrested them from us, and so share these two valuable branches of trade with them: And if this ever should happen to be the case, the Dutch will then be deprived of their greatest strength, and these giants in trade become like other men. I beg leave therefore, even for the sake of the Hollanders themselves, to propose a most intimate union in commerce between them and Britain; and in order to this I do insist, that they submit to share the trade of the world with us: this, if any thing, will perpetuate their grandeur; for our interests must be mutual, if we expect to remain long united. I know no bands so indissoluble between Princes and States as those of interest: let them, upon our admitting them into a share of the herring-fishery, and excluding all other nations from it, admit us into a share of the spice-trade, (originally our own) and then we will unite our maritime force with theirs, by which means we may put what conditions we please upon the rest of the trading world. On the other hand, if they refuse to let us share the trade of the world with them, and pretend to stand upon their own bottom, it is not difficult to foretel, that other nations will soon encroach upon their foreign trade, and they may possibly by their parsimony lose the whole. In the mean while, Britain has such a noble prospect opening to her view by the increase of her plantation-trade, that I don't doubt in a few years to see her able to manage the commerce of the world alone, without the Dutch, or any other foreign assistance. Therefore let that High and Mighty State in time consider and cultivate a strict friendship with Britain before it be too late, and she see herself with regret stripped of the most darling branches of her navigation and traffick.

I proceed now to treat of their second great fishery, that of Greenland, where whales are taken; and this too they have in a manner monopoliz'd; for the Dutch send annually to Greenland between two and three hundred sail of ships, from two to four hundred tons burthen, and all the rest of the nations of Europe together scarce fit out fifty. That part of Greenland where they usually fish for whales



**CHAP. VIII.** whales is situated between seventy-six and eighty degrees of N. latitude. The English were the first who practised the taking of whales in these seas; and apprehending of what consequence the securing this trade to the nation might be, our people went on shore, set up the arms of Britain, and formally took possession of the country for King JAMES I. And as there were at that time no inhabitants there, or any foreign nation that could have any manner of claim to it, this was then thought to vest a sufficient right in the Kings of Great Britain to fish on these coasts, exclusive of all others; but that pacific Prince King JAMES, rather than hazard a war, suffer'd the Dutch to break in upon that part of our navigation, and even to seize our ships and merchandize in those seas in time of full peace, 'till in the end our merchants were wearied out, and obliged to abandon that branch of business; which indeed there has been many attempts to revive, but none of them have succeeded 'till the South-Sea company undertook it; and they may if they please no doubt make it as advantageous to this nation as it is to the Hollander: but they don't however at present set out a tenth part of the ships the Dutch do for this service; for, as has been observed, the Dutch employ between two and three hundred ships annually, mann'd with forty men each, and the South-Sea company do not employ more than three or four and twenty ships in it: and indeed the judicious DE WITT, and most writers who have treated of trade, are of opinion, that companies and monopolizing grants tend to the destruction of commerce and navigation. The largest whales it is computed yield seven or eight tuns of oil, which is esteem'd the best in the world for dressing several kinds of leather and skins. The price of it rises or falls according as the voyage succeeds; for some years they meet with whales, and in others with more than they can manage. If every ship takes a whale, they look upon it to be no bad voyage. Besides oil, each whale affords six or eight hundred lengths of that bone which is become so necessary in cloathing our females; these are found in the mouth of the animal under and on each side the tongue, which lies in the midst of them, as in a bed. As to the season and manner of taking them and extracting their oil, these have been treated of in the first volume, and therefore I forbear to say more of them here.

The cod-fishery.

The third great Dutch fishery is that for cod, which they meet with chiefly on the Dogger bank, a sand between the British coast and their own, in which they employ about three hundred vessels called Doggers, (from the bank they fish upon) being between forty and sixty tuns burthen; and tho' this fishery be of great advantage to them, the English are supposed to have as good a share of it as the Dutch, especially if we take in our fisheries

at Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to the north-ward of New England, where there appears to be the greatest plenty of this kind of fish that are to be found in any part of the world. **CHAP. IX.**

The fourth and least, is their inland fishery in their lakes and rivers, which is not however inconsiderable, consisting of almost all kinds of fresh-water fish. Of these, what are not spent at home, they salt up also and export with their herrings and codfish to other countries. Sir WALTER RALEIGH computed in his time, that of all kinds of pickled and salted fish the Dutch did not export less annually than three hundred thousand tuns, which exportation Mons. DE WITT supposed to be increased one third when he was Pensioner; and as they are exchanged for foreign merchandize, may (as well as their spices) be look'd upon as so much treasure, and probably together are of greater advantage to the Hollander than the mines of Potosi are to the Spaniard.

## CHAP. IX.

### *Treats of the Dutch manufactures.*

**T**HERE is not a nation under the sun where the people apply themselves with more diligence to all manner of mechanick arts than the inhabitants of the United Provinces. Those manufactures which an hundred and fifty years ago were appropriated to this or that particular country, have been of late years introduced amongst them, and brought to as great perfection almost as in the places they were formerly peculiar to. Nor is this much to be admired, if we consider, that when the mechanicks of the neighbouring countries of France, Flanders and England were driven from thence by their bigotted Princes, they retired hither, and set up the same employments as they carried on in their respective countries. It is not therefore to the ingenuity of the Dutch that we are to ascribe their proficiency in this great variety of manufactures; but to the necessity they were under of making their country the refuge or asylum of all distressed people, in order to strengthen their hands, and enable them to resist the then formidable power of Spain. It was this that occasioned their proclaiming a universal liberty of conscience, and making that one of the fundamental articles of their union. In imitation of antient Rome, this distressed people invited all others in the like distress to join them; and out of a variety of nations who brought their several arts along with them, first formed their little republick: consequently such mechanick arts as were practised by the several people, of whom this commonwealth was composed, must be in some perfection here, especially if we consider that the country was small, and the people so numerous that they could not



HA P. not be subsisted out of the product of it. They were in a manner forced to work for their lives, and by the fruits of their labour purchase the corn and produce of other countries to feed the multitudes that retreated hither. Thus the diligence and parsimony they are so famed for, were founded in necessity rather than choice; and when they were once become habitual, practised without reluctance. They saw what great things their frugality and application had effected, and as these became the subjects of universal applause amongst them, every one pressed forward to excel his neighbour in these arts, 'till they arrived at such a degree of covetousness, as to stick at nothing to advance their fortunes; even their governours became guilty of all manner of injustice, cruelty and treachery towards their allies to promote their foreign trade, and private men scrupled no frauds that did not bring them under the penalty of the laws, or affect their credit. Like their brethren here, they excluded only expensive and unprofitable vices, whatever had a prospect to gain, with them was godliness. But to be a little more particular as to their manufactures.

Harlem famous for fine linnen and silks.

Leyden for woollen manufactures.

Every province and every town almost in the United Provinces have some particular manufacture which they value themselves upon; not that these trades are carried on in no other places, but there are particular towns and districts where the respective mechanick arts are brought to a greater perfection than in others. In Harlem, for example, they make the finest linnen, and give it so pure a white, that they bring it from all the rest of the provinces, and even from Germany, and other foreign countries, to be bleach'd here: And Harlem lying in the province of Holland, this kind of linnen is generally called by that name, tho' one third part of it is not wove in Holland. Harlem is also distinguished for its manufactures of fine silks and gauzes, coarse flower'd velvets, and gold and silver brocades, and other rich stuffs.

Their woollen manufacture flourishes most at Leyden: Here they make the finest broad and narrow cloths, serges and camlets; but still inferior to those of Britain, or they would not purchase such vast quantities of our woollen manufacture as they do to export to other nations. Their wool they have from Spain, Germany, Turkey; and some from England, Scotland and Ireland clandestinely; and tho' their want of British wool is the occasion that this manufacture is no better, yet they have of late years much lessen'd their demand for our English cloth, being able to supply their own people and other nations with such cloth as serves their turn, tho' not altogether so good as ours. Nor are the silk manufactures of Holland so good as those of France or Italy; but the difference in the price, being twenty per cent. cheaper, makes them go off better.

CHAP. IX. In Delf is made that fine earthen ware which takes its name from this city: And the brewing trade, which flourishes here, is reckon'd among their manufactures.

Delf for earthen ware.

Sardam for ship-building.

Sardam, three miles from Amsterdam, hath prodigious magazines of timber of all kinds, and the inhabitants build more ships and vessels here than any town of the known world; which makes it highly reasonable to include ship-building among their manufactures.

Enchuyfen is remarkable for its herrings. Horne for the best cheese in North-Holland, and for its refineries of salt, &c.

Enchuyfen for herrings. Horne for cheese.

In Amsterdam all these manufactures, and more, are carried on, except that of Delf-ware: Here they weave broad-cloth, woollen and hair-stuffs, silks, gold and silver stuffs, and ribbons of all kinds. Here they make gilt-leather, morocco, shammy, and many other sorts. Nor is dying one of the least of their manufactures. Here are also refineries for sugar, salt, sulphur, yellow wax, &c. mills for sawing timber, for polishing marble, for drawing oil from several seeds, powder-mills and fulling-mills; and here all kinds of tapestry are wrought. Their linnen manufacture also is brought to great perfection, particularly that of sail-cloth, in which the English fall extremely short of them; as they do also in printing, and the manufacture of paper: but why we do so, is not easily accounted for; surely there is nothing so very difficult in these manufactures but an English genius might imitate.

In Amsterdam all kinds of manufactures.

Printing and Paper.

As to sail-cloth, our sea-commanders in general complain, that what they buy in England is so slight, it frequently rends from top to bottom in a storm, and sometimes occasions the loss of their ships; whereas that of Holland wears like a board, and will bear the most furious tempest. Now the defect of ours must be either in the materials or the weaving, either of which 'tis presumed might be remedied, if those who had the care of fitting out our fleets gave due encouragement to the manufacturer. The materials we have from the Baltick as well as the Dutch, and surely we might spin and weave them as strong as the Dutch do, if it was made a government concern; and if we considered what vast sums are sent annually to Holland to purchase this manufacture for our shipping, it would be thought worth enquiring into.

Sail-cloth.

As to printing and paper, there may be some reason why we do not come up to the Dutch, if what our printers say be true; namely, that their founders and paper-makers in Holland have greater encouragement than those of Britain: tho' how this can be, when we pay much dearer for paper and print in England than in Holland, is not easy to discover. As to paper indeed, the manufacture is but lately set up amongst us, and therefore it cannot be expected yet to be brought to that perfection.



CHAP. IX. section it is in Holland: Besides, there are such taxes laid upon this manufacture, as are enough to discourage those that deal in it. Another disadvantage our paper-makers tell me they lie under, is, that tho' we use the greatest quantities of fine linnen of any people in the world, yet the rags are so tinged with the coal-smoke and dirt, especially in London, that they can never bring them to be of a pure white. As to the types made in our founderies, it is something strange they are no better, because in all other iron-work and hard-ware there is no nation which excels us: Why then are we obliged to fetch all our types from Holland or France when we expect to have a work beautifully printed, in the booksellers phrase? I would advise our workmen to try again if they cannot outdo the Dutch in this, as well as in all other iron manufactures; and don't doubt but they will meet with the like encouragement as other mechanicks do: for tho' it be true, that there is a slight kind of hard-ware which foreigners afford exceeding cheap, yet those same foreigners are willing to give double or treble the price for our London ware, it is so substantially and exquisitely wrought. The reader will pardon me that I dwell so long upon these things, but they are indeed no trivial matters; I would have my country-men excel all others in mechanick, as they do in liberal arts, and draw over the trade of the whole world to them by their merit; or at least, prevent foreigners drawing over so much of our treasure to them for manufactures which might be made as well here, and the money for them circulate among our selves.

## CHAP. X.

### *Treats of the foreign trade of the United Provinces.*

The Baltick and Northern trade of great advantage to the Dutch.

IF we regard the number of ships the Dutch employ in their voyages to the Baltick, and the northern crowns, and the various kinds of merchandize absolutely necessary to their very being, which they import from thence; this may be look'd upon as far the most considerable of any trade they carry on in Europe. For from Norway they import vast quantities of fir-timber, masts and yards for their shipping, pitch, tar, stockfish, furs, skins, pot-ashes, and dried fish, and as some say, copper and iron; but this must be in very small quantities, for there are few mines wrought in this country. In return for these commodities they supply the Norwegians with wine, brandy, vinegar, tobacco, spices, salt, cheese, drapery, both linnen and woollen, and haberdashery wares; but their exports not being near equal to their imports from hence, they are forced to pay the difference in dollars, and other specie. This trade is however of vast advantage to the Dutch, though the exchange be against

them; because they export again the fir-timber and other merchandizes of Norway to the southern countries of Europe for a considerable profit, and employ annually two or three hundred ships of four or five hundred tons burthen in their Norway navigation. They have this further benefit also by it, that they man great part of their fleet with Norwegian sailors, as hardy a race of mariners as are to be met with in the world, and have in a manner incorporated them with their own people.

Their trade with Russia was antiently carried on through Livonia by the ports of Riga, Revel, and Narva: but upon the discovery of the north passage into the White Sea by the English, the trade removed to Archangel at the bottom of that sea. In the late Czar's time it was by him drawn to Petersburg, and the ports of Livonia; but after his death the Russian government thought fit to open the trade with Archangel again; and now it is carried on at all the ports above-mentioned. As the English first discover'd the way to Archangel, the only Russian port by which they had then a communication directly with the rest of the kingdoms of Europe, they had large privileges granted them by the Russian Princes, and were in possession of that trade, exclusive of all other nations for some time; but the Dutch by bribing the Russian ministry, and the false and scandalous representations they made of our nation at the Russian court, soon worked us out of that trade, and sent thither ten ships to our one.

From Russia the Dutch import flax, hemp, pitch and tar, linseed, honey, wax, furs, skins, Russia leather, fir-timber, tallow, pot-ashes, caviar (the spawn of sturgeon), and linnen: for which they exchange, spices, pickled-herrings, tobacco, drugs for dying, and physical drugs, wines, brandy, oil, vinegar, fruit, sugar, and woollen manufactures, gold and silver stuffs, silks, ribbons, haberdashery, hard-ware, toys, hats, soap, and paper; but the silks and hard-ware they used to carry thither are like to become a drug, if they are not so already; for the Muscovites have now a more intimate communication with Persia, India, and China, than they had formerly, and can purchase silks there at a better hand than in Europe: nay, the Russians talk of furnishing the rest of Europe from thence with silks and other merchandize of the east. And for iron-ware, which they used to receive from Holland and other southern countries, the late Czar established founderies and forges for all manner of iron-ware in his own dominions; particularly for great guns, bombs, swords, small arms, &c. insomuch, that it is said, they will be able to supply the southern countries of Europe in a few years with these things on easier terms than they can make them at home. From Livonia also, now subject to Russia, as soon

CH  
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The  
Russia  
trade



CHAP. X. as the country has recover'd itself, they will no doubt import as large quantities of corn as they did heretofore. Notwithstanding that prodigious quantity of spices and herrings, which the Dutch dispose of in the Russian dominions, the balance of trade is against them here also, and consequently they are obliged to pay the difference in specie; but then as they manufacture most of the commodities they receive from thence, and export them afterwards to other European nations, this trade is in the main of exceeding advantage to them.

Denmark affords very little merchandize, except lean cattle, which the Dutch buy up and fat in their rich pastures: but from Sweden they import a great deal of iron, steel, and copper, and some manufactures of these metals, with fir-timber, pitch and tar, but not such quantities as from Norway and Russia: in exchange for which the Dutch carry them spices, drugs, salt, fruit, sugar, wine, brandy, silks, linnen and woollen cloth, and stuffs; but not so many herrings as to Russia: for the Russians being of the Greek communion, have twice the number of fasts that the Roman Catholics have, and consequently are prohibited flesh the better part of the year; and these fasts they observe so religiously, that they will rather die than eat a morsel of meat while they last. The Swedes also having of late fallen into the woollen manufacture, work up most of that cloth which the common people wear, and suffer as little as may be to be imported from abroad. Their late acts of navigation also, whereby they prohibit other nations importing several kinds of merchandizes, which are not of their own growth or manufacture, are no small prejudice to the Dutch commerce, which consists chiefly in transporting the produce of one nation to another.

Their trade with the southern coast of the Baltick. From Pomerania and Mecklenburg the Dutch import all kinds of grain, coarse wool, timber, Silesia linnen, skins and leather, honey, wax, and flax. From the ports of Royal and Ducal Prussia, that is, from Dantzick, Koningsburg, and Memel, where the merchandizes of Poland and Livonia are frequently shipped, the Dutch bring vast quantities of corn, leather, furs, timber, pipe-staves, pot-ashes, wax, hemp, and flax, amber, quick-silver, salt-petre, sulphur, pitch, and tar. And from Courland, the principal port whereof is Libaw, the Dutch import grain, timber, and linseed: in exchange for which, they carry to the southern coasts of the Baltick, spices, herrings, tobacco, sugar, fruits, salt, paper, haberdashery and hard ware, wine, brandy, and, till lately, linnen and woollen manufactures; but the Prussians have now set up woollen manufactures, with which they do not only clothe their own people, but supply good part of the great empire of Russia. Others of the Northern and Ger-

man Princes have also erected manufactures of linnen and woollen, which has very much abated the demand for those goods. In this trade to the Baltick and the North the Dutch do not employ less than twelve hundred sail of stout ships, and I question if Britain sends two hundred thither; but then the Dutch are freighted homeward chiefly with corn, timber, and other cumbersome goods, which the English do not stand in so much need of: nor do the Dutch want half the corn they import from thence; but if there happens a scarcity in any of the southern kingdoms of Europe, they seldom fail of selling the grain they import at double the price they give for it. HUETIUS observes, that the monopolizing the trade to the Baltick and the North, is of that importance to the Dutch, that it is a fundamental maxim of their government, to hinder as much as in them lies, the northern nations from trading to the southern and western parts of Europe, and the southern nations from trading to the north. Accordingly, I find a certain modern writer declaring, that the Dutch will not suffer the Spaniards to import the merchandize of the Baltick in their own ships. He spends a great deal of time indeed a little before, in endeavouring to shew, that the Spaniards by treaty with the Dutch, have excluded themselves from the India trade, but does not attempt to prove, that the Hollander has any right to exclude them from the trade of the Baltick, only says that the Dutch *will* do it; and seems to intimate, that because it is their *pleasure*, therefore they *ought* to do it, and that there is no injury done the Spaniards, if they should oppose their trading thither by force. I don't doubt but the same author, though he pretends to be of British extraction, could, if he pleased to undertake the task, justify the Dutch in excluding the subjects of Britain from the spice-trade and the herring-fishery; for he seems to be one of those who are ready to justify all their encroachments, only by saying, *They will have it so, and they must not be provoked*; for poor distressed Britain cannot subsist without their high and mighty protection; we must support them in all their injustice, in order to our own preservation. But sure these poor-spirited animals deserve no other notice than our contempt; I proceed therefore to enquire into the other branches of the Dutch trade.

The trade of the United Provinces to Germany is carried on chiefly by the rivers Rhine, Maese, Elbe, Weser, and Ems. The river Rhine is navigable from Switzerland to the Low Countries, containing the space of three hundred leagues, and running through several rich and populous provinces, and being joined by several other considerable streams in its course (among which are the Moselle and the Maine) furnishes Holland with incredible quantities of merchandize; particularly



CHAP. X. cularly with wine, timber, and oak-planks; iron-guns, bullets, cutlers-ware, copper, linnen-thread and flax. By the Maese they receive bullets, bombs, grenadoes, small arms, braziers ware, wrought steel and iron, lead and pit-coal: in return for which, the Dutch carry them vast quantities of their herrings and spices, silk and woollen stuffs, drugs, sugar, fruit and cheese. By the Elbe, and especially from the city of Hamburgh, situate on the eastern bank of it, the Dutch import vast quantities of corn, tin-plates, or white iron, (as 'tis usually called) brass-wire, and timber. By the river Weser also they receive excellent timber, wool, grain, several sorts of metals, beer, and Brunswick mum; for which they exchange herrings, spices, silk and woollen stuffs, and other goods, the product or manufacture of their own country or plantations. But instead of carrying treasure to Germany, they bring a great deal from thence, the balance being very much on their side.

Their trade with the Austrian Netherlands.

The trade the Dutch formerly had with the Austrian Netherlands was very advantageous to them, and carried on with great ease by the rivers and canals which water these countries. From thence the Dutch imported fine Brussels and Mechlin laces, cambricks, lawns, damask, diaper, and other fine linnens, fine thread-tapestry or arras, serges, and sheeps-leather nicely dressed; for which the Hollanders exchanged their spices, and all manner of Indian goods, as also the silk and woollen manufactures of their own country. But since the erecting of the Ostend Company, the Flemings take off no more Indian merchandize; and the Emperor having prohibited the importation of Dutch goods into his hereditary countries, there seems to be a perfect stagnation of trade on this side at present. Neither have the Dutch only lost their trade with Flanders, as to the point of India goods; but with several other countries contiguous to Flanders, which have been of late supplied by the Ostend Company, on which I shall enlarge when I come to treat of the trade of the Austrian Netherlands.

Their trade with France.

The trade of the United Provinces with France was much more considerable in the year 1660 than it is at present; for the French since that time having laid high duties upon the merchandize of Holland, and set up several manufactures, the Dutch, by way of retaliation, encouraged the making the manufactures of France in their own country, which very much lessen'd their importations from thence. It appears, that about the year 1660, the Dutch imported from France to the value of four millions sterling of French goods; consisting of velvets, sattins, gold and silver tissues and taffeties, ribbons, silk and thread-laces, hats, watches, looking-glasses, gilt frames, and toys; gloves, paper, pins, needles, small iron and

steel-ware; linnen, sail-cloth, beds, quilts, and other upholsterers goods; wines of various sorts, brandies, and vinegar; salt, saffron, soap, almonds, capers, olives, prunes, and other fruit.

The merchandizes imported at this day by the Dutch from France, are wines, brandy, vinegar, and salt; sail-cloth, small iron and steel-ware, pins and needles; ivory, ebony, and box-combs; watches, looking-glasses, gilt frames, plumes, and a great variety of toys; saffron, almonds, olives, capers, prunes, and some other fruits: for which the Dutch send them in return, spices, tin-plates, usually called white iron, timber and naval stores; herrings, and other dried and salted fish; butter, cheese, tallow, Russia leather, arms, gun-powder, wood and drugs for dying and other uses; linnen, steel and copper. And notwithstanding they have struck off so many considerable articles in their importations from France, still the balance is against them, and they pay the difference in treasure. The French trade however is held to be of great advantage to them, in as much as they export most of the goods they receive from thence again, with which they purchase the merchandize of other countries.

From Spain the Dutch import wine, brandy, raisins, oranges, lemons, oil, salt, wool, figs, olives, almonds, sonde or kalt, (an herb which being burnt, turns to an hard substance, and is used in making of soap) iron, steel, chesnuts, anchovies and anniseeds, which are the produce of old Spain. The merchandize of America, which the Dutch import also from Cadiz, are pearls, emeralds, quinquina, cochineal, indigo, cocoa, and vanilles (used in making chocolate) Campechy-wood bark, balsam of Peru, tobacco, and leather; but above all, those precious metals of gold and silver, of which 'tis computed the Dutch receive no less than five hundred thousand pounds sterling annually, for goods sent to America. For it seems the Spanish merchants not having cargoes sufficient to freight their ships for that country, take goods of the Italians, English, and Dutch, which they send thither, and having exchanged them for the merchandize and treasures of Peru and Mexico, deliver the produce to the foreign merchants who intrusted them; so that the Spaniards are in reality but factors to those nations for great part of the goods sent by the flota and flotilla to that part of the world, and the Spaniards they employ have ever proved very faithful in this trust, as the profit they reap by such commissions encourages them to be. 'Tis true, if the whole cargo the Spaniards sent to America were their own, their profit would be much greater; but since they make all the advantage they can desire of their proper goods, and have a further advantage by dealing for the merchants of other nations, it is not to be wondered at that they undertake the charge; neither is it

Their trade with Spain and the Spanish West-Indies.



to be supposed that the government would ever put a stop to this practice, because the larger the returns are, the larger are the duties and indulgences payable to the crown. And there may be this farther political reason for the Spanish government's winking at this underhand traffick, namely, that the neighbouring powers having already all the advantages within a trifle they can expect by a direct trade with the Spanish dominions in America, will not be so solicitous to attempt a trade thither, or endeavour to encroach on their western plantations and settlements, as they might otherwise be. Of all the nations that traffick thus to the new world through the hands of the Spaniards, the trade of the Italians is much the most considerable; for the western people seem to love to make a figure and shine in silk, which manufacture the Italians seem to be arrived at the greatest perfection in of any nation in Europe. The trade of the English and Dutch also is very considerable to New Spain; and I take it for a rule, that the less the English trade is here, the more the Dutch have of it; for which reason the Hollander cannot but rejoice to find us at variance with the Spaniard: nor will he ever desire to see us in the quiet possession of Gibraltar, a port in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, from whence the flota annually sets out for New Spain, lest we should have too great an influence on the navigation to that part of the world. But I forbear to make any further reflections on this head here, and proceed to enumerate the several species of merchandize the Dutch export to Spain; and these are spices, herrings, cod, and all manner of salted and dried fish; butter, cheese, and, in scarce years, corn; timber, masts, pipe-staves for casks, planks, and all manner of naval stores; linnen and woollen manufactures, as hollandes, cambricks, lawns, muslins, calicoes, table-linnen and tapes; broad and narrow woollen cloths, serges, camblets, plain silks, brocades, gold and silver stuffs, lace, hats, ribbons, small wares, paper, cards, Russia leather, white and yellow wax, medicinal drugs, and those for dying. But besides the trade the Dutch carry on with the Spanish settlements in America by the way of Old Spain, they trade clandestinely also with the Spaniards in that part of the world from the island of Curasoa, which lies not far from Cartagena; the merchants of which port, and of the other towns along the coast of Terra Firma, have a very good understanding with the Dutch, as HUEYUS relates: and this is almost the only advantage which the Dutch have of their American settlements, for I don't know any island or place they are masters of in the West-Indies, that produces any thing worth the taking notice of. But I had almost forgot one branch of the Dutch trade with America, and that is the furnishing the Spaniards there with Negro-slaves from Africa,

which is chiefly transacted at Curasoa; this is not the least beneficial part of their traffick, and the English endeavour to rival them in it: but this dealing in our own species in the manner it is usually managed, is so barbarous a practice, that I must confess I cannot with my country-men success in it: this part of commerce is only fit for Dutchmen, who can divest themselves of all humanity, where there is a gain to be expected.

The merchandizes the Dutch import of the growth of Portugal, are wine, oil, olives, lemons, oranges, anniseeds, raisins, figs, dry sweet-meats, and salt. And those of their plantations and settlements in America, are sugar, tobacco, brazil-wood, and other woods for dying, hides, ginger, indigo, ambergrease, pearls and diamonds, for which the Dutch exchange their silk, linnen and woollen manufactures; hard-ware, haberdashery, leather, and in a scarce year corn. And here the ballance is on the side of the Dutch, which they receive in moidores, or other gold coin.

The Dutch Turkey trade is so considerable, as to become the particular care of the government, who have established a council stiled the chamber of direction, consisting of six Deputies and a Register, who have been Burghermasters of Amsterdam, to take care of it. This council regulates the convoys, and sees the orders of the States observed concerning their navigation and commerce. The ships employed in this service are usually vessels of good force on account of the rovers of Barbary, who are seldom long at peace with the Dutch, and were lately so troublesome, that the Hollanders were obliged to intercede with their allies, the English, to procure a peace for them; which that good-natur'd nation brought about, tho' much to the disadvantage of their own trade: for while the Dutch were at war with the towns on the Barbary coast, the English enjoy'd the Levant trade almost without a competitor; for the convoys the Dutch sent into those seas could not protect their merchant-men. Their ships bound for Turkey usually touch at Cadiz and Leghorn, as well to take in Spanish pieces of eight, as for fresh provisions. And there are other ships which touch at the ports of Spain and Italy with merchandize, which they dispose of there, and take in other goods for Turkey, either on their own account, or for the French, Italians, and other nations; and in returning also, they frequently sell the merchandize of Turkey in the ports of Italy, or Spain, and ship other goods for Holland, either on their own account, or for others.

The principal port the Dutch use in Turkey is Smyrna, from whence, and other ports, they bring raw and spun silk, goat's and camel's hair, cotton, and several kinds of Turkey leather; camlets, wax, allom, galls, wool, coffee, currants, medicinal and dyers drugs, particularly rhubarb,



CHAP. which comes through Turkey from the eastern  
 X. Tartary; scammony, galbanum, tutia, frankin-  
 cense, fenna, cassia, aloes, sal armoniac, tamar-  
 inds and mastick. To purchase which, the Dutch  
 carry to the Levant their spices, woollen-cloth,  
 tin, lead, iron and steel; Russia-leather, cochi-  
 neal and indigo, and a pretty deal of treasure, con-  
 sisting of pieces of eight or Spanish dollars.

Their trade  
 to Italy. The Dutch have also a considerable trade with  
 Italy and Sicily, the principal ports whereof are  
 Genoa, Leghorn, Venice, Naples, and Messina,  
 from whence they import raw, twisted, and  
 wrought silks of various sorts, as sattins, damasks,  
 tabbies, gold and silver brocades, the most beau-  
 tiful of their kind in Europe, gold-thread, drawn  
 and twisted, velvets, oil, fruits, confections, al-  
 lom, sulphur, Venetian steel, manna, amber, tur-  
 pentine, cream of tartar, lacca, glasses, white mar-  
 ble in squares and tables, paper, soap, essences,  
 perfumed gloves, snuff, rice, and anniseeds. In  
 exchange for which the Dutch send thither their  
 spices, China-ware, salted and dried fish, iron,  
 Swedish copper, English tin and lead, whalebone,  
 masts, planks, and naval stores; woollen-cloth,  
 ferges, camlets, Flanders thread, cavear, and  
 grain in scarce years; except that at Venice they  
 will suffer no iron, copper, or cloth to be im-  
 ported, because they have very good of their  
 own.

Their trade  
 with Bri-  
 tain. The trade of the United Provinces with the  
 British isles is very great. From England they  
 import broad-cloth and other woollen manufac-  
 tures in large quantities; for whether it proceeds  
 from want of skill, or of materials, certain it  
 is the English still excel all other people in  
 making of fine cloth. Tin and lead is another  
 great article in their importations from Britain,  
 as well as tobacco and sugar. Malt and grain is  
 another, when it bears a moderate price in Eng-  
 land; and the exportation of coals from New-  
 castle and Scotland increases every day. From  
 Scotland also the Dutch import some coarse wool-  
 len manufactures, lead, salted salmon, hides, and  
 tallow. From Ireland they receive barrel'd beef  
 and butter, tallow, hides and wax; and these se-  
 veral kinds of merchandize are exported generally  
 in British ships and vessels to the city of Rotter-  
 dam, the centre of the British trade in the United  
 Provinces. In exchange for which, the Dutch  
 export to the British isles spices, fine linnen, sail-  
 cloth, Rhenish wine and brandy, geneva, and  
 other spirits; deal and wainscot-boards, with some  
 of the merchandize of the Austrian Netherlands,  
 such as tapettry, lace, cambricks, lawns, and  
 pictures. And a late writer assures us, that from an  
 inspection of the entries of imports and exports at  
 London, and the best information he could procure,  
 this traffick has been extremely to the advantage  
 of the subjects of Britain for the last seven years.

But (admitting this to be true, which I have CHA  
 some reason to question) how much more confi- X.  
 derable would the balance be on the side of Bri-  
 tain, if we were not wanting to our selves: what  
 necessity have we of importing that prodigious quan-  
 tity of fine linnen from Holland that is used here? The way  
 Is there not a linnen manufacture in Ireland brought render of  
 to a very great perfection? and ought we not in trade sup-  
 justice, and even compassion to that people, to prior to th  
 encourage their linnen-manufacture, when we Dutch.  
 have suppressed that of woollen? and in the end,  
 would not the greatest advantage result to our  
 selves by this conduct? As the seat of government  
 is in England, thither would the weakn of Ire-  
 land as naturally flow, as rivers fall into the ocean.  
 The same may be said of Scotland: Were that  
 people encouraged to establish a herring-fishery,  
 they too in time would become rich, and we  
 should in some measure make them amends for the  
 loss of their Court and Parliament. How much  
 soever it may be thought our interest to strengthen  
 the Dutch, sure it is much more so to strengthen  
 and advance the wealth of our own kingdoms and  
 provinces, which might by these means be brought  
 to bear a great share in the charges of the govern-  
 ment. Let me recommend to my countrymen  
 also, the introducing all manner of machines that  
 may enable us to work with as few hands as the  
 Dutch do, and we shall soon find our importations  
 from Holland considerably lessen'd. Let us also  
 encourage by rewards, every man that shall bring  
 any branch of our manufactures to perfection, and  
 teach us to finish them as well as our neighbours  
 do. For example: Let that Irishman who can  
 produce a piece of linnen equal to that of Hol-  
 land, have such a reward as shall encourage others  
 to imitate him. Let a proportionable sum be  
 given to our manufacturers of paper, and founders  
 of types for printing, and we shall not fail to see  
 them in a few years equal the French and Dutch  
 in those particulars. Let the Scotch mariner,  
 who can produce a cargo of pickled herrings equal  
 to those of Holland, receive a reward suitable to  
 those advantages the nation may reap by his in-  
 dustry and ingenuity. Let the man that can dis-  
 cover how to transplant cinnamon, nutmegs, or  
 cloves, to settlements under the British dominion,  
 have all the encouragement my native country  
 can give him. And let the like be done in every  
 other beneficial branch of business, and we shall  
 soon see a new face of things. 'Tis true, in some  
 former reigns, when attempts have been made to-  
 wards advancing our manufactures or traffick, we  
 have miscarried by the covetousness of our own mi-  
 nisters, who have accepted bribes to betray the in-  
 terest of their country to foreigners; but this is not  
 to be suspected from gentlemen so perfectly free  
 from corruption as the present, and who have no  
 other views than the prosperity of their country.



CHAP. X. As to the navigation of the Dutch, it is frequently said, that they have more vessels and mariners than all the rest of Europe put together; but then we must bring into this account all the vessels, seamen, and watermen that are employed in their fisheries, and upon their rivers and canals: for it is evident, that the English have as many large ships, and vessels of burthen, as the Dutch, except in their Baltick and Northern trades, where they may possibly employ a thousand ships more than the English do, (but this is balanced by the number of ships the English send to their plantations in America, where the Hollander has little or no trade.) In every other country almost, whether the English and Dutch trade to, we also find more of the English shipping than of the Dutch. But this article will be farther consider'd when we come to treat of their forces by sea and land. The reader may expect here that I should enlarge on the Hollanders trade to the East and West Indies and Africa, but he may be pleased to remember that these branches of trade have been treated of in the former volume; and I would not weary him by repeating what has been already said on those heads: besides, I shall have further occasion to treat of their East-India trade, when I come to enquire into their naval force.

## CHAP. XI.

*Treats of their revenues, taxes, ordinary and extraordinary, and of their forces by sea and land; as also of their coin, weights, and measures.*

THE subjects of the United Provinces are liable to a great variety of charges and impositions. The council of state every winter draw up an estimate of the expences of the ensuing year, and present it to the States General, who signify to the respective provinces their several shares and proportions of it, the whole usually amounting to between two and three millions sterling in time of peace. The States of every province demand of the several cities and districts within their limits, their respective shares; which when brought in, each province sends its quota to the treasury of the States General; out of which are paid their land-forces, consisting of twenty five thousand men, composed of Switzers, Scots, and other foreigners, as well as national troops. And there are seldom less than fifty men of war in commission, either employed in convoys to protect their merchants and fisheries, or which lie ready equipp'd in their harbours for any service the state may have occasion to make use of them in; and there are seldom less than fifty or sixty sail more unrigged, which are from time to time repaired out of the publick money. The residue is employed in paying the salaries of the officers of state, ambassadors and publick ministers,

in entertaining foreign Princes, or their ministers, or other accidental charges of the state. CHAP. XI.

To the standing forces of the United Provinces, we may now very well add the troops they are obliged to keep in the barrier-towns of the Austrian Netherlands, by a treaty concluded between his Imperial Majesty and the States General, on the 15th of November, 1715. By the third article of this treaty it is stipulated, That his Imperial Majesty and the States General shall constantly maintain in the said Netherlands, a body of thirty or twenty-five thousand men, whereof his Imperial Majesty to have three fifths, and the Dutch two: And when there is any appearance of war, the said body is to be augmented to forty thousand men, according to the said proportion: And in case of actual war, such a further force as shall be thought necessary by both parties. By the fourth article of the said treaty his Imperial Majesty agrees, That the States General shall have privative or separate garrisons of their own troops, in the towns and castles of Namur and Tournay, and in the towns of Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres and fort Knocque; but the States General engage not to garrison the said places with troops belonging to any Prince or nation at war with, or suspected to be in engagements contrary to the interests of his Imperial Majesty. In the town of Dendermond it was agreed there should be a garrison composed of an equal number of Germans and Dutch, under an Imperial Governour, who is, however, as well as the inferiour officers, to take an oath to the States General, not to do or suffer any thing that may be prejudicial to their service, with respect to the preservation of the said town and garrison, and the Governour to be obliged by the same oath to give free passage to the States troops as often as shall be desired. And it was further stipulated, That in the places to be garrisoned by the States, they might place such governours, commanders and officers as they saw fit, provided they were not chargeable to his Imperial Majesty, or the country, unless for lodging, which governours and officers should be dependant only on the orders and jurisdiction of the States General, for what concerns the guard or security of such places; but are however to take an oath to his Imperial Majesty to guard the said places faithfully for the house of Austria, and not to intermeddle in civil affairs. It was agreed also that the States might change their garrisons as often as they should see proper, and should have free passage for their troops through any of the towns of Brabant and Flanders, as well going as returning, and through all the open country; with liberty of making bridges on the canal between Ghent and Bruges, and upon all the rivers in their road, upon request first made to the governour of the Netherlands, with whom the route of such troops



CHA P. XI. troops should be settled. By the 13th article it is agreed, That the States should be at liberty to augment the fortifications of any of the said towns at their own expence, advising first with the Governour of the said Netherlands. And because it was found necessary in the last war to leave a considerable body of troops in the towns of the States General to prevent their being surprized (whereby their army was much weaken'd) a second barrier is granted them within the former upon their own frontiers; for his Imperial Majesty by the 17th article of this treaty, consented to let the States post their troops on the Demer between the Scheld and the Maese; and to give up to the States General such forts and territories of the Austrian Flanders bordering upon their frontiers as lie between Dendermond and the sea, for the better covering of those parts where they cannot make inundations upon the lands already belonging to the States General, in case of a rupture with France: and in consideration of the expences the States will necessarily be at in maintaining the troops in the said barrier towns, and repairing their fortifications; his Imperial Majesty agreed by the 19th article, That the States should have and receive out of the revenues of the Austrian Netherlands the sum of five hundred thousand crowns per annum. And by the 27th article it was agreed, That the fortifications of the citadel of Liege, and the castle of Huy should be demolish'd. Of which treaty his British Majesty became Guarantee.

500000  
crowns  
granted to  
the States to  
maintain the  
troops of the  
barrier.

The forces thus maintain'd in the barrier towns, the reader observes, are not any charge to the States; so that though their standing forces be now increas'd to forty thousand men, their charge is not at all augmented. The rest of the troops are for the most part quarter'd in the conquer'd places and countries of Brabant, Flanders, Juliers, &c. and not in the Seven Provinces, who have besides the forces abovemention'd, their respective militia's; the town of Amsterdam alone hath a body of two or three thousand men in their pay, to whom the guard of their city is committed. Nor can the soldiers of the States General regularly quarter in any of their cities without the consent of their respective Magistrates; which was one occasion of the loss of so many of their towns so suddenly on the French invasion in 1672; for while they were deliberating whether they should admit the troops of the States General or not, the French took advantage of their dissensions, and made themselves masters of many considerable places without the trouble of a formal siege; from whence it appears that the several towns and provinces are put to some additional charges in maintaining their respective militia's, as well as ministers and officers, besides their quota of two or three millions, which they pay to the

States General: and over and above these there CHAI  
is an everlasting enemy, namely, the water, which XI.  
costs the maritime provinces incredible sums to  
defend themselves against: tho' the frontier provinces against France and Germany, before the barrier was settled, used to complain no less of the charge they were at in maintaining the fortifications of their towns; for every province or city repairs its own fortifications, tho' those of the conquer'd countries are kept up at the charge of the States General.

I come next to inquire into the several kinds of taxes whereby the respective provinces and towns raise their quota, towards the expence required of them by the States General, and the charges requisite to support their respective States Provincial as well as cities. And these are in short, by an almost general excise, and their customs; but because it may be a satisfaction to my readers to be a little more particular, I shall here specify some of the chief of them. Their taxes are divided into ordinary and extraordinary; their ordinary or constant taxes, which are levy'd as well in time of peace as war, are, 1. A duty upon salt, called *Sout-geldt*, which is very moderate: one of the Magistrates of the place takes an account of all the souls in each family, and guessing at the quantity of salt they may spend, levies on them annually a proportionable sum. 2. A duty upon beer, for which every private man pays about twenty pence a barrel; only such small beer as is not worth half a crown a barrel, which the poorest people drink, pays nothing. 3. Another duty amounting to twelve pence per barrel is paid by every publick brewer; and English, German, or other foreign beer imported, pays a much higher duty. 4. The victuallers, or retailers of beer, pay also a further duty of twenty pence per barrel. 5. Every hoghead of vinegar pays nine shillings the barrel. 6. French wine pays six pence the sloop, or gallon; Spanish wines twelve pence the sloop; and brandies ten pence. 7. Butter six shillings the barrel, containing three hundred and twenty pound. 8. For a pipe of eating-oil, eight shillings; and for a pipe of fish-oil, four shillings. 9. Wax and tallow-candles, eight pence the hundred weight. 10. Turf for firing, three half-pence per tun, and coals from England and Scotland, thirty shillings per tun. 11. Five pence per hundred for lead. 12. Wood, an eighth part of the value. 13. Silver and gold stuffs, twelve pence per yard or ell. 14. English cloth, a third part of the value. 15. Tapestry hangings, and other household goods, a ninth part of the value. 16. For a last of wheat which is ground in Holland, six pounds six shillings; half as much for a last of rye; and five and thirty shillings per last for barley or oats. 17. For all cattle, sheep and hogs that are kill'd, a seventh part of the price. 18. For every

The various  
ways of raising  
money  
in Holland.



CHAP. XI. every horn'd beast above three years old, three pence per month; and for every horse, two pence. 19. Herrings and salt-fish sold to private citizens, twenty pence the pannier. 20. Every retail fishmonger pays a ninth part of the value for salmon and sturgeon. 21. Tobacco, ten pence per pound; soap, eleven shillings the barrel, and pitch sixteen pence the barrel; every cart or little boat twenty pence a year, and every coach ten shillings a year. 22. All farms and lands, one pound in sixteen. 23. All lands sown or planted, pay four pence half-penny an acre per month, till the grain or plants are cut. 24. Every house pays an eighth part of the rent. 25. Every servant-man or maid pays twenty pence per head. 26. All immoveables, under which title they comprehend ships, as well as estates in land and houses, pay a fortieth part of the price when sold or aliened, which arises to a very great sum, there being no part of the world where estates are more frequently sold. 27. A duty or stamp upon paper, according to what is written thereon. And indeed, there is not that thing scarce in the whole country but some duty or other is laid upon it: and every province and city varies their taxes as they see fit; so they raise the quota required of them, neither the Provincial Estates, or the States General interpose in the matter. And where any province refuses its proportion of taxes, I don't find that the States General ever proceed against them for it by military execution, but by persuasion and argument, and shewing the ill consequences of breaking the fundamental articles of their union.

Their extraordinary taxes in time of war are either, 1. Poll-money, which is usually twenty pence per head. 2. Chimney-money, twenty pence every hearth: or, 3. The land-tax, as it is called, or two hundredth penny, being ten shillings on every hundred pounds a year; which though their country be but small, arises to a considerable sum, there being so many great towns with houses of good value in them.

I proceed next to observe the constant charges or taxes laid upon them to defend their country against the seas and floods; and the famous DE WITT assures us, that every rod of sea-dyke costs them six hundred gilders, or sixty pounds sterling to make; that against the rivers also the charge of maintaining the banks is very great: but the greatest charge of all, is the draining the country when it is over-flow'd, and their dykes broke through, as they frequently are. In Rhineland, a part of the country which has very little communication with the sea, or with any running water, only with standing lakes, every acre pays two shillings a redge money, and fifteen pence per acre more towards draining the snow and rain-water off their lands every spring, and

another shilling per acre towards highways, causeys, and foot-paths, besides great fines and charges they are put to by their Dyke-Graves, (Officers who have the inspection and care of repairing their dykes) and by their Bayliffs and Heemraden, who are governours and judges in the country villages.

Before I leave this head of their forces and revenues, it may not be improper to inquire into the strength and forces of the Dutch in the East-Indies; because I find it said by many writers, and some of them men of figure, That the Dutch can fit out a fleet of forty sail of men of war of the line at Batavia, and muster an army of thirty or forty thousand men there: and I don't doubt the Dutch would be very glad to have this believed in Europe; and that their fleet and army there are as good in all respects as an equal number of their ships and forces are allow'd to be on this side the world, that other nations may be deterr'd from making any attempts on their settlements in the Indies. But whatever the number of their men of war, or land-forces be on that side, I will take upon me to say, that twelve or fifteen fourth-rate men of war fitted out in Europe, would drive their whole naval force out of the Indian seas, and join'd with a very small detachment of land-soldiers, would take the best town they have in the Indies, even Batavia their capital: for neither the ships that are built and fitted out in India are comparable to those of Europe; neither are the Dutch troops or seamen there an equal match for ours. Those in Batavia, and other Indian settlements, who are of Dutch extraction, are become as effeminate as the former inhabitants were, or the Portuguese, whom the Hollanders dispossest'd of these very countries, and may as easily be dispossest'd of them in their turns. 'Tis true, the Dutch are at present the most formidable naval power in the Indian seas; because the Princes of the East, the Mogul, and the Emperor of China, have not yet apply'd themselves to navigation; neither has any European Prince or State yet attempted to drive the Dutch from those coasts, as they did the Portuguese and English. But I would have my countrymen well apprized, that the thing is not impracticable, and the usage we have received from the Dutch in that part of the world may one day possibly occasion its being attempted, if they do not behave themselves in a more friendly manner than they have done.

One observation more I shall take leave to make in relation to the Dutch trade in India, which I omitted in the former chapter, where it ought properly to have come in; and that is, concerning their managing that trade by a Company. It is no secret at this day, that the company's Servants, their Governours, and inferiour Officers,

CHAP. XI.

The forces of the Dutch in the East-Indies.



CHAP. run away with most of the profit of this trade, and the company it self does not thrive in proportion to the advantages they might be expected to reap by a monopoly of the fine spices. Which is occasion'd by the members of the States of Holland being also members of the East-India company, who advancing their relations and friends to all important posts in that part of the world, and in the fleets that are sent thither, give them ample opportunity of making their fortunes and families; and, 'tis said, frequently share with these gentlemen they send abroad in the plunder of the company. One of these Indian Governours for the Dutch having been a little too open and scandalous in this practice, was I remember within these few years fined an hundred thousand pounds, and yet was thought to come off with a great deal more: and these delinquents having such powerful supporters, it is not one time in an hundred that they are called to account at all. When these gentlemen have amass'd prodigious estates in the Indies, they usually return and spend the remainder of their lives in their own country; which considering the many hundreds of gainful employments the company has to dispose of in India, may well be supposed to fill Holland with more wealthy overgrown merchants than are to be met with in other places. Two ways especially the Indian Governours and Officers have of making their fortunes: one is by selling spices under-hand in the Indies to the English and other foreigners, and the other is by trading in the country for themselves and those that employ them; the first of which the Company have taken all imaginable care to prevent, by placing three or four Officers in every considerable port to be checks upon each other; but nothing it seems is more common than for all of them to agree together to defraud their masters, and make their own fortunes. As for little villains indeed, they are very severe upon them: we are inform'd that a native of Ceylon happening to furnish an English mariner with a small quantity of cinnamon, was upon the discovery instantly hang'd up without mercy; and thus, no doubt they would have served any of their own common people who had offended in the like nature: but when this is done by a brother officer, who may wink in his turn, the case is otherwise, especially if the roguery is capable of being conceal'd from vulgar eyes. But I wave any further reflections on this head at present, and proceed to inquire further into the state of the forces and publick revenues of the Dutch in Europe.

A further enquiry into the Dutch forces and revenues.

Since the States General apprehended a rupture with the Emperor, they have increas'd their standing forces to near fifty-four thousand men, consisting of 4612 horse, 2400 dragoons, and 46914 foot, which join'd with the militia of their towns,

constitute a very formidable land-army; and CH. they have also order'd their fleet to be considerably augmented, and publish'd a proclamation, prohibiting their seamen to enter into any foreign service on pain of death.

To say what forces the Dutch are able to maintain, might be look'd upon as a piece of presumption in me; but I have some reason to believe that there are not many kingdoms in Europe able to equip out larger fleets, or more numerous armies than the States. The Friends of the Dutch indeed tell us, that their naval force is much lessen'd, and that they run themselves very much in debt by maintaining their quota of troops the last war: the design of which suggestions is no doubt to induce their good allies, the English, to take the whole charge of defending them on themselves; and whether the confederates of Hanover have a quarrel with the powers of the Baltick, Spain, or the Austrian Netherlands, the English alone may if they please be at the expence of a fleet to assert their common rights; nay, to defend all the extravagant pretensions of the Dutch to monopolize the trade of the world to themselves. But if the Dutch have really fewer men of war in commission than the English, who have of late years employ'd theirs in many expensive and hazardous voyages, in some of which by sickness alone, without striking a stroke, they have lost their compliment of men and officers twice over, and suffer'd their ships to be eaten up with worms; these circumstances to me are very far from proving that the British fleet is at present in a better condition than that of the Dutch. There are no people in Europe who take more care in laying up their men of war, and keeping them in repair, than that nation does; and supposing there have been some of their fleet suffer'd to decay, there are few nations who can sooner supply their rooms than the Hollanders can. If we may believe eye-witnesses, there is not such a magazine of ship-timber, and other naval stores in the world, as is to be met with at Sardam, a league from Amsterdam; and their shipwrights and artificers there, some writers tell us, are so numerous, that they are able to build a ship of five hundred tons every day in the year: add to this, that there is no kingdom where there are always such numbers of mariners ready to man the largest fleets; insomuch, that in the fiercest contests between the English and Dutch for the Empire of the sea, in the times of CROMWELL and King CHARLES II, they never had occasion to press a man into the service. Let any Gentleman, I say, but lay all these circumstances together, and conclude, if he can, that the Dutch are not able to fit out a fleet equal to that of any of their neighbours.

As to their remaining still in arrear, and not able



CHAP. XI. able to discharge their debts they contracted the last war, I look upon this to be all grimace; they might soon be out of debt if they pleas'd, but this serves them for a good pretence to beg with. By pleading poverty they prevail with their allies to take the burthen of their defence upon them: besides, they pay little or no interest for the sums they owe; and their credit is so good, that people crowd in with their money when there is the least intimation that the government will do them the favour to accept it; and the proprietors, in the phrase of a writer of figure, ever receive it back again with tears; they value a security from the State much beyond ready money: but admitting their government were deeply in debt, and did not know which way to turn themselves: what is the reason of it? Why, to say the truth, their excises and taxes lie chiefly upon the poorest, or the middling sort of people, and those of the greatest fortunes pay but a trifle towards the publick expences in comparison of the estates they enjoy.

An old hunk, who has two or three hundred thousand pounds in trade, in the bank or lombard-house (a publick office for pawns) and keeps but two or three servants, pays no more towards the support of the government than an ordinary shop-keeper, the excises affect him little more, and the customs upon import and export being so extremely low. Now, was the government reduced to any great distress, it lies in their power to tax these gentlemen who have personal estates equal to the real estates of our noblemen in proportion to their fortunes; and should the Dutch ever exert themselves in this manner, I don't doubt but their publick revenues would at least equal those of Britain: for there is no place in the world so well planted with overgrown merchants as Holland, which will readily be acknowledg'd, if we consider the advantages they have in trade beyond the rest of the world.

1. They have in the first place the monopoly of the fine spices, on which they set what price they please: with these, as hath been observed, they purchase the merchandize of every other country. 2. They have the benefit of nine parts in ten of the herring and whale-fisheries. And, 3. They employ above a thousand sail of ships in transporting the merchandize of the Baltick and the northern kingdoms, to the southern countries of Europe, and the product of the southern countries to the north. And, 4. They have much the greatest trade of any nation in the world upon the coast of Africa. Let any person but well consider the riches that are to be gain'd from these four articles, in which the rest of the nations of Europe scarce interfere with them, and they will not vary much from my opinion, that there are more rich merchants in the seven

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United Provinces than in all the kingdoms of Europe; and consequently, that this nation is able to raise very large supplies; nor can any thing easily ruin them, unless their assuming too much; and by their haughty and insolent behaviour inciting a confederacy of the most potent nations of Europe against them, as they did in the year 1672. If it be demanded why the States do not lay their taxes more equally, and comprehend the wealthy as well as the meaner sort of people in their levies; it may with a great deal of truth be affirm'd, That it is, because the legislative power in every province and city almost is lodged in the hands of the wealthiest inhabitants, or their relations. And, 2. That if they should lay higher customs upon merchandize, it might discourage their importations and exportations, which are one great support of their state.

There remain two things still to be consider'd, in order to give us a just idea of the present strength and security of this mighty state, namely, the alliances they have lately entered into, and the strong towns of the Austrian Netherlands they are possessed of, which makes the situation of their affairs much more desirable than in any preceding times: they have not only an army of between fifty and sixty thousand men in their own pay, but by the treaty of Hanover, Great Britain and France are engaged to assist them with the forces of their respective nations, if there happens a rupture with the Emperor; and there are not at present any other powers in Christendom the Dutch can be under any apprehensions of. The barrier towns they are masters of, are some of them the strongest fortresses in the known world, particularly Namur and Tournay, as appears from the notable resistance they made in the late wars, and the time they held out against armies consisting of an hundred thousand men, commanded by the greatest Generals in Europe; and such is their situation, that should a war happen between the Imperialists and the Dutch, the latter would probably be able to make an entire conquest of the Austrian Netherlands, and unite it to their state, if their allies the French and English, in their wisdoms, should think fit to contribute towards such a union. 'Tis true, the Dutch frontiers lie a little open to the Imperialists on the side of Guelderland and Overysse, but as they are now actually fortifying all the passes on this quarter, by which they can be attack'd, and with their confederates will be able to form an army equal, if not superior, to what the Emperor can bring into the field, they have little to fear from any attempt on the side of Germany. On the contrary, should there happen a misunderstanding between the French and the Hollander, the latter have now so strong, and continued a barrier from the sea-shore near Furnes to

K k

Namur,

CHAP. XI.



CHAP. Namur, and so along the river Maese as far as  
 XI. Maestricht in their own territories, that the French  
 would find it much more difficult to approach  
 their frontiers in case of another war than they  
 did in the last; especially if they were supported  
 by Britain and the Emperor, as they will infallibly  
 be, if it is not their own fault. I look upon  
 the Dutch state therefore to be in a manner im-  
 pregnable on the land-side; and if they keep a  
 good correspondence with Britain, as it is cer-  
 tainly very much their interest to do, they have  
 nothing to fear from the sea. But if they should  
 again encroach upon our trade, and insult our  
 Princes, and imagine themselves to be self-suffi-  
 cient, and to stand in need of no foreign assist-  
 ance, as in the days of DE WITT, who in his  
 history of Holland plainly asserts, they were a  
 match for all the powers of Europe; I say, if  
 they should become as vain again as they were  
 then, and wantonly and unnecessarily provoke the  
 neighbouring powers to attack them with their  
 united forces, they must expect to be reduced to  
 the like distress, notwithstanding all the advan-  
 tages they at present enjoy.

Their coin. I proceed next to give some account of the  
 coin which passes in the United Provinces, of  
 which there is a great variety; as gold ducats,  
 gold ducatoons, silver ducatoons, and half ducatoons,  
 rix-dollars, half and quarter rix-dollars,  
 florins, schillings, four-peny, two-peny, and penny  
 pieces, deuts, and pennings, whereof sixteen pen-  
 nings make one stiver, or penny, and three deuts,  
 or doits, make one stiver; six stivers, or pence,  
 make one schilling; twenty stivers make one flo-  
 rin (or gilder); fifty stivers make a rix-dollar;  
 sixty-three stivers make a ducatoon; fifteen flo-  
 rins or guilders make a gold ducatoon; and five  
 florins five stivers a gold ducat. The coin of Eng-  
 land, France and Germany, also pass here for their  
 intrinsic value: the French Lewis-d'Or goes for  
 about nine guilders, or an hundred and eighty sti-  
 vers, and a French crown for fifty stivers; but  
 the reader is to observe, that the Dutch stiver  
 is something more in value than the English  
 penny, and therefore I find most people, who  
 treat of the Dutch coins, make a gilder, or twen-  
 ty stivers, equal to two schillings English: so  
 that when foreigners reckon by livres, florins, or  
 stivers, we have nothing more to do, than to di-  
 vide by ten, and this reduces the sum to pounds  
 sterling. The coin call'd a schilling, and which  
 goes for six stivers, is always a base metal, and  
 not a third part of the value it goes at; and who-  
 ever travels from one province to another, will take  
 care therefore not to carry too much of this coin  
 with him, for it is never taken for so much in a  
 foreign province as in the place where it is coin'd.

And here, give me leave to add a word or two con-  
 cerning the bank of Amsterdam, where is sup-

posed to be lodg'd more treasure than in all the CHA  
 banks of Europe; one reason whereof may be the XI.  
 great security those who lodge their money there  
 apprehend it to be in; for it seems the whole  
 city is obliged to make good the treasure deposited  
 there, and it is observable, that a bank-note is of  
 more value here than current money, the reason  
 whereof is, that they take no coin but at the in-  
 trinsic worth: for example, a ducatoon of sil-  
 ver, which in current payment passes for sixty-  
 three stivers, or pence, is receiv'd in the bank  
 but for sixty stivers; so that there is in reality,  
 five per cent. difference between bank-money and  
 current-money, and this surplus is called the *Agio*,  
 which is not always the same, but is subject to  
 rise and fall as our stocks are, but usually it is  
 from four and a half to five per cent. The Di-  
 rectors of this bank, it seems, are not known to  
 trade with this money, or make any use of it;  
 but I find it is very much suspected that they do  
 underhand, and particularly, that they go shares  
 with the publick lombard-house, or pawn-office,  
 when jewels, or things of great value are lodged  
 there by neighbouring Princes, as they frequently  
 are: nor do they in this case at all hazard the  
 treasure intrusted with them; for the directors of  
 the lombard-office do not lend above two thirds  
 of the value upon any pawn; nor do they ever  
 suffer the interest to run, but if it be not regu-  
 larly paid, immediately give notice of a sale, as  
 they did in the case of the late Elector of Bavaria's  
 jewels.

There are several cities in the United Provin-  
 ces which still retain the privilege of coining mo-  
 ney, as Arnheim in Guelderland, and Dort in  
 Holland; and the States or Magistracy of North-  
 Holland (usually called West-Friezeland, and in  
 some respects a distinct province) have a mint  
 within their own jurisdiction, sometimes at Hoorn,  
 and sometimes at Enchuyzen. The province of  
 Zealand also have a mint at Middleburgh; and  
 the city of Utrecht still enjoys its antient privi-  
 lege of coining money. In Friezeland the city of  
 Lewarden hath the same privilege; as have the  
 cities of Deventer, Campen and Swoll in Over-  
 Yssel, without any regard to the States of the  
 province, claiming it as free cities of the Empire,  
 as they were formerly; and the city of Gronin-  
 gen makes the like pretence. But as by the union  
 of Utrecht there was to be a certain standard of  
 all money current through the whole state; the  
 States General appoint officers to inspect the se-  
 veral mints, and to take care that no counterfeit  
 money be coin'd in their dominions.

Their weights are, the pound, an hundred Their  
 whereof make the Dutch quintal, that is an hun- weights and  
 dred and eleven pound English (or, according to measure  
 some, an hundred and eight pounds) which is equal  
 to an hundred and seven pounds of Antwerp, an  
 hundred



CHAP. hundred and seventeen pounds of Flanders, and  
XII. ninety-eight of Paris.

Their most usual measure is the ell, an hundred and thirty-four whereof make an hundred yards English: and their corn is sold by the last, which contains an hundred and three of their shepels, or ten quarters English. The shepel I may denominate the Dutch bushel, an hundred and eight shepels making fourscore of our bushels.

## CHAP. XII.

*Treats of their Language, Learning, Universities, and of their liberal and mechanick Arts.*

THE language of the United Provinces is a dialect of the German, or High-Dutch, but more corrupted and clownish than that of Higher Germany; of which the reader will find an account in the former part of this volume. There are few of the better sort but understand French, which is indeed become the common language of the courts of Europe.

As to the state of learning here, says a modern writer, the mechanick arts are preferred to the liberal ones: for how can it be expected that people who are so bent upon trade, should trouble themselves much with speculation or nice distinctions. This country hath however produced some very great men in the commonwealth of learning: and they have two Universities, which some of our countrymen seem to prefer to our own, by sending their sons and relations thither; though perhaps the cheapness of the place, and the little trouble they have in acquiring degrees, may be the principal inducements for entring their friends here; for our people don't generally admire a Dutch education. But to proceed;

The University of Leyden was founded in the year 1674, by the States: the schools are one pile of brick building three stories high, containing two rooms on a floor, the uppermost having been ELZEVIUS's printing-office. There is here, as in some other foreign Universities, a *Series Læctionum* printed annually, and affix'd to the school-gates, whereby people are appriz'd what hour every Professor reads. The number of scholars in this University is computed to be about two thousand. They have a physick-garden contiguous to the school-yard, consisting of an acre of ground well stock'd with plants. On the left of it is a long gallery, in which the botanick Professor reads his lectures, and in which are a great variety of rarities. There are but two colleges in the University, the Students living in private lodgings in the town. The Professors alone wear gowns, and that only when they read lectures, or preside at disputations, others performing their exercise in cloaks; and the auditors sit cover'd at

lectures and disputations. They confer degrees without any regard to their standing: and for exercise, he that intends to commence, prints a state of the question he designs to maintain, which he is obliged to defend against all opponents. Each Professor, besides the profits which arise to him from his auditors, who are in the nature of pupils, hath two or three hundred pounds a year allow'd him by the States. *Liberalium artium Magister* and *Doctor* in each faculty, are the only degrees conferred. Those who are matriculated in the register of the University enjoy large privileges, and Students above the age of twenty are exempted from paying of excise for a considerable quantity of wine and beer. The Rector, who used to be chosen by the Stadtholder, and now by the States, enters annually on his office on the day of the dedication of the University, viz. on the 8th of February N. S. and he enjoys the title of *Magnificus*. There are also three Curators, assisted by the four city Consuls as their colleagues, who have the Syndick or Recorder for their council. The senate of the University consists of twelve Professors, namely three of each faculty; but they may be augmented by the Curators under certain limitations. All causes among the Scholars, both civil and criminal, are decided ultimately by the Rector and his four Assessors, to whom are join'd the consuls and some of the Scabbins of the city. The library of the University is only considerable for its manuscripts, which are esteemed of great value, two hundred and one and twenty whereof were brought out of the East by J. GOLIUS. There are skeletons innumerable of all sorts and sizes in the Anatomy-Theatre; mummies, heathen idols and reliques; a variety of minerals, and habits of several countries. They shew here a man's bladder containing two gallons of water; and the mummy of an Egyptian Prince reputed to be eighteen hundred years old. Many learned Professors this University is said to have produced, 1. In Divinity, LAMBERTUS DANÆUS, FRANCISCUS GOMARUS, and FRIDERICUS SPANHEMIUS. 2. In Law, HUGO DONELLUS, BERNARDUS SCHOTANUS, and JACOBUS MESTERTIUS. 3. In History, JUSTUS LIPSIUS, PAULUS MERULA, PETRUS CUNÆUS, JOHANNES VOSSIUS, and DANIEL HEINSIUS, ADRIANUS HEREBORD, JOSEPH SCALIGER, and CLAUDIUS SALMASIUS; the two last being natives of France, and invited hither by the States of Holland, who allow'd them considerable salaries. And, 4. In Physick, FRANCISCUS DE LA BOE SYLVIUS. The reader may meet with a fuller account of this University in MEURSIUS's *Athenæ Batavæ*.

As to the original of the University of Utrecht, the Dutch historians inform us, that DAVID of Burgundy,



CHAP. XIII. Burgundy, Bishop and Prince of the province, erected a publick school in this city about the year 1459. That in the year 1636, the Magistrates of the place erected it into a University. The power of the academical Governour and Officers is exceedingly limited; both the Professors and Students being subject to the ordinary Magistrates of the town, who inflict punishments on all offenders. The hour, and subject of their lectures, are printed every half year by their Professors; among whom ISBRANDUS DIEMERBROECK is in great reputation for his *Anatome Corporis Humani*, published here anno 1672. This library has more printed books than that of Leyden, but not near so many manuscripts.

As to their mechanick arts, the reader will find many of them taken notice of already in the chapter of their manufactures, to which I shall therefore refer him; and only add, that their skill in painting, graving, and carving is much admired, and their musical instrument-makers are esteem'd excellent artists: but it is generally observed of them, that they are much better at imitation than invention.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Treats of the religion of the inhabitants of the United Provinces, and of their marriages and funerals.*

The religion of the United Provinces.

UPON the first struggles for their religion and liberties, the Protestants of the Low Countries agreed, That the publick profession should be Lutheranism, with liberty of conscience however for those of different opinions. But by the union of Utrecht, concluded in the year 1579, each of the provinces was impower'd to establish such a religion in their respective limits, as was thought most conducing to the welfare of their province, with a proviso still, that none should be forced in matters of conscience. But in the year 1583, it was agreed by the States General, that Calvinism should be the establish'd religion of the United Provinces; for these reasons, says Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, among others, 1. Because their chief supporters in England, France and Germany were of that persuasion. 2. Because those of that persuasion seem'd most violent against the Spaniards. 3. Because by this profession all the rights and jurisdiction of the clergy being suppress'd, there was no ecclesiastical authority left to disturb or fetter the civil power; and all the goods and possessions of churches and abbeyes were seized into the hands of the State, which occasion'd a great increase of their publick revenues, a thing the most necessary for the support of their infant government. The same honourable writer ob-

serves further, That since this establishment, it hath been the great care of the State to favour no particular or curious inquisition into the faith or religious principles of any peaceable man, who came to live under the protection of their laws, and to suffer no violence or oppression to be used towards any man, whose opinions broke not out into expressions or actions of ill consequence to the State. The Roman Catholick religion only was excepted from the common protection of the laws, on account of their acknowledging a foreign and superior jurisdiction. But though this is not provided for by the constitution of their government, it is in a manner tolerated by the connivance of their officers, who upon certain constant payments from every family, suffer the exercise of the Roman Catholick religion in their respective jurisdictions, as freely, tho' not so cheap and so avowedly, as the rest. But as to what this honourable writer says further, I cannot agree with him, namely, That no disputes are ever heard of here on account of religion, and that the civil government hath never been disturb'd by religious feuds for a long course of years; when all the world knows, that there is no country in Europe has been more endanger'd and disturb'd by religious disputes than this, and that even from the very foundation of the State to this day, as is evident from the repeated contests between the Gomarists and Arminians in this very country; so that however it may be true, that a general liberty of conscience is the readiest way to promote peace in any government, the Hollanders are but a very unlucky instance of it. And Sir WILLIAM, in working up a panegyrick of this people and their government, seems to have forgot a great many particulars he could not but be acquainted with: nor are the Dutch at last to be altogether acquitted of persecution, for they have frequently dispossest the Gomarists and others, of their estates and preferments, who would not subscribe to the doctrine of Calvinism: nay, they have imprison'd and banish'd Nonconformists, and even condemn'd them to death. And as to the papists, do they not make them constantly pay for a liberty to profess themselves of that communion? And do not the Scouts, or civil Officers, frequently shut up their private chapels, in order to extort sums of money from them? And after all this will the Dutch wipe their mouths, and say they are not guilty of persecution! But further, do they not exclude all people who are not Calvinists from all places of profit and trust in the government, which their brethren on this side the water look upon as no small degree of persecution, telling us of their birth-rights and natural privileges, from which, according to them, no subject can be justly excluded? And as to the friendship and unity among the subjects of the United



CHAP. XIII. United Provinces, which are so much applauded, some late writers assure us, that one sect or party will scarce deal with another; but if a tradesman comes to settle any where, who is not of the same communion with the people of the place, they will starve him: and surely the man who is thus treated must resent the usage, and then what good neighbourhood is to be expected amongst them, more than we meet with in other countries? Authors of undeniable credit also assure us, that such have been the disputes between the Gomarists and Arminians, that they frequently came to blows in many of their cities, even while they were coming home together from church, and sometimes actually beat out one another's brains; till the Gomarists called in the civil power to their assistance, and imprisoned and banished the most considerable of their enemies. And though the mob are generally Calvinists, the better sort of people I find are Arminians in their hearts, and do not stick to discover their opinions upon some occasions. But it is remarkable, that the Calvinists here, contrary to those of Scotland and other Presbyterian countries, are great advocates for a monarchical form of government; while the Arminians, who approach pretty near to the church of England, are altogether of commonwealth principles.

And as the Dutch are in many instances as guilty of persecution as their neighbours whom they charge with it, so are they, in some particulars, intolerably remiss and negligent; there is no sect, how scandalous and blasphemous soever, that they will not entertain, if they bring but wealth along with them, and may contribute to enrich their country; insomuch that there are above thirty several sects in Amsterdam, even Brownists, Familists, and such extravagant opinions as no other establishment will bear, and such as have long been suppress'd in all other civiliz'd countries. But the Dutch perhaps (according to the opinion of some of their friends on this side of the water) are in the right in tolerating what the rest of mankind abhor.

But to proceed: The bulk of the people are Calvinists at present, and have the power in their hands, though whether the Roman Catholics do not equal their numbers in many of the villages, I perceive is made a question of late years. The Deputies of the general Synod we find complain'd to the States General in the year 1725, that the number of Roman Catholics was increased in the United Provinces since 1650, at least three hundred and fifty thousand. The Arminians also, now they are without a Stadtholder, begin to lift up their heads; and as there are many of them among the magistracy, may possibly, e'er long, give a turn to ecclesiastical affairs in this country. Some of their greatest men have conjectured, That the

struggles for power between the Calvinists and Arminians, will one day endanger the destruction of their State; and yet this is the country where Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, and after him some modern writers, without examination, affirm that there are no heats or contests occasion'd by different opinions in religion. The Anabaptists also are very numerous in this State, especially in North Holland, where I think they reckon up no less than six divisions or sects of them. The Jews have two synagogues at Amsterdam, and two others at Rotterdam and the Hague; among which one of those at Amsterdam is esteem'd one of the greatest ornaments of that city, by this people sometimes called their New Jerusalem.

The Calvinists, who are the establish'd sect, or church, as they call themselves, are govern'd by a presbytery, among whom there is almost a perfect equality, except that the seniors, or those made choice of to preside amongst them, have some preference in their assemblies. Particular congregations are under the direction of the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons; but all censures and degradations, and what concerns religion in general, is determin'd in their synods, which are either provincial or general. These assemble twice a year, having first given notice to the States of the time of their meeting; whereupon the States appoint a member of their own body to preside in the synod, who is stiled the *Commissarius Politicus*. The general synod send a deputation to the States General once in three years, to represent the state of religion, and to petition for a reformation of such abuses as their own authority does not extend to. The ministers receive their stipends, which are usually about an hundred and fifty pounds a year, from the magistrates of the city, or place where their cure lies; and I don't find that any of them are allowed a plurality of livings. As to tythes and church-lands, it has been already observed, that the States took possession of these on the first constitution of their government, and have retain'd them ever since, so that the Dutch clergy depend intirely on the magistracy; and if their discourses offend them, 'tis said, they send the preacher a pair of shoes and a staff, by which he understands 'tis their pleasure that he march out of their territories, and he dares not be so impertinent as to offer at a defence.

The Dutch churches are seldom without organs, especially in their cities and great towns, and no part of their worship delights them like psalm-singing; accordingly we find scarce any other books in their churches but psalters, bound up with their catechism; and the psalm to be sung is usually marked on slates, hung up in several parts of the church. Collections for the poor are made in sermon-time, a purse and a bell being fasten'd at the end of a staff, and carried about by

CHAP. XIII.



CHAP. by the Deacon (who is a kind of overseer for the poor) for that purpose. They are very far from observing the Lord's day with that strictness the Presbyterians do on this side the water, making no scruple of travelling by boat or waggon, or of buying or selling small matters; nay, there is not any diversion they refrain from on these days: and yet what a work did our Presbyterians make in the last age, about a permission to the common people to follow their recreations on a Sunday, after divine service in the evening? even this alone was thought cause sufficient to justify a rebellion against the government by some, and to murder an Archbishop in cold blood; so various are Presbyterian principles in one country from what they are in another!

their marriages. Before the celebration of any marriage there is a solemn contract made between the parties in the presence of their friends, whereby their choice is so far determined, that there is no receding from it; which to me seems to be the marriage itself, and to be so look'd upon by the parties espoused; for they make very little scruple of living together as man and wife afterwards, and the woman is frequently pregnant before the marriage is solemnized in a church, or blessed, according to the French phrase. There are in some towns commissaries for causes matrimonial, chosen out of the principal citizens; these take the names of the persons to be married, and see that they have the consent of their parents or guardians; after which they deliver the names of those who are to be married (if they approve of it) to the minister of the place, who publishes the banns three times in the church before or after sermon, according to the custom of the place. As to those who are not of the established church, it is the custom in many cities to publish the banns before the Stadt-house, or town-hall, in which the ceremony is celebrated afterwards, according to their respective forms, in the presence of two Senators; though this is sometimes dispensed with, and their marriages are suffer'd to be solemnized after banns publish'd in their respective chapels, or places of divine worship. Though the Dutch women in their bloom are handsome enough, yet after marriage, applying themselves to all manner of drudgery, and drinking pretty freely with their husbands, their beauty is gone usually before they are five and twenty. If the husband be a tradesman,

the wife manages every thing in the shop, as well as in the house, and her man, as she calls her husband, has very little to do within doors, and indeed can scarce be called master of his family; the very children, especially his wife's favourites, insult him, and his servants shew him but little respect; nor dare he correct any of them, they are so very much upon a level in this country.

At the burials of the Calvinists I can't learn there is any funeral-service read at the grave, or any bell rung to give notice of the time of their death or interment; but a certain person, whose office it is, gives notice to the neighbourhood to attend the corps to the grave, three or four days after his decease; and there is in many places a penalty inflicted on those who neglect to perform this last office to their deceased friends. In some places both men and women attend their friends to the grave, and in others the women are prohibited. They follow the corps as with us, being usually clothed in long black cloaks, and having seen their friend put into the ground, return to the house, where they meet with an entertainment, or at least a glass of wine; and in some places it is the custom to be very merry, in the room where but a little before they wept and lamented their loss: but people of distinction, 'tis said, order a sum of money to be spent on the bearers and company at some tavern or publick house, and retire decently to their chambers to lament their misfortune. There is a certain set time of day appointed both for marriages and funerals, in some places in the morning, and in others in an afternoon; and if the corps is not brought out at the appointed time, those who have the direction of the funeral forfeit a certain sum for every hour they exceed the limited time, to the use of the poor, which people of figure frequently choose to do, for the state of the matter, and to shew their charity. The time of mourning for a parent, for a husband, or wife, is a year and six weeks.

The Papists and Lutherans seem to lay a great stress upon ringing a bell at the death and interment of their deceased friends, and having them buried in churches, or consecrated ground, which the government make them pay very dear for; and indeed there are no rites, how superstitious soever they are esteem'd, but the Dutch will tolerate if they are paid for it.



**FLANDERS** or the  
**AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS.**  
 with y<sup>e</sup> Bishoprick of **LIEGE.**  
 Distinguishing what belongs to  
 France, Holland &c Agreeable  
 to Modern History. By H. Moll Geogr.

5 10 15 20 25  
 English Miles

THE NORTH

30

51

30

50



The Treaty for Securing the Barrier in the Netherlands, between the Emperor, King of Great Britain and the States General Concluded at Antwerp the 15, of Novemb. 1715. His Imperial and Catholick Maj<sup>ty</sup> Grants that y<sup>e</sup> States Gen<sup>l</sup> shall have a Garrison intirely of their own Troops in the Towns and Castles of Namur & Tournay. And in the Towns of Menin, Furnes, Warrington, Ypres and Fort Knoche. It is agreed that in the Town of Dendermonde there shall be a joint Garrison. — The Governor shall be appointed by the Emperor.

Part of

L.O.







# THE PRESENT STATE OF THE Austrian and French Netherlands.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the situation and extent of the Austrian and French Netherlands, containing those ten provinces, the remainder of the seventeen, which were not included in the union of Utrecht; describing their seas, harbours, rivers, canals, air, and climate.*

HAP.  
I.

the ten  
Austrian  
French  
provinces.

their seas  
and har-  
bours.

their chief  
rivers.

The Maese,  
the Scheldt,  
the Lys.

**T**HE ten provinces of the Netherlands, which were not comprehended in the union of Utrecht, and which are now subject to the house of Austria and France, (except some small part of Brabant and Flanders, which the Dutch have made themselves masters of) are, 1. The duchy of Brabant. 2. The county of Flanders. 3. The county of Artois. 4. The county of Hainault. 5. The county of Cambresis. 6. The county of Namur. 7. The duchy of Luxemburg. 8. The duchy of Limburg. 9. The marquisate of the Holy Empire, or Antwerp. And, 10. The lordship of Malines or Mechlin. These ten provinces are bounded by the Ocean and the United Netherlands towards the north, by Germany on the east, by Lorain and part of France on the south, and by another part of France and the British ocean towards the west; being about an hundred miles in length from east to west, and about fourscore in breadth from north to south.

The north-west part of these provinces only is wash'd by the ocean, and is a very unsafe coast, on account of the numberless shelves and sands which lie upon it. The only ports are those of Graveling, Dunkirk, Newport, Ostend and Sluys, and these will scarce admit ships of any great burthen; the best of them are Ostend and Sluys. The harbour of Dunkirk was destroyed, in pursuance of the treaty of Utrecht: but of these I shall give a more particular account when I come to describe the towns to which they belong.

The chief rivers that have their course through these ten provinces, are, the Maese, the Scheldt, the Lys, the Lieue, the Aa, the Sambre, the Dyle or Dyle, the Demer, the Scarpe, and the Dendre. The three first of which, namely, the Maese, the Scheldt, and the Lys have been describ'd already in treating of the United Provinces. The

Lieue rises near Middleburg in Flanders, and falls into the Scheldt at Ghent. The Aa has its source in Artois near Terouen, and passing by St. Omers, divides itself into two branches, which are re-united near Graveling, where it falls into the sea. The Sambre, called by CÆSAR *Sabis*, rises in Hainault, and passing by Landrecy and Maubeuge, is united with the Maese at Namur. The spring of the Dyle is in Brabant, and takes its course by Louvain; and afterwards receiving the Demer, runs on to Mechlin, a league from whence it acquires the name of Rupel, communicating its name to the town of Rupelmond. The Demer arises from two springs in the county of Liege, about a league from Tongres, which uniting below Bilsen, pass on to Hasselt, Diest and Arschot, uniting with the Dyle a little below Boteslaer. The Scarpe hath its source from two springs in the province of Artois, which being united near Arras, flow on to Doway and Marchiennes, and a little below St. Amand fall into the Scheldt. The Dendre hath its source in Hainault, not far from Conde, and running by Aeth, Ninove, and Alost, falls into the Scheldt at Dendermond. Besides these rivers there are as fine canals here as in Holland, though not so many of them: the chief whereof are those of Brussels, Ghent, and Middleburg.

It is observable that in the flat country, and especially that part of it which borders on the sea, there are no springs, though there are several in the hilly part of these provinces at a distance from the sea; which, as Dr. NICHOLSON intimates, is a confirmation of the modern opinion, that the source of fountains is not from the sea, but from great quantities of waters otherwise, and chiefly by rain, collected in subterraneous receptacles; and this is farther evinced from a well in one of the maritime provinces, not far from the sea,

CHAP.  
I.

The Lieue.  
The Aa.

The  
Sambre.

The Dyle.

The Rupel.  
The Demer.

The Scarpe.

The Dendre.

Canals.

No springs  
in the flat  
country near  
the sea.



CHAP. I. sea, of a very great depth, but with little or no water in it.

**The air.** The air of this country is for the most part healthful, at least much more so than the air of the United Provinces, except that part of Flanders which lies near the sea, as about Dunkirk, Ostend, and some few other maritime places. But of this and the soil I shall speak more particularly, when I come to describe the several provinces.

**Forests.** This country was antiently famous for its fine woods and forests, of which there are still some remains, though far the greatest part of them are now converted into populous towns and villages, and fruitful fields of arable land and pasture. The chief of these forests is that of Ardenne, in **Of Ardenne.** CÆSAR's time the largest of all Gaul; for beginning near the Rhine, and extending itself through the middle of the country of Triers, it reached on one side as far as the territories of the city of Tournay, and on the other as far as Rheims in Champagne, being five hundred miles in length. The thickest part of it at present is between Thionville on the east borders of Luxemburg, and the city of Liege, which is about thirty leagues; in which limits also there are many villages and plowed fields; the principal whereof is the town of St. Hubert, situate on the middle of it.

**Mormant.** 2. The forest of Mormant in Hainault, which begins near Quesnoy, and reaches several leagues towards Vermand, containing however some towns and villages: and here are made great quantities of charcoal, from whence some suppose it to be part of that antient forest, called by the French, *La Charboniere*.

**St. Amand.** 3. The pleasant wood of St. Amand, situate also in Hainault, beginning from the limits of French Flanders near the town of St. Amand, and extending to Valenciennes. But this, as I remember, the late French King order'd to be cut down.

**Faigne.** 4. The forest of Faigne, being near Avesnes in Hainault, and extending as far as Meziers in Champagne, being about sixteen leagues.

**Soigny.** 5. The forest of Soigny, adjoining almost to the city of Brussels, is above one and twenty miles in compass, and contains fourscore thousand acres; one hundred of which being cut down every year, yields the Emperor a revenue of fifty thousand florins per annum, according to Mr. PEERS, which makes 5000*l.* per ann. when reduced to pounds sterling. But this reverend Gentleman (or his author) must certainly mean a thousand acres, as well from the price he rates it at, as because he says it is all cut down once in eighty years; and then supposing it to be worth five pounds an acre, it must yield five thousand pounds per annum. But I am apt to think they cut four thousand acres a year; because 'tis usual in most other places to

cut underwoods at twenty years growth; and in this case it will be a revenue worth the mentioning, namely twenty thousand pounds sterling per annum. If it be meant indeed, that a hundred acres of timber are cut every year, which are worth fifty pounds an acre, then Mr. PEERS's calculation of fifty thousand florins, or five thousand pounds per annum is right: but then the timber must not be cut above once in four hundred years, which can hardly be supposed.

6. Meerdale, near Louvain; Zaventerloot, between Louvain, Brussels, and Vilvord; and Groo- **Meerdale, &c.** tenhout, near Tournhout in Brabant.

7. Marlaigne, beginning near the castle of Namur, and extending along the banks of the Maese, reaches almost to Philipville. **Marlaigne.**

8. Niepe, which begins on the confines of Artois, extends as far as the river Lys, and is the principal forest in Flanders. There is also a forest called Nonna, contiguous to Ypres, which extends itself to the northward. **Niepe.**

9. Poodberg, on the confines of Flanders and Hainault, between Grammont and Lessines, a large forest of a round form, which with Niepe and Nonnen were formerly part of the forest of Ardenne. **Poodberg.**

10. Le Bois Guillaume, or William's Wood, in Artois near Renty. **William's Wood.**

In Luxemburg and Namur, and some parts of Hainault, there are some hills which may deserve the name of mountains; and part of Brabant is hilly, but the rest of the country is upon a flat. **Mountains.**

## CHAP. II.

*Contains a description of the particular provinces, and of their chief towns.*

THE duchy of Brabant, being the first province of the Austrian Netherlands which lies in my way westward from the country last described, I chuse to inquire into the present state of this in the first place. **Brabant.**

Brabant, in which I comprehend Antwerp, or the marquisate of the Holy Empire, is bounded by Holland towards the north; by the duchy of Guelderland, and the bishoprick of Liege towards the east; by the counties of Hainault and Namur towards the south; and by Flanders on the west: extending near seventy miles in length from north to south, and sixty miles in breadth from east to west, in the broadest part. The air is temperate and healthful, and the country generally fruitful, except the northern part, called *Kempenland*, which is a sandy barren soil, affording only pasture for sheep. The face of the country is generally plain and open, but in some parts it rises into little hills, and is cloathed with wood; but what is remarkable in the inhabitants both of Brabant and Flanders, **The situation and extent.** **The air.** **The face of the country.**



CHAP. II. Flanders, is, that they have found means to improve most of their barren lands, and make them more valuable than the richest grounds. Of the soil and husbandry of which provinces I meet with the following account, viz. That though the soil of Brabant be for the most part good, that of Flanders is much better; that the richest land in Flanders lies between Dunkirk and Bruges, extending about forty English miles in length, consisting of rich meadows, and fields of as good wheat and barley as are to be met with in Europe. But that between Bruges and Ghent, which lie about twenty-four miles asunder, the soil begins to alter for the worse, and between Ghent and Antwerp we find a gravelly or sandy soil, resembling the most barren part of Surrey, producing scarce any thing but heath or broom, if it remain uncultivated. Nor does the soil much alter for the better till we come within two miles of Antwerp, from which Ghent is five or six and twenty miles distant. That part of Brabant which lies between Antwerp and Holland, is no less barren than that which lies between Antwerp and Ghent; but this soil, which is so remarkably bad for grain and grass, happening to be the most proper for flax, by the industry of the husbandman, is become so far preferable to that called the richest, that one acre of their flax-ground is now worth four of the other. After the flax is pulled, the same ground produces a crop of turnips; and in April following, they sow the same land with oats, harrowing in clover-grass seed upon it with bushes, which grass appears after the oats are mowed, and is good pasture till Christmas. The year following they have three crops of clover; the first about the beginning of June, the second at the end of the same month, and the last before the end of August. Other part of their heath-grounds they plant with hops, fruit-trees, and other trees, which they have found means even upon this barren soil to bring to great perfection.

Brabant is usually divided into four quarters, distinguished by the names of the four principal cities, viz. Louvain, Antwerp, Brussels, and Bois-leduc. The chief towns in the quarter of Louvain are, 1. Louvain, the capital city. 2. Tienen, or Tirlmont. 3. St. Truen, or St. Tron. 4. Lewe. 5. Dieft. 6. Gemblours. 7. Halen, 8. Sichen. 9. Judoigne. 10. Hannue. 11. Landen. And, 12. Ramelies: the chief whereof I shall endeavour to describe.

The city of Louvain is pleasantly situated on the river Dyle, in the latitude of fifty degrees, fifty minutes, fifteen miles north-east of Brussels, and twelve south-east of Mechlin: the walls are six or seven miles in circumference, but include several fields and vineyards, scarce one third of the ground inclosed being built upon. It is a town of no great strength, as appears by its sur-

CHAP. II. rendring to the allies after the battle of Ramelies, on the twenty-fifth of May 1706, without making any defence. The castle stands on the top of a hill surrounded with vineyards and fine gardens, and has an unbounded prospect over a very pleasant country, and the air is esteem'd the best in the Netherlands; which occasion'd its being the residence of their antient Earls, and afterwards of CHARLES V, in his minority. This place was formerly very considerable for its manufactures, it being computed, that there was no less than four thousand master-weavers in it at once, and still they have a trade in fine linnen, but not comparable to what it was. The university is now its only glory; and this, 'tis said, resembles those of England more than any foreign university, and was founded about the year 926, but first endowed by JOHN IV, Duke of Brabant, with the concurrence of Pope MARTIN V, anno 1425. Though the situation and buildings of this university be much admired, as well as its noble endowments, Mr. PEERS assures us, it is inferior to Oxford in all these respects. The students in divinity here constantly wear gowns and caps, but the rest only at publick exercises. There are forty-three colleges in this university; of which there are not more than four for the education of youth, where strict discipline is observed: the others are for those of riper years, who come and go when they please. In every one of the four colleges above-mention'd, is taught philosophy by two Professors, each of whom read two hours in a day, the young students writing after them, who when they are matriculated, make oath that they believe all the articles of the church of Rome. The Professors of these four pedagogues chuse annually forty-eight scholars of two years standing; and out of that number, after publick examination, twelve are chosen to exhibitions. The degrees taken here are those of Master, Licentiate, and Doctor; the Licentiate seems to be a kind of middle graduate between Bachelor and Doctor, and may answer to our Master of arts. He is upon his going out conducted from the schools with drums and trumpets, treats all the Doctors and his opponents, and gives gloves; at his lodging a bell is rung four and twenty hours together, and he is at liberty to chuse a coat of arms, and immediately accounted a gentleman. The Governour of the university is stiled Rector, and is chosen every half year by the *Senatus Academicus*, to whom the chief magistrate of the city gives place. He has plenary jurisdiction over the scholars, and is on holidays, and solemn processions, attended by eight beades, who go before him with silver maces. There is another officer, called the Promoter, who, by the authority of the Rector, inflicts punishments on offenders, and sometimes gives judgment of death;



CHAP. but generally crimes are expiated by pecuniary  
II. mulcts.

If a citizen be plaintiff against a student in a civil cause, the Rector determines it; but if a student sue a citizen, the Conservator of the university takes cognizance of the cause. This Conservator is an ecclesiastical person, who with his Assessor, being a person learned in the law, proceeds in cases of contumacy to excommunication, and the offender if obstinate is deliver'd to the secular power. They have also a Chancellor, whose only business is to confer degrees, and who in all publick assemblies takes place next to the Rector. Degrees are taken here in five faculties, viz. divinity, canon-law, civil-law, physick and arts: and of the superiour graduates in these faculties does their academical senate consist.

The town-house of Louvain is a magnificent building of great antiquity, the outside being adorned by abundance of curious sculpture: the Jesuits church also is a handsome structure, and their library is said to be the best in the Austrian Netherlands, in regard of the great number of valuable manuscripts it contains. In the church of the Cordeliers lies buried JUSTUS LIPSIUS, an eminent Professor in this university, and of great esteem in the learned world.

About two miles from this city stands the Duke of Arschot's palace of Heverly; the walks leading to it being much admired by travellers, consisting of tall lime-trees, which afford a delightful shade, but the palace it self, an antique building, is in a ruinous condition at present. In the chapel here they shew a piece of money, said to be one of the thirty for which JUDAS betray'd our Saviour: it has indeed great marks of antiquity, and weighs about an English shilling, having the head of TIBERIUS on one side, and a flower resembling a lilly on the other. 2. Tienen, or Tirlmont, formerly a large wall'd town, but now in a ruinous condition; lying about eight miles south-east of Louvain, still about a league in circumference, and has the same privileges as the four capital cities of the province abovementioned have. 3. St. Truyen, or St. Tron, between Tirlmont and Tongren; the walls whereof were demolish'd by the French, together with those of Tirlmont. It takes its name from an abbey of Benedictines here, the Abbot whereof is lord of half the town, and puts in the magistrates. 4. Leue, or Levia, five miles east of Tirlmont; a little fortified town, remarkable for the great priory of St. AUSTIN's, whose Prior is one of the chief nobility of the province. 5. Diest, situate on the river Demer, ten miles north-east of Louvain, a pretty town, with a large territory belonging to it: it has the title of a barony, and belongs to the Princes of Orange; the French demolish'd the fortifications in the late war. 6. Gemblours,

nineteen miles to the southward of Louvain, and CHA eleven north-west of Namur; stands on a steep hill, encompass'd on all sides by precipices, except towards the east, on which side a hill hangs over it, considerable at present only for a monastery dedicated to St. BENEDICT, the Abbot whereof is lord of the place, and takes the first place among the lay-nobility in the States Provincial. In this monastery the late King WILLIAM took up his quarters for a considerable time during the late war. 7. Landen, situate five miles south of Leue, remarkable only for a victory obtain'd near it by the French over the allies in the year 1693. 8. Ramelies, eleven miles north of Namur, a village famous only for a victory obtain'd over the French near it by the allies in the year 1706.

The second quarter of Brabant is that of Brussels: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Brussels, 2. Nivelles. 3. Senef. And, 4. Vilvorden.

Brussels, the capital of Brabant, and of the Austrian Netherlands, stands on the declivity of a hill on the little river Sinne, or Saine, in the latitude of fifty degrees, fifty minutes; twenty-five miles south of Antwerp, and thirty south-east of Ghent; in a pleasant fruitful country, being about six miles in circumference, and surrounded with a wall, and other fortifications, but not capable of sustaining a long siege, as appears by its surrendering to the allies after the battle of Ramelies in the year 1706, without making any resistance. And indeed the fortifications are so extensive, that it would require an army to defend them. In the year 1696, it was bombarded by Marshal VILLEROY, who came before it with an hundred thousand men, while King WILLIAM was at the siege of Namur; and tho' Prince VAUDEMONT, who lay within the walls with an army of thirty thousand men prevented its being surpriz'd, there were above two thousand houses demolish'd in the middle of the town, together with the Stadthouse, and several churches, whose foundations were blown up by the bombs; and the city lying on the side of a hill, and exposed thereby to the enemy's artillery, they fired red-hot bullets into the heart of the place for eight and forty hours, whereby the town became a heap of rubbish, though it was soon after rebuilt with great advantage. It was again vigorously attack'd by the Duke of Bavaria in the year 1708, while the confederates were employ'd in the siege of Lisle; but the Duke of Marlborough marching with great expedition to its assistance, the enemy withdrew precipitately from before it.

There are abundance of noble abbeys and monasteries in the town; the country about it is well planted with fruit and timber-trees, and water'd with fountains, canals and rivulets: The river Sinn runs through the city; and is united

Tirlmont.

St. Tron.

Leue.

Diest.

Gemblours.



**HAP. II.** to the Ruppel, which falls into the Scheld, by a fine navigable canal, near twenty miles in length, whereby this city hath a communication with Antwerp and other cities. This was performed by CHARLES V, and PHILIP II, Kings of Spain, and was a work of incredible labour and expence, the engineers being obliged to level a mountain to effect it, and to erect sluices, whereby vessels are raised perpendicularly to a surprising height upon this canal. Brussels is a populous city, containing large handsome streets, spacious market-places, and uniform elegant buildings both publick and private, especially since the bombardment above-mentioned in the year 1696. It is the usual residence of the Regent of the Austrian Netherlands, and of the nobility and people of distinction. Here also is held the court of chancery for Brabant, and the assemblies of the States of all the provinces. The palace is situate in the highest part of the town, a large antient structure, which escaped the fury of the French bombs, being too far from their batteries, which were erected on the lower-side of the town: Marshal VILLEROY, indeed, sent a compliment to the Electress of Bavaria, to acquaint her that he would spare that part of the town which she resided in, if she would let him know it; to which she return'd no other answer, but that he might execute his Majesty's orders, (the Duke of Bavaria was then Viceroy of the Netherlands.) The church of St. GUDULA is esteem'd the most magnificent in this city: in which are kept three consecrated hosts, from which, 'tis said, blood issued on their being stabb'd by certain Jews in contempt of our Blessed Saviour. Among their religious houses, there is one for penitent whores. Their hospitals are kept exceeding neat, and well endowed, and there are some for the entertainment of Strangers, who are supply'd with all necessaries for three days. There is another erected for foundling children, who are not suffer'd to perish through the cruelty or poverty of their parents. Adjoining to the palace is a large circuit of ground inclosed with a wall, containing in it whatever can contribute to the diversion of the court, among which are a park and aviary, grotto's, canals, water-works, and flower-gardens, in which last the natives of Brussels in general are very curious. The Stadthouse, which is a noble building, has over it a brazen statue of St. MICHAEL, the Guardian Angel of the city, being fifteen foot in height. Here are also a great many fine paintings done by the best hands; and what renders the houses of the citizens exceeding pleasant, is their fountains and gardens, which few of them want, the meanest of the people being extravagantly fond of flowers.

The magistracy of this city consists of two Consuls, (Burghermasters) and seven Schepias or Al-

dermen, chosen annually by the Prince out of CHAP. seven antient and noble families, and six common-council elected out of the principal tradesmen, of whom there are two and fifty colleges or companies.

2. Nivelles, situate fifteen miles south of Brussels, near the head of the river Sinne, one of the pleasantest towns in the Netherlands, but has no other fortifications than a single wall. It is remarkable for a nunnery of noble ladies, who enjoy all manner of innocent freedoms, and are not confined to their cloyster, as in other places. Their governess called Madam de Nivelles, is chosen by themselves, with the consent of the Prince and the Pope. This town has large privileges, and is considerable for the great quantities of fine linnen made here, equal to that of Cambray.

3. Senef, a village five miles to the southward of Nivelles, memorable for a battle fought near it in the year 1674, between the French and Dutch.

4. Vilvorden, situate on the river Sinne, between Mechlin and Brussels, two leagues distant from each; in the old castle whereof formerly were confined prisoners of quality who had offended against the state, and here also were kept the records of the province of Brabant.

The third quarter of Brabant is that of Antwerp, or the marquissate of the Empire; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Antwerp. 2. Breda, 3. Lillo. 4. Lire. 5. Herentals. And 6. Hoogstraten.

Antwerp is situate on the east bank of the Scheld, in the latitude of fifty-one degrees, sixteen minutes, twenty-five miles north of Brussels, and thirty north-west of Louvain. It is built in the form of a crescent, and lies in a low fenny ground; the Scheld being twenty foot deep here, and the tide rising twelve foot more, ships of burthen may unlade at the keys; there are also eight canals cut from the Scheld for the convenience of carrying vessels into the town, some of which will contain an hundred sail, which made it one of the safest and most commodious harbours in Europe, 'till the Dutch cut off their communication with the sea by their forts toward the mouth of the Scheld, and diverted the trade to their own ports; an injury which the Austrian Netherlands will endeavour to redress, if ever it be in their power. This city is about seven miles in circumference, and surrounded with a beautiful wall, and bastions faced with stone; the top of the wall is not less than an hundred foot broad, and well planted with trees. There are thirteen noble gates, eight of which stand towards the water, and have their several keys near them, where vessels are laden and unladen: The citadel is a pentagon of five royal bastions, and stands on the south side of the city, on the banks of the Scheld, commanding the city, the river, and the neighbouring country,



**CHAP. II.** the building whereof by PHILIP II, King of Spain, was the first check to the trade and greatness of this port. The citadel is about a mile in compass, and there is a good space of ground between it and the city. Here are large repositories for ammunition and provision, and conveniencies for quartering above three thousand soldiers. In the middle of the fort stood the Duke of Alva's statue, trampling upon the conquered States of the Netherlands. The streets of Antwerp are broad and regular, and the buildings magnificent; the whole so beautiful and uniform, that it is usually compared to Florence, which some modern travellers say it excels. The church of St. MARY, now the cathedral, is a handsome structure, wherein are sixty-six chapels and altars, adorn'd with pictures and statues which deserve admiration; and the steeple is esteemed a most exquisite piece of architecture, from whence may be seen the cities of Ghent, Mechlin and Louvain; and on the other side, the islands of Zeland in a clear day. Among the publick buildings belonging to the religious orders, the Jesuits church is admired for its large dimensions, curious workmanship, and variety of paintings drawn by RUBENS and other famous hands. The inside of the church is lined with the finest marble, and supported by marble pillars. The stadthouse is a magnificent structure, but the Dutch observe, that from the time it was finished their trade began to decay. The trade of the English was once so considerable here, that they had an exchange to themselves. There is another common to all nations, which was the model of that at London, but hath the advantage of being supported by three and forty pillars of white marble, and standing in the center of four large streets. There is a building also erected by the tapestry merchants, admired for its dimensions and architecture; and the Printing-house is said to be the best in Europe, having been furnished with an hundred different sorts or founts of letters, whereof two were Syriac, ten Hebrew, nine Greek, and forty-seven Roman.

The trade of this city was at the height about the year 1568 when it was supposed to contain two hundred thousand inhabitants; but the Dutch forming their state soon after, and making themselves masters of the islands of Zeland, which lie at the mouth of the Scheld, turned the current of trade to Amsterdam and other great cities of Holland. Nor did the oppressions of the King of Spain and the civil wars they were involv'd in contribute a little to the removal of the merchants from thence, to which we may add Queen ELIZABETH's being at war with Spain, and setting up the Dutch to oppose that Monarch; and consequently withdrawing her subjects from Antwerp, who had the greatest share in the trade of that place.

Antwerp was made a Bishop's See by Pope

PAUL IV, at the request of PHILIP II, King of Spain, who assigned it to seven towns, and an hundred and forty four villages, for the verge of its See. When it was erected into a marquifate, or how far the limits extended, is very uncertain; but it was afterwards an Imperial city, and the Princes of Nassau Burgraves or Governours of it. As to the constitution of the present government, nine persons taken out of the nobility, and as many nominated by the prefects or masters of the streets, to whom are added eighteen more of the principal citizens, in all thirty-six, are presented to the Prince, who appoints one half of them to be a standing senate, by whom are afterwards chosen two Burghermasters or Consuls, one of whom represents the city at the convention of estates, and the other administers justice at home, having with the senate above-mention'd, the cognizance of all causes civil and criminal. The city hath also a Schout or Sheriff, for the apprehending and executing malefactors; and a Solicitor-General to prosecute offenders on the behalf of the city. The Senate appoint all inferiour officers, and elect another council of twelve from among the deans or masters of the several trades or companies.

2. Breda situate in a flat country on the banks of the river Merck, in the latitude of fifty-one degrees forty minutes, thirty miles north-east of Antwerp, and as many to the southward of Rotterdam, a large populous well-built city, regularly fortified after the modern way, and one of the strongest fortresses on the Dutch frontiers, and hath usually a numerous garrison of the States troops. It hath the title of a barony, which comprehends seventeen villages; the inheritance of the Princes of Orange. The Dutch have been masters of it ever since the year 1637, when it was taken from the Spaniards by FREDERICK Prince of Orange. The great church is said to be a magnificent structure, in which is the tomb of Prince HENRY I. But I don't find any other publick Buildings taken notice of by travellers.

3. Lillo, a little strong fortress on the river Scheld, eight miles north-west of Antwerp, and built by that city to render the navigation of the river more secure; but happening to fall into the hands of the Dutch, they do by this and some other sorts, obstruct the trade to Antwerp as often as they see fit.

4. Lire, or Lier, situate on the river Nethe, ten miles south-east of Antwerp, and twenty north of Brussels; a pleasant well-built town, remarkable for a spacious market-place, and the elegant buildings which surround it; formerly esteemed a place of great strength, but was surrender'd to the allies three days after the battle of Ramelies, without making any defence. It is now subject to the Emperor; and on account of the agreeableness of the situ-



**HAP. II.** situation, generally inhabited by people of fashion, and merchants who have left off their business. The collegiate church dedicated to St. GUMMIANUS, is said to be a handsome building; besides which, there are several convents and religious-houses in the place.

**Herentals.** 5. Herentals, situate also on the river Nethe, eight miles north-east of Lire, and subject to the Emperor, formerly reckon'd a strong place, but not capable of sustaining a siege at present.

**Hoogstraten.** 6. Hoogstraten, a large open town, fifteen miles north-east of Antwerp, which hath the title of an earldom, comprehending several villages within its jurisdiction

**Eckeren.** 7. Eckeren, a small town, three miles to the northward of Antwerp, render'd famous by a desperate battle fought near it, between the French and the Confederates, in the year 1703, where the Dutch General OPDAM, being cut off from his army, ran away, and gave out that the Allies were defeated, who notwithstanding maintained their ground, to the everlasting disgrace of that gentleman.

I proceed next to the description of Bergen-op-zoom, Steen-Bergen and Santvliet, with some neighbouring fortifications, which geographers place in Dutch Brabant, but do not reduce to any particular quarter.

1. Bergen-op-zoom, sometimes called simply Bergen, situate on an eminence in the middle of a morass, half a league from the eastern branch of the Scheld, with which it hath a communication by a navigable canal. It is about eighteen miles north of Antwerp, and as many to the westward of Breda. It stands advantageously on the confines of Brabant, Flanders, Holland and Zealand, and is strong by nature as well as art, being so secured by the morasses about it, that this, if any place, may be look'd upon as impregnable. It does not only secure the communication between Holland and Zealand, but opens the Dutch a way into Brabant whenever they please, and from whence they have formerly made excursions into the heart of the country. The town is well built, and the market-places spacious; the church of St. LAMBERT, and the Marquis's palace are the only publick buildings taken notice of by travellers, for this town was erected into a Marquisate by CHARLES V, and the neighbouring country made subject to it; but whoever has the possession of the marquisate, the town is subject to the States General.

**Steenbergen.** 2. Steenbergen, a small town near the sea, about five miles to the northward of Bergen-op-zoom, with which it hath a communication by a canal, and is strongly fortified, in order to defend the approaches to that city.

**Santvliet.** 3. Santvliet, eight miles south of Bergen-op-zoom, erected by the Spaniards with some other forts, in

order to attack Lillo. There is also a fort between Santvliet and Lillo, called Henry-Frederick, upon the Scheld, which the Dutch are in possession of, and contributes to secure the navigation of that river to them.

The fourth division of Brabant is that called Bois le Duc, the chief places whereof are, 1. Bois le Duc. 2. Helmont. 3. Eindhoven. 4. Megen. 5. Ravenstein. 6. Grave. 7. Maestricht. 8. Crevecœur. 9. Boxtel.

Bois le Duc, Sylva Ducis, called by the Dutch, Hertogenbosch, and frequently the Bosch, which had its name from a neighbouring wood, is situate on the banks of the Dromele, which here receives the Aa and Diefse, and five miles to the northward falls into the Maese at Crevecœur. The town stands on a rising ground, in the middle of a large marsh, and for great part of the year can only be approach'd by causeways, on which are built forts and redoubts for its defence. The town is about four or five miles in circumference, and regularly fortified after the modern way, which with the advantage of its situation, renders it one of the strongest towns upon the Dutch frontiers. It lies about twenty miles to the eastward of Breda, and as many to the westward of Grave. Several fine navigable canals run through the town, over which lie fifty stone bridges; and ten of the principal streets center in a spacious market-place, surrounded with good buildings, but generally of timber. The publick buildings taken notice of by travellers are, the Stadthouse, built after the model of that at Amsterdam, and the church of St. JOHN, formerly the cathedral, when King PHILIP II made this city a Bishop's See, in the choir of which are the arms of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, and over their stalls, an inscription giving an account of their institution by PHILIP the Good, Duke of Burgundy, Lorrain, and Brabant.

The linnen and woollen manufactures flourish here, and their cutlery ware and needles are in good esteem. The magistrates are two Prætors, or Burghermasters, usually of noble families; who take cognizance of civil and criminal causes, there are also seven Schepins, or Aldermen, who administer justice, and a common-council, or senate, as in other cities of Holland; but there is a tribunal at the Hague, to which there lies an appeal from this and all other cities of Brabant subject to the Dutch, consisting of seven Senators, a Greffier, a Treasurer and an Attorney-General. Within the jurisdiction of Boisleduc, are Campin, Peeland, Maceland, the district of Osterwick, and the towns of Helmont, Eindhoven, Megen, Ravenstein and Grave. Helmont lies on the river Aa, fifteen miles south-east of Boisleduc, a walled town, capital of the district of Peeland. Eindhoven is a little walled town, situate on the Dromele, twelve



**CHAP. II.** twelve miles south-west of Helmont, and is the capital of the district of Campenland. **Megen** lies on the Maese, about ten miles north-east of Boisseduc, and gives title to an Earl, the adjacent country being under its jurisdiction. **Ravenstein** is also situate on the Maese five miles south-east of Megen, defended by a castle, and the neighbouring country is subject to it.

**Grave.** Grave is a small but strong fortress, situate on the Maese, is a flat marshy country, five miles east of Ravenstein, and sixteen north-east of Boisseduc, of great importance to the Dutch, who are sovereigns of it, as it commands a considerable pass on their frontiers. 'Tis a neat pleasant town, and capital of the little earldom of Cuyck, about four miles in length and one in breadth, belonging to the family of Orange. The Magistrates are two Consuls or Burghermasters, and seven Aldermen, appointed by the Prince, and a common-council, consisting of eight persons, who are only assembled on extraordinary occasions. The town enjoys large privileges, and an exemption from many taxes which the neighbouring places are liable to.

**Maestricht.** Maestricht is situate on the west side of the river Maese, having a suburb strongly fortified, called the Wyck, on the east-side, and is about twelve miles to the northward of Liege, and thirty to the eastward of Louvain. It takes its name from a ferry, formerly over the Maese at this place, Trecht signifying a boat in the Dutch language. Both parts are now united by a stone bridge of nine arches: The town is generally reckon'd to be in the Province of Brabant, but the Wyck in the diocese of Liege, whose Bishop hath the civil government thereof, though the whole is under the dominion of the Dutch. The town is about four miles in circumference, and strongly fortified after the modern way, but it is not very populous, there being several void spaces within the walls. The streets are large, the old buildings of wood and the new of brick: The Stadthouse is built after the model of Amsterdam. There are three Dutch churches, and several more belonging to the Roman Catholics, of which communion the greatest part of the natives are, and have a convent of monks, and another of nuns in the place. The government resembles that of the other towns of the United Provinces, to whom it is subject. It revolted from Spain about the year 1570, but was reduced to the obedience of the Spaniard again in 1579, under whose dominion it remained 'till the year 1632, when it was taken by the Dutch who held it till the year 1673, when it was taken by the French King in person, but restored to the Dutch by the peace of Nimeguen, Anno 1679, in whose possession it has ever since remained.

**Crevecoeur.** Crevecoeur is situate on the Maese, five miles

north of Boisseduc, a fortress of great importance on the Dutch frontiers. **CHAP. II.**

**Boxtel.** Boxtel lies about five miles to the southward of Boisseduc, and is considerable on account of its commanding the sluices, whereby the country may be overflow'd or drain'd.

The little province or lordship of Mechlin being entirely surrounded by that of Brabant, comes naturally to be described next. The whole extent of it is scarce ten miles from east to west, and the breadth of it from north to south is about five. It was erected into a separate jurisdiction by **PHILIP the Good**, Duke of Burgundy, and hath several considerable villages within its limits, but the only town of any consequence is the city of Mechlin.

**Mechlin**, or **Malines**, is situate on the river Dyle, between the cities of Antwerp, Brussels and Louvain, from each of which it is about twelve miles distant. It is a large well-built city, the streets spacious and extremely neat, and divided into several islands by the branches of the Dyle, or artificial canals which run through it, over which lie a great number of bridges. As to the strength of the fortifications which several writers magnify, they must certainly be under a mistake, for in all the late wars it never endured a siege, and particularly after the battle of Ramelies, it surrender'd to the Allies, without attempting to make any defence. The town is divided into seven parishes, each of which hath a beautiful church. The cathedral, dedicated to **St. RUMBALD**, is a magnificent old building; and among their religious houses, the monastery of the Franciscans and the nunnery of **St. CLARA** are most admired. Pope **PAUL IV** erected it into an archbishoprick in the year 1559, giving this Prelate the title of Primate of the Low Countries. The States of this lordship, or province, consist of a certain number of the magistracy, and the representatives of the common people; and here is held a great council, instituted by **CHARLES the Bold**, Duke of Burgundy, anno 1473, consisting of a President and sixteen Senators; to which high court all appeals were brought from the rest of the provinces formerly, and still are from those which remain under the dominion of the house of Austria.

The tanners and weavers trades flourished much in this city formerly, and are very considerable at present: they are famous also for casting of bells and great guns; but what has been most admired of late years is their lace, being the finest that is made in the Low Countries; and when the English troops were quarter'd here, their beer was in great esteem amongst the officers, being equal to the best Ootter in England.

In this province I shall include the little town of **Arschot**, erected into a duchy by **CHARLES V.** This city stands on the river Demer, twelve miles



**CHAP. II.** miles to the eastward of Mechlin, and hath a small territory belonging to it, being the inheritance of the antient family of the Croys, who came originally out of France.

The province or earldom of Flanders is bounded by the ocean and that branch of the Scheld called the Hout, which separates it from Zeland, towards the north: By Brabant and part of Hainault towards the east: By another part of Hainault and Artois towards the south; and by the ocean and part of Artois towards the west: extending in length from east to west upwards of seventy miles, in breadth from north to south about sixty. This province is generally flat and level, and the most fruitful spot of earth that is to be met with in Europe; nor is the air any where unhealthy at a distance from the sea and the mouth of the Scheld: And what renders this country extremely pleasant, is, their fine canals, their regular plantations of trees, and the many beautiful cloysters, towns and villages, which stand so thick, that we no sooner part from one, but we find our selves at another. But notwithstanding the country abounds in good arable and pasture, and there are some grapes, the climate is too cold to produce good wine; for their winters are much colder, and their frosts of a longer duration than ours; the north-east winds coming to them over a long extent of frozen continent, which are render'd much milder by the sea before they can reach us. They have a noble large breed of cattle, especially of horses for draught, which we frequently see in the coaches of our nobility: nor do they want any animals, wild or domestick, which are to be met with in Britain; and to me the inhabitants appear a politer and more hospitable people than those of Holland: and however some may magnify the freedom and pleasure they enjoy in the United Provinces, foreigners who visit Flanders, as well as the natives, seem to enjoy much more freedom and satisfaction than is to be met with in the territories of the Dutch. I presume the reader will naturally understand me to speak of the Austrian Flanders; for the eastern part, under the power of the Dutch, and the western side, in the possession of the French, very much resemble the respective nations to which they belong, and speak their language. What part belongs to one, and what to the other, will appear from the description of the several great towns, and the territories belonging to them. And in my way westward, I first meet with those under the dominion of the Dutch, viz. Sluys, Ardenburg, Middleburg, Sas van Ghent, Hulst, Axel, Liefkins, Ternhuys, Philippin, Bier-Vliet, Isendick, Osburg and Cadfandt fort and island; the chief whereof I shall endeavour to describe.

1. Sluys, one of the five ports of Flanders, and the most commodious of them, is situate a-

bout ten miles to the north-east of Bruges, which city can have no communication with the sea, by the way of the Scheld, when the Dutch, who are in possession of Sluys, are pleased to obstruct it; (for which reason a navigable canal for ships of burthen hath been cut from Bruges to Ostend by the Spaniard, since the Dutch have been masters of Sluys.) It is a fortress of great strength and consequence, as it is situate over against the island of Catfandt, in possession also of the Dutch; but the whole town is not above a mile in circumference, and of very little trade at present, tho' it was once as considerable a mart as any in Flanders, and hath been in the hands of the Dutch ever since the year 1604.

2. Ardenburg, a league to the south-east of Ardenburg. Sluys, and formerly capital of the maritime parts of Flanders, but of little consideration at present.

3. Middleburg, another little town about five miles to the southward of Sluys.

4. Sas van Ghent, or the Port to Ghent, about twelve miles to the northward of that city; a small but strong fortress, situate in a morass, by the possession whereof the Dutch may cut off all communication between Ghent and the sea whenever they think fit, and have been masters of it ever since the year 1644.

5. Hulst, situate ten miles to the eastward of Sas van Ghent, in the country of Waes; a strong town, taken by the Dutch in the year 1645, and confirm'd to them by the treaty of Westphalia.

6. Axel, a small fortress, a league to the westward of Hulst.

7. Liefkins, a fort on the Scheld, built over against Lillo by the Dutch, to command the passage of that river.

8. Ternhuys, another small fort on the banks of the Scheld, two leagues to the northward of Axel.

9. Fort Philip, a league north-west of Sas van Ghent.

10. Bier-Vliet, a small island in the mouth of the Scheld, on which stands a town of the same name, a league north-west of Fort Philip, which commands the passage over to Zealand.

11. Isendick, a little fortified town on the other side of the channel, two miles to the westward of Bier-Vliet.

12. Osburg, a little fortified town on the channel which separates the isle of Cadfandt from the continent.

13. Cadfandt, an island situated at the mouth of the Scheld, over against the island of Walkeren, about nine miles in length and four in breadth, on which is a Fort of the same name; by which the Dutch secure their communication between the islands of Zealand and Flanders. And these are all the places the Dutch are possess'd of in Flanders, except what relates to their barrier.

The



CHAP. II. The chief towns belonging to the Austrian Flanders, are Ghent, the capital of the whole province; Bruges, Damme, Ostend, Plaffendal, Newport, Deynse, Dendermonde, Rupplemond, Aloft, Ninhove, Audenard, Harlebeck, Courtray, Menin, Comines, Warwick and Warneton, Tournay, Ypres, Fort Knocque, Dixmuyde and Furnes.

Ghent city. 1. Ghent, Gaunt, or Gand, the capital of Flanders, is situate on four navigable Rivers, viz. the Scheld, the Lys, the Licne, and the Mourwater; thirty miles north-west of Brussels, defended by a castle, and surrounded by a wall, and other fortifications; ten or twelve miles in circumference, and consequently requires an army to defend it: besides, there is so great a variety of ground in so large an extent, that 'tis impossible a town of these dimensions can be very strong. The town is large, but not one half of the ground within the walls built upon, the rest consisting of fields and gardens. The streets are wide and well paved, the market-places spacious, and the houses well built of brick. The town is divided into six and twenty islands, by the rivers and canals which pass through it, over which are laid near an hundred bridges. It is reckon'd to be situate in a healthful air, tho' there are many hundreds, if not thousands of English soldiers who lie buried on St. Peter's Hill, and other places within the walls of this city, who all died natural deaths; for 'tis observable that our forces when transported into any foreign country die great part of them the first year, either by the flux, or some other contagious distemper; I presume from living in a different, or more irregular manner than they used to do at home; so that we ought not to conclude Ghent, or any other city, the more unhealthful on account of its being fatal to our troops, especially when we observe our season'd men to have their healths very well here. In the late war this town was generally the winter-quarters of the English foot, when there were sometimes four and twenty regiments in the town at a time, and yet the place did not seem to be crowded with them. They had a large building assign'd them for divine worship, and the Chaplains of the several regiments officiated by turns; nor was there ever any misunderstanding between our people and the inhabitants on account of religion, but a friendly intercourse was maintain'd between them; and I believe the natives were glad of our company on account of the money that was spent in the place, for the soldiers generally lay in barracks, and were not burthensome to the inhabitants, as they usually are in England. The publick buildings worth our observation here, are the Stadthouse and the Cathedral, both handsome structures; and I took particular notice of an image of

white marble in the latter, with one head and three faces, looking three different ways, which stood at the east end of the church, by which gross figure we apprehended they design'd to represent the Trinity. There are besides this, seven parish churches, and fifty-five monasteries and nunneries, among which there is one English nunnery. In the largest square of the town is a statue of CHARLES V, who was born in the castle: and here also the famous JOHN Duke of Lancaster first saw the light, from thence call'd JOHN of GAUNT, son of EDWARD III, King of England. On the bridge called Dogebrack, are two brazen statues, representing a son beheading his father; for it is related, that both of them being condemned to die, a pardon was offer'd to him that would be the other's executioner; and the father having prevail'd on the son to take the office upon him, as he was ready to strike, the blade of the sword broke in his hand, which being look'd upon as miraculous, they were both pardon'd. The silk and woollen manufactures flourish in this place as well as the linen, and they have a great trade in corn. It is a Bishop's See under the Archbishop of Mechlin, and the Provincial Court is held here, from which however there is an appeal to that of Mechlin. The French possess'd themselves of it with the rest of the towns in Flanders on the death of CHARLES II, King of Spain; but it surrendred to the allies on the defeat of the French at Ramelies anno 1706. And in the year 1708, the French surpriz'd the city again, and threw an army into the place to defend it; but the Confederates having taken the castle of Lisle, invested Ghent in a very advanced season near Christmas, and the enemy were obliged to surrender it after a few days open trenches. The winter was so severe at this time, that the horses hoofs froze to the ground in the night-time, and had not the French been so complaisant as to quit the place before things were come to an extremity, the confederate army must have suffer'd very much. The government of the city is lodg'd in the Burghomaster and Schepins, that is, in the Mayor and Aldermen, as in most of the cities of the Low Countries; besides which, there is a great Council or Senate, which assembles upon extraordinary occasions.

2. Bruges, situate four and twenty English miles to the north-west of Ghent, on the grand canal which runs between those two cities, being about ten miles to the eastward at Ostend, and as many south-west of Sluys, said to be so named from the great numbers of bridges over the canals and rivulets which run through the town. The place is about four or five miles in circumference, surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, but not able to sustain a regular siege carried on by our modern engineers. It is a populous



*P.*ious city, well built, and hath a spacious market-place, in which six of the principal streets center: there are in it seven parish churches, besides the cathedral, sixty monasteries and nunneries, among which one for English Nuns, and a college of Jesuits. It was erected into a Bishop's See by PHILIP II, King of Spain about the year 1559, and is subject to the Archbishop of Mechlin, or Malines. Before the revolt of the seven Provinces, or rather before Antwerp arrived to its grandeur, it was the greatest town of trade in Europe; all countries who had any concern in commerce having their factories and agents here, particularly the English, who made it their staple for wool. As it hath a communication with the sea by means of the new canal to Ostend, it is still a place of good trade. Their manufactures are chiefly those of woollen cloth and stuffs, linnen and tapestry, and will probably flourish or decline as the navigation of the Ostenders succeeds.

*St. Do.* 3. Damme, a small but strong fortress belonging to the Emperor, four miles to the northward of Bruges, situate on the old canal between Bruges and Sluys; four miles to the northward whereof lies Fort St. DONAT, yielded to the Dutch to strengthen their barrier; and two miles further north Fort ISABEL; and six miles west of Fort ISABEL lies Fort Blankenburg on the sea-coast, between which and Heyst the second barrier of the States begins, and is carried on from thence to the Scheld. They are also to possess all the posts upon the Demer from the Scheld to the Maese, in case of a rupture with France. The towns assign'd them from the other barrier, are Furnes, Fort Knocque, Ipres, Warneton, Menin, Tournay and Namur.

*St. Do.* 4. Ostend, the capital of the territory called Vreeland, or Freeland, ten miles to the westward of Bruges, is situate in a morass, almost surrounded by wide trenches, filled with the sea-water, having the best harbour in Flanders next to that of Sluys: It is fortified after the modern way, which with its boggy situation, renders it one of the strongest towns in Flanders: The place is not large, but the houses are generally well built, the streets regular and well paved; and as the Emperor seems determin'd to promote its trade and navigation, will probably e'er long be in a flourishing condition; but I shall enlarge further on this subject when I come to consider the trade of the Austrian Netherlands. It is not long since Ostend was a small village, it first became famous in the year 1601, when it was defended by the English and Dutch against all the power of Spain till the latter end of the year 1604. In which time the Spaniards lost seventy thousand men before the place, nor did the besieged lose fewer than thirty thousand; not that the garrison ever consisted of half that number at one time, but

the sea being open to the allies, they supplied the town from time to time with fresh forces and provisions, till, according to the phrase of that time, the enemy perfectly dug them out, and made the town one heap of rubbish. It fell under the dominion of the French on the death of CHARLES II, King of Spain, and was taken from them by the Confederates after the battle of Ramelies in the year 1706, being now subject to the house of Austria.

5. Plassendal, situate three miles to the eastward of Ostend, where the canal of Newport falls into that leading from Ostend to Bruges, and consequently commands them both. It is a strong fort, and defends an important sluice, through which the shipping passes backwards and forwards; and being seiz'd by the French, together with Bruges and Ghent, while the Confederates were employ'd in the siege of Lille anno 1708, put the confederates to very great difficulties; but fell into the hands of the allies again the same year, upon the surrender of Ghent and Bruges to them.

6. Newport, another of the five ports of Flanders, lies near the sea-shore, eight miles south-west of Ostend, and fifteen west of Bruges, at the mouth of a small river, which renders it a secure harbour for vessels of small burthen. The town is fortified, but cannot be much commended for its buildings or trade, the houses being low and built of wood, and the inhabitants subsisting chiefly by fishing.

7. Deynse, a little town situate on the river Deynse, Lys, ten miles south-west of Ghent, and twelve almost north of Oudenard.

8. Dendermond, situate at the confluence of the Dender and the Scheld, twelve miles to the eastward of Ghent; a strong fortress, surrounded by meadows, and is not to be approach'd but by causeways, when the citizens are pleased to lay the country about them under water. This is one of the barrier towns, wherein the garrison are one half Imperialists and the other Dutch. It surrender'd to the allies upon the victory at Ramelies, in the year 1706, after a short siege.

9. Rupplemond, a small town, situate in the county of Waes, at the confluence of the Rupple and the Scheld, five miles south of Antwerp, and eighteen to the eastward of Ghent.

10. Alost, situate on the river Dender, six miles south of Dendermond, and fifteen south-east of Ghent, the capital of a territory, formerly called Imperial Flanders, on account of its being a fee of the Empire. It is a pretty town, and a place of some trade, but neither large, or well fortified.

11. Ninove and Grammont, two little towns, the first seven miles south of Alost, and the other five miles further south, both of them situate on



CHAP. the river Dender. At Grammont there is a noble abbey, standing on an eminence, which gives us a delightful prospect of the neighbouring country.

Oudenard. 12. Oudenard, or Audenard, situate on the Scheld, fourteen miles south of Ghent, a large well-fortified town, divided by the river into two parts, and almost surrounded by meadows, except that there is a hill which commands it on the south-side. The buildings are good, and the streets wide and handsome, and there are several fine churches and monasteries in the place: it hath also a flourishing trade in fine linnen and tapestry, and is the capital of a chatellany, which contains three and thirty villages. The French laid siege to it anno 1708, which occasion'd an obstinate battle, wherein the allies obtain'd a compleat victory, and saved the place.

Courtray. 13. Courtray, on the river Lys, twenty-six miles south-west of Ghent, and twelve miles north-east of Lille, strong by art and nature, and defended also by a good citadel. It is a populous place, and both the woollen and linnen manufactures flourish here.

Harlebeck. 14. Harlebeck, on the river Lys, a little open town, two miles to the northward of Courtray, capital of a small territory

Menin. 15. Menin, a little well-fortified town, situate on the river Lys, five miles to the southward of Courtray, taken by the allies in the year 1706, and is now one of the towns of the Dutch barrier against France.

Warneton, Comines and Warwick. 16. Warneton, Comines and Warwick, three little towns, situate to the southward of Menin, in the way to Lille, of which Warneton is one of the barrier towns.

Tournay. 17. Tournay, or Dornick, situate on the river Scheld, which runs through it, surrounded by pleasant fruitful meadows, being thirty miles south of Ghent, and as many north of Cambray, and eleven to the eastward of Lille. It is a large populous well-built city, and a place of good trade; and having been for a considerable time in the hands of the French before the last war, its fortifications were brought to as great perfection as any in the Low Countries: but what added most to the strength of the place, as the allies found by dear-brought experience, when they besieged it in the year 1709, was the mines, which blew up hundreds, if not thousands of the besiegers at a blast. When they had with the utmost hazard and difficulty made themselves masters of the strongest works that ever were contrived, and the French could maintain them no longer, then did they set fire to the mines, and blow up whole regiments of brave fellows at a time, who fell, as a certain writer has it, in a shower of shatter'd limbs and mangled carcasses. These mines, says a British gentle-

man who view'd them, consist of vast subterraneous vaults, so well-contrived, that they may rather pass for terrass-walks than mines. In the center of the citadel there is a well, the surface of whose waters is fifty foot from the mouth, just above which water are balconies that lead to those beautiful destructive caverns above-mentioned. The city is divided into ten parishes, to which belong as many elegant churches, besides great numbers of fine convents and cloysters. The cathedral dedicated to St. MARY is a magnificent structure, adorn'd with brass and marble monuments, erected to the memory of its Bishops, with many admirable paintings. The church of the Croisiers is esteem'd the finest building next to the cathedral, whose marble pillars and altar-piece make it much admired. Here we see the crowning of our Saviour, done by the celebrated RUBENS, a piece of inestimable value; with another picture of the nativity, done by the same hand. There is in the market-place an old building, said to be of Roman architecture, and frequently called JULIUS CÆSAR's palace: but the town is certainly very antient. King HENRY the eighth of England besieged and took it in the year 1513, and built the old citadel; but it was deliver'd up to the French again upon a treaty of marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess MARY. The Spaniards made themselves masters of it in the year 1581, and the French surpriz'd it again in the year 1667; but it was taken from them by the allies, after an obstinate siege, in the year 1709, and is now one of the towns of the Dutch barrier. The principal manufacture of the place at present, is linnen, and it was antiently as famous for woollen. It is the capital of a small territory, call'd the Tournesis, and a Bishop's See, subject to the Archbishop of Cambray, while in the hands of the French; but the government both spiritual and temporal has received some alterations since it came under the dominion of the Imperialists.

18. Ypres, or Ipres, situate in a flat country on the river Ypre, about ten miles to the westward of Menin, and eighteen to the northward of Lille; a large town regularly fortified, and by its sluices can lay the neighbouring country under water; the streets broad, and the market-place said to be the most spacious of any in Flanders, and surrounded with a piazza, but the houses are generally of timber. The cathedral is dedicated to St. MARTIN; and there are several monasteries, in one of which, belonging to the Jesuits, is our Saviour's resurrection, admirably painted on the altar-piece of the chapel; and in the cloyster are the pictures of all the Jesuits who have suffer'd in England, represented as so many martyrs. The town has still a good trade in the silk and woollen manufactures, and was erected



AP. rected into a Bishop's See in the year 1559: this Prelate is suffragan to the Archbishop of Mechlin. Ypres is the capital of a large fruitful chatellany, comprehending Mont-Cassel, Belle or Bailleul, and Rouffelaire; as also Poperingen, Warneeton, Commines and Warwick, and hath the title of a viscounty. It was taken by the French in the year 1678, and remain'd in their hands till the latter end of the last war, when it was taken by the allies, and by the treaty of Utrecht confirm'd to the house of Austria, together with the chatellany, comprehending all the places above mention'd, and this city is now part of the Dutch barrier.

19. Fort Knocque, situate on the river Iser, about fifteen miles to the northward of Ypres, makes another part of the Dutch barrier.

20. Dixmude, situate on the Ypre, about ten miles north of Ypres city, taken by the allies in the late war, and confirm'd to the house of Austria by the treaty of Utrecht. It is a small town, and not very considerable, either for its trade or fortifications.

21. Furnes, or Vuerne, situate on the river Colm, in a fruitful country, about six miles from the sea, ten to the eastward of Dunkirk, and five to the westward of Newport. It is a little fortified town, capital of an Ambacht or territory, and part of the Dutch barrier against France.

In French Flanders the chief towns are Lille, Dunkirk, Mardyke, Graveling, Berg St. Winock, Doway, Orchies, Armentiers, La Basse, L'Ecluse, St. Amand, Launoy and Bourbourg.

1. Lille, or Ryssel, call'd the Island antiently, on account of its being situated in a morass, surrounded with waters, (which are now drain'd off) stands on the river Deule, twenty-five miles north of Arras, and twelve west of Tournay, a large populous well-built city, defended by a citadel, and so strongly fortified, that it cost the allies more men to take it in the late war, than any town in Flanders, and was very near baffling their united forces. It is the capital of the French Flanders, and from the elegance of its buildings and its flourishing trade, usually stiled *Petit Paris*. The Stadthouse and the Church of St. Peter are noble structures, and the citadel a master-piece in fortification. The silk and linnen manufactures are in great perfection here, and they are famous for their camblets. It was taken by the French in the year 1667, who built the citadel, and enlarged the city as well as its fortifications, making it the centre of the Flemish trade. It was taken by the allies on the 22d of October 1708, after a siege of two months, and the citadel the eleventh of December following; but yielded to the French again by the treaty of Utrecht, in consideration of their demolishing

the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk, from whence they used to infest the English seas with their privateers and men of war.

2. Dunkirk, situate on the sea-shore, at the mouth of the river Colm, twenty miles north-east of Calais, twenty-four south-west of Ostend, and fifty almost east of Dover. The harbour and fortifications of this place had cost LEWIS XIV incredible sums of money, in which however he found his account; for here he always kept his pyratrical squadrons, which brought him in prizes from time to time, during the late long war, almost sufficient to maintain his fleet; which occasion'd the English and Dutch to insist on the razing the fortifications at the treaty of Utrecht, and both the harbour and walls of the city were accordingly entirely demolish'd. The town is only remarkable at present for being the capital of a fine fruitful territory, though formerly it was one of the five ports of Flanders, and a place of good trade. It is said to have taken its name from the sand-hills on the shore, by the Flemings called *Duynen*, or Downs, on which a church being erected that was a sea-mark for mariners, it obtained the name of *Duynen-Kerk*, or Dunkirk. This place must have been of great advantage to Britain, if we had kept the possession of it instead of demolishing it, as it would have made us masters of both sides the channel; but the Dutch, who were no less apprehensive of the English, their rival in trade, than of the French, had the address to procure the demolition of it, that it might no more be a terrour to them, either in the hands of the one or the other.

3. Mardyke, a little town upon the coast about a league south-west of Dunkirk, which the French were about to fortify on the demolition of the fortifications of that city; but upon the representations and menaces of the English Court, the design was laid aside, tho' the French had made a considerable progress in the work.

4. Graveling, situate at the mouth of the river Aa, ten miles south-west of Dunkirk; a little fortified town, and one of the five ports of Flanders, but is not capable of receiving large vessels.

5. Winoxberg, or Berg St. Wynox, which takes its name from a monastery erected on a hill to the memory of St. WYNOX an Englishman, stands about two leagues to the southward of Dunkirk, and is the capital of a large fruitful territory or chatellany.

6. Doway, situate on the river Scarpe, twenty miles south of Lille, a large populous town, and strongly fortified. It cost the allies eight thousand men at least when they took it from the French in the year 1710, and was retaken by the arms of France in the year 1712, after the separation of the British troops from the rest of the allies, who refused to accept a peace on the terms



CHAP. proposed by Britain. The principal manufacture of the place is worsted camblets; and here is a considerable seminary of English Roman Catholics, founded by PHILIP II, of Spain, about the year 1569.

Orchies. 7. Orchies, an antient little town, about twelve miles south-east of Lille, taken by the allies in the last war, but yielded to France by the treaty of Utrecht.

Armentiers. 8. Armentiers, situate on the river Lys; a fortified town, and a place of some trade, eight miles to the westward of Lille.

La Bassée. 9. La Bassée, a little fortified town, situate on the Deule, twelve miles south-west of Lille.

St. Amand. 10. St. Amand, situate on the Scarpe, in a pleasant fruitful country, ten miles south-east of Tournay; remarkable for a noble abbey dedicated to St. AMAND; the Abbot whereof is a temporal Prince.

Bourbourg. 11. Bourbourg, a pleasant little town on the top of a hill, twenty miles west of Ypres, and three to the southward of Graveling; capital of a fruitful chatellany, one of the most antient in Flanders, yielded by the Spaniards to the French at the Pyrenean treaty.

Artois province. The situation and extent. Chief rivers. Air and soil. Manners and language. The Province of Artois, or Arras, is bounded by part of Flanders on the north; by another part of Flanders, and by Hainault, and the Cambresis on the east; and by Picardy, a French province, on the south and west: being about sixty miles in length, and five and twenty in breadth; the chief rivers whereof are the Lys, the Scarpe, and the Aa. The inhabitants enjoy an excellent air, and an exceeding fruitful soil; and having been for many years under the dominion of the French, they cannot easily be distinguish'd by their manners, habits, or language, from the rest of the subjects of that kingdom. The whole province having been conquer'd by France, was confirm'd to that monarchy by the Spaniards at the Pyrenean treaty anno 1659.

Chief towns. The chief towns are Arras, St. Omer, Aire, Bethune, St. Venant, Bapaume, Hesdin, Terrouen, Lens, Avesne le Comte, St. Paul Mont, St. Eloy.

Arras. 1. Arras, the capital of the province, antiently called *Atrebatum*, being the chief town of the Atrebates in the days of CÆSAR; is situate on the river Scarpe, twenty-five miles south-west of Lille, and twelve south-west of Doway. It is a large place, divided into two parts, whereof one is called the city, and the other the town, both surrounded with a wall, and fortified after the modern way: it is a Bishop's See, and the cathedral a magnificent structure dedicated to the blessed Virgin MARY; the diocesan being suffragan to the Archbishop of Cambray. In a certain chapel here the Priests shew a wax taper burning,

which they pretend does not consume, and that it was sent them from heaven; they have a pot of manna also which they pretend came to them the same way; and this is exposed in a dry season, when prayers are put up for rain. The town is generally well-built, the streets broad, and the market-places spacious; and it is famous for the tapestry manufacture, from thence frequently called Arras. It was taken by the French in the year 1640, who have been masters of it ever since. The abbey of St. VEDASTUS in this city is a noble foundation, having a revenue of twenty thousand crowns a year.

2. St. Omer, situate on the river Aa, twenty miles south of Dunkirk, and fifteen south-east of Calais; which takes its name from St. OMER, Bishop of Terouen, who founded a monastery here anno 660. The reputed sanctity of this Prelate occasion'd a great resort of people hither, and the building of a considerable town here not many years after. It was made a Bishop's See anno 1559, whose Bishop is suffragan to the Archbishop of Cambray. This place is famous for an English seminary of Jesuits, whereof TITUS OATES procured himself to be admitted a member, in order to qualify himself to be an evidence of the Popish plot. The town is rich, large and populous, strong both by art and nature, and taken from the Spaniards by the French in the year 1677, being confirm'd to them by the ensuing treaty of peace at Nimeguen. What contributes much to the trade of the place, is a navigable canal cut from thence to Graveling, by which it hath a communication with the sea.

3. Aire, situate on the Lys in a morass, twenty five miles north-west of Arras, and as many south of Dunkirk, a little strong town and castle, of which the French took possession in the year 1676, and held it till the late war anno 1710, when it was taken from them by the allies, but yielded to the French again by the treaty of Utrecht anno 1712.

4. St. Venant, another little fortress, situate on the Lys, about five miles to the eastward of Aire, and besieged at the same time, taken by the allies a month before it, but yielded also to the French by the treaty of Utrecht.

5. Bethune, situate on the river Biette, twelve miles south-east of Aire, a strong place, taken by the allies after a siege of six weeks, in the year 1710, but yielded to the French by the treaty of Utrecht; a pretty neat town, and hath a flourishing trade; but is most remarkable for the excellent cheese made in the neighbourhood.

6. Bapaume, a little strong town on the confines of Picardy, twelve miles south-east of Arras, and the capital of a large territory.

7. Hesdin, a strong town, situate on the river Canche,



HAP. Canche, twenty miles to the southward of Aire, taken from the Spaniards by the French about the year 1639.

8. Terouen, five or six miles to the westward of Aire, antiently the capital city of the Morini, and since a Bishop's See, but is now in a ruinous condition.

9. Lens, a little town, ten miles north of Arras, considerable only as it is the capital of a large territory.

10. St. Paul, a little town, fifteen miles west of Arras, the capital of a county; not far from whence is the village of Agincourt, famous for the victory obtain'd near it by the English over the French anno 1415.

The province or archbishoprick of Cambray, usually call'd the Cambresis, is bounded by the province of Hainault on the north and east; by the province of Picardy in France on the south; and by Artois on the west, extending in length from east to west about five and twenty miles, but the breadth is very unequal, being in some places ten miles, and in others not more than five. The natives enjoy a good air, and a fruitful country; and being now united to France, are scarce to be distinguish'd from the French by their manners or language. The chief towns are, 1. Cambray. And, 2. Chateau-Cambresis.

1. Cambray, is a large well-built city, on the river Scheld, not far from its source, almost surrounded by gardens and fruitful meadows, being sixteen miles south-east of Arras, and about as many south-west of Valenciennes. It is defended by two citadels, and regularly fortified: and as the neighbouring country may be laid under water, is esteem'd one of the strongest places in the Low Countries. The town contains nine parish-churches, three abbeys, and several other religious houses and hospitals. The publick buildings taken notice of are the Stadt-house, standing in a spacious market-place, where most of the streets center: the great church of the blessed Virgin, well furnish'd with fine tombs and statues, among which the statues of St. MICHAEL and St. SEBASTIAN are most admired: the brazen partition between the nave of the church and the choir also is esteem'd a piece of excellent workmanship. The principal manufacture of the place is that of fine linnen, from hence called Cambric. This city was an Episcopal See, subject to the Archbishop of Rheims till the year 1559, when PHILIP II, King of Spain, procured it to be erected into an Archbishoprick by Pope PAUL IV. It was also for some time a free Imperial city, under the protection of the Count of Alost; but the Emperor CHARLES I, deprived them of their ancient privileges, having erected two citadels which command the town: it afterwards fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who remain'd masters

of it till the year 1677, when it was taken by the French, and confirm'd to them the following year by the treaty of Nimeguen.

2. Chateau-Cambresis, situate on the river Selle, about twelve miles south-east of Cambray, once a considerable town, but at present in a ruinous condition. And, 3. Creveœur, another wall'd town, six miles to the southward of Cambray, but not considerable enough to merit a particular description.

The province or county of Hainault, which receives its name from the river Haine, is bounded by Flanders and part of Brabant towards the north; by another part of Brabant and the county of Namur towards the east; by the Cambresis, Picardy and Champagne towards the south; and by the province of Artois, from which it is separated by the river Scheld, towards the west: extending in length from the north-east to the south-west about five and fifty miles, and in breadth about forty miles; and hath a pleasant healthful air, and a fruitful soil. The chief rivers are the Scheld, the Sambre, the Dender, and the Haine; besides which, it is well water'd with lakes and springs, and in the bowels of the earth are some mines of lead and iron, and several quarries of marble. The States Provincial are composed of, 1. The twelve Peers. 2. The Prelates and ecclesiastical Colleges. 3. The Gentry. 4. The Great Officers. And, 5. The Magistrates of the chief cities.

The chief towns are, 1. Valenciennes. 2. Bouchain. 3. Condé. 4. Bavay. 5. Maubeuge. 6. Le Quesnoy. 7. Avesnes. 8. Landrecy. 9. Philipville. 10. Marienburg. 11. Mons. 12. Aeth. 13. Braine le Compté. 14. St. Ghillian. 15. Enghien. 16. Binche. 17. Halle. 18. Lessines. 19. Roches. 20. Soigny. 21. Beaumont. The first ten of which are in the possession of the French and the rest in the hands of the Emperor.

1. Valenciennes, the capital of the French Hainault, situate on the Scheld and the little river Rouel, which surround it, and pass through the principal streets by several channels. It is said to have derived its name from the Emperor VALENTINIAN, who built it, being pleased with the delightful situation. It lies about fifteen miles north of Cambray, sixteen south-west of Mons, and as many south-east of Tournay; and is a large well-built town, strongly fortified, and defended by a citadel; and as it stands in a flat country abounding with rivulets, the ground about it may be overflowed, and the approaches render'd exceeding difficult in case of a siege. The late French King caused a noble causeway to be thrown up from this place to Lisle, and so on to Ypres, extending near fifty miles in length. The great Church dedicated to the Virgin MARY is a magnificent old building, the pillars



CHAP. II. pillars and architraves consisting of marble; but the private buildings are many of them of wood. Their chief manufactures at present are those of silk and linnen, and they had formerly a good trade in cloth and French wines. The French took it in the year 1677. and it was afterwards confirm'd to them by the treaty of Nimeguen.

Bouchain.

2. Bouchain, a small but strong town, situate on the river Scheld, ten miles south-west of Valenciennes, taken from the Spaniards by the French in the year 1676, and confirm'd to them by the following treaty of Nimeguen, which they remain'd in possession of till the year 1711, when it was taken by the allies; but retaken by the French anno 1712, after the British troops were separated from the allies.

Conde.

3. Conde, situate at the conflux of the rivers Scheld and Haine, six miles north-east of Valenciennes, and ten to the westward of Mons; a little fortified town, often taken and retaken by the French and Spaniards, but yielded to France by the treaty of Nimeguen, and gives a title to a Prince of the House of Bourbon.

Bavay.

4. Bavay, an old town of no strength, (supposed by some to have been the antient *Belgium*) ten miles south-east of Valenciennes, whither the French retreated after the battle of Malplaquet, in the year 1709, leaving fifteen hundred of their wounded men there, who were made prisoners by the allies.

Maubeuge.

5. Maubeuge, situate on the Sambre, seven miles north-east of Bavay, yielded to the French by the treaty of Nimeguen.

Landrecy.

6. Landrecy, situate on the Sambre, fifteen miles north-west of Maubeuge, and sixteen south-east of Cambray, yielded to the French by the Pyrenean treaty.

Avesnes.

7. Avesnes, a fortified town, situate on the frontiers of France, nine miles to the eastward of Landrecy.

Philipville.

8. Philipville, twenty miles south-west of Namur, and twenty-four south-east of Mons, a well-fortify'd town, yielded to the French by the Pyrenean treaty.

Marienburg.

9. Marienburg, situate on the confines of the bishoprick of Liege, thirty miles to the eastward of Landrecy, yielded also to the French by the treaty of the Pyrenees.

Quesnoy.

10. Quesnoy, a little fortified town, situate on the river Rouelle, six miles north-east of Valenciennes, and twelve to the westward of Mons, taken by the allies in the year 1712, but retaken by the French the same year, after the British troops were separated from the Confederates.

Mons.

11. Mons, in Dutch, *Berghen*, so named from its situation on a hill near the banks of the Trouille, which a little below falls into the Haine, twenty-six miles south-west of Brussels, and twenty-nine west of Namur; a large strong town, the capital

of Spanish Hainault. The streets are broad, the market-places spacious, and the buildings magnificent; and among the rest a college of Canonesses, who may leave the house and marry when they please, founded by a Princess of Lorraine, by whose appointment none but the descendants of noble families can be admitted into the society. This city is a Bishop's See, and here the Provincial Council or Parliament assembles, and receives appeals from the rest of the towns of Brabant under the Emperor's dominion. It was taken by the French in the year 1691, but restored to the Spaniard by the treaty of Ryswick. The French possess'd themselves of it again on the death of CHARLES II, King of Spain; but the allies retook it in the year 1709, after the memorable battle of Malplaquet, and it was afterwards confirm'd to the Emperor by the treaty of Utrecht.

12. Aeth, situate on the Dendre, twelve miles north-west of Mons, capital of the district of Burbant, a little town, consisting but of one parish, but extremely well fortified, being perfectly cover'd by the fortifications and the trees on the ramparts, insomuch that nothing can be discern'd from without but the top of the steeple; and it has more than once endured a long siege against an army of an hundred thousand men. It was taken however by the French in the year 1667, and being restored to the Spaniards by the ensuing treaty of Nimeguen, was again taken by the French in the year 1697; but yielded to the Spaniards a second time by the treaty of Ryswick, and is now in possession of the Emperor, to whom it was confirm'd by the treaty of Utrecht.

13. Brain le Comte, a little town near the confines of Brabant, thirteen miles to the southward of Brussels.

14. St. Ghillian, about eight miles to the westward of Mons, a town of no consequence.

15. Enghien, eight miles also from Mons, which gives title to a Duke of the house of Bourbon.

16. Binch, situate on a branch of the Haine, eight miles south-east of Mons, formerly a populous place, but ruin'd in the wars of the Low Countries, and the fortifications demolish'd.

17. Halle, situate on the utmost confines of this province, eight miles south of Brussels, and twenty to the northward of Mons, situate in a very pleasant country, and water'd by the Saine or Sinne, a wall'd town, but of no great strength, most remarkable for a chapel dedicated to the blessed Virgin, whose image about two foot in length is enshrin'd in gold, and hath a crown of the same metal on its head, holding an image of our Saviour in one hand, and in the other a gilded Rose. On the first of September annually, multitudes



H A P. II. tudes of her votaries resort hither, and presents are sent from the neighbouring towns and cities.

18. Lessines, a little walled town, situate on the Dendre, about four miles to the northward of Aeth.

19. Rocles, or Reux, another little walled town, four miles to the southward of Soignies.

20. Soignies, situate on the Sinne, nine miles north-east of Mons.

21. Beaumont, ten miles to the eastward of Maubeuge, and fifteen south-east of Mons, situate on a pleasant hill, from whence it derives its name.

And lastly, Chimay, about fourteen miles to the southward of it, both which places have been yielded to the French.

The province or county of Namur is bounded by the province of Brabant on the north, by the bishoprick of Liege, and part of Luxemburg towards the east; and by Hainault on the south and west; extending about thirty miles in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south. The county of Namur enjoys a good air and a fruitful soil, and hath some good mines of lead, iron, and coals, with veins of tolerable marble, and great store of fossile nitre. They have also plenty of wood for their iron-works.

The chief towns are, 1. Namur. 2. Bouvines. 3. Walcourt, or Valencourt. And, 4. Charleroy.

1. The city of Namur is of a circular figure, and situate at the conflux of the Sambre and the Maese, in the latitude of fifty degrees thirty minutes, thirty miles to the eastward of Mons, and as many south-east of Brussels. It lies in a bottom, between two hills, the greatest part of the town standing on the north side of the Sambre, on the other side whereof is a steep mountain, on which the castle is situated, being a magnificent structure, and esteem'd the strongest fortress in Europe; for the rock on which it stands is not only very steep, but the approaches to it fortified with the greatest art, and on the top of the rock are several good springs of water. The town was erected into a bishoprick, suffragan to the Archbishop of Cambray, anno 1559, and the church of St. ALBAN converted into a cathedral. There are besides nine or ten handsome churches, of which the Jesuits church is said to exceed that of Antwerp, in the magnitude, structure, and beauty of the stone, being supported by wreathed columns of red marble of the Dorick order, finely veined, and near a yard and a half diameter, with bases and cornices exquisitely wrought. It was taken by the French in the year 1692, and retaken by the allies in the year 1695, and is at present part of the Dutch barrier. The States of the province as-

semble here, from whence however there lies an appeal to the supreme court at Mechlin.

2. Bouvines, situate on the Maese, ten miles south-west of Namur, and two below Dinant. 'Tis a pass between Namur and Luxemburg, but has little else to recommend it at present.

3. Walcourt, or Valencourt, a little town, twenty miles south-west of Namur, near which a battle was fought between the Confederates and the French in the year 1689.

4. Charleroy, situate on a hill near the Sambre, fifteen miles west of Namur, and twenty-five south of Brussels; a strong fortress, erected by the Spaniards in the year 1666, to prevent the incursions of the French. It has been taken and retaken several times, but is now in the possession of the Imperialists. To the north-east of Charleroy stands the abbey of Flerus or Fleury, near which a memorable battle was fought between the French and the Allies in the year 1690, wherein the Allies were defeated, but made a good retreat with their foot.

5. Charlemont, a strong fortress, sometimes placed in Hainault, situate on the top of a high hill, under which runs the river Maese, about twenty miles to the southward of Namur, fortified by the Emperor CHARLES V, anno 1555, to whom it was granted by the then Bishop of Liege.

The province or duchy of Luxemburg is bounded by the duchy of Limburg and bishoprick of Liege towards the north; by the river Moselle, which divides it from the archbishoprick of Triers, towards the east; by the duchy of Lorraine on the south; and by the river Maese, which separates it from the county of Namur and Champagne, towards the west; extending seventy miles in length, and about sixty in breadth, and is usually divided into two parts, viz. Famenne and Arduenne. Famenne, the northern part, is a fruitful soil, yielding plenty of corn, and some wine; but the other, which lies towards France, called Arduenne, is a more barren soil, and in many places cover'd with wood; in the mountains whereof are however some mines of iron, which make amends for the sterility of the surface, and their woods abound in game. The principal rivers which water this province are the Moselle, the Else, the Semay, the Ourte, and the Maese; and the air is generally healthful and temperate. It is divided into seven earldoms, many baronies and inferiour lordships; and the common people are in a state of vassalage here, as in Germany. The States consist of the Prelates, the Nobility, Gentry, and Representatives or Deputies of the chief towns. The French and Dutch languages are both spoken in this province; but the people in their manners resemble the French most, being contiguous to France,



CHAP. France, and having been some time under the  
II. dominion of that crown, till Luxemburg was  
yielded to the Emperor by the treaty of Utrecht,  
anno 1713.

Chief towns. The chief towns of the duchy of Luxemburg  
are, 1. Luxemburg. 2. Thionville. 3. Mont-  
medy. 4. Damvillers. 5. Yvoix. 6. La Ferte.  
7. Astenay. 8. Morville. 9. Rode Macheren.  
10. Konings Macheren. 11. Sirick. 12. Ma-  
fieres. 13. Durby. 14. La Roche. 15. St. Vite.  
16. Viande. 17. Eichternach. 18. Bastoigne.  
19. Neufchatel. And, 20. Virton; the most  
considerable whereof I shall endeavour to de-  
scribe.

Luxemburg. 1. Luxemburg, the capital of the province,  
said to be built in honour of the sun, and called  
*Lucisburgum*, situate in the latitude of forty-nine  
degrees, forty minutes; twenty miles south-west  
of Triers, and an hundred south-east of Brussels,  
forty-five miles to the eastward of the river Maese,  
and twelve to the westward of the Moselle, and  
stands on the river Elbe or Alsat, partly on a plain,  
and partly on the declivity of a rocky hill. The  
town is strong both by art and nature, but not  
very large or well-built, though there are some  
handsome stone buildings in it. There is a mo-  
nastery of Franciscans here, who pretend their  
house was founded in the life of St. FRANCIS.  
In the great church are the tombs of JOHN of  
Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, and of Count  
MANSFIELD, Governour of the Spanish Nether-  
lands; but the publick buildings don't seem to  
merit the description of any modern writer.

Thionville. 2. Thionville, or Diedenhoven, situate on the  
Moselle, fourteen miles to the southward of Lux-  
emburg. It is a well-built town, and strongly  
fortified, but hath however been frequently taken  
and retaken.

Montmedy. 3. Montmedy, situate on a high hill near the  
river Chier, twenty-five miles south-west of Lux-  
emburg, esteemed a place of some strength.

Damvillers. 4. Damvillers, once a strong fortress, twelve  
miles to the southward of Montmedy, but the for-  
tifications were agreed to be razed by the treaty  
of Aix la Chapelle.

Arlon. 5. Arlon, situate on the river Semoy, twelve  
miles north-west of Luxemburg, heretofore a  
pretty town, but hath suffer'd much by the  
wars.

Chiny. 6. Chiny, ten miles south-west of Arlon, ca-  
pital of a county of the same name, formerly  
subject to its own Princes, but united to the du-  
chy of Luxemburg about the year 1400. It still  
however retains an independent jurisdiction. The  
rest of the towns do not require a particular de-  
scription, and their situation will be described in  
the maps bound up with this volume.

Limburg province. The province or duchy of Limburg is bounded  
by the duchy of Juliers on the north and east;

by Luxemburg on the south; and by the bi-CHA  
shoprick of Liege towards the west; extending II.  
in length about thirty miles from north to south,  
and in breadth twenty-five from east to west.  
Here is a great deal of good arable and pasture-  
ground, plenty of wood, and some of the best iron-  
mines in the Low-Countries, but no wine made  
in the province.

The chief towns are, 1. Limburg. 2. Da-CH  
lem. 3. Rolduc. And, 4. Valkenburg, or Fau-CH  
quemont.

1. Limburg, situate on a steep rock near the Limb  
river Vese, fifteen miles south-east of Liege, and  
twelve to the southward of Aix la Chapelle. It  
is a small town, consisting chiefly of one broad  
street, not very elegantly built, but the situation  
renders it very strong, there being but one passage  
to it, and that almost inaccessible. This is the  
only town of note in the province which belongs  
to the Imperialists, the other three are in the pos-  
session of the Dutch.

2. Dalem, situate on a rivulet; which dis-DA  
charges itself into the Maese, seven miles south-DA  
east of Maestricht. The town is small, and the  
fortifications both of that and the castle were de-  
molished by the French, who restor'd it to the  
Dutch at the treaty of Nimeguen.

3. Rolduc, on the east side of the province, five Rold  
miles to the northward of Aix la Chapelle, is a  
small town capital of a county, and hath an old  
castle belonging to it.

4. Fauquemont, or Falkenburg, situate on the Fauq  
Guele, eight miles north-east of Maestricht, a Fauq  
large handsome town, formerly well fortified, but  
the works were demolished by the French on  
their being obliged to restore it to the Dutch by  
the treaty of Nimeguen.

### CHAP. III.

*Treats of the manufactures, trade, and navigation  
of the Austrian Netherlands.*

FROM the description of the respective pro-OF  
vinces the reader is no doubt pretty well ac-OF  
quainted with the trade and manufactures of those  
countries; but it may not be amiss however to  
make some general observations on the whole.  
Before the revolt of the seven provinces, their  
woollen manufactures were in great esteem; hi-  
ther the English sent all their wool to be made  
into cloth: but, happily for us, their Princes be-  
ing possessed with more superstition than good  
policy, drove many of their mechanicks over hi-  
ther, who taught us to manufacture our own  
wool. Whereupon the soil of the Low Coun-  
tries being extremely proper for flax, they sowed  
vast quantities of it, and being an ingenious peo-  
ple, soon became as good proficients in the linnen  
and



and lace manufactures, as they had been in the woollen, and at this day excel all the nations in Europe in making fine linnen and lace: witness their cambrick and their Brussels and Mechlin lace, of which Britain alone takes off prodigious quantities, and makes most of her returns in treasure; for except tin and lead, sugar and tobacco, there are very few things produced, either in England or our plantations, which they stand in need of from us. The product of India indeed formerly might be exchanged for their cambrick and lace before they fell into the India trade themselves; but this traffick is at a full stop at present, and with most of the merchandize of India they might always have been supplied from their neighbours the Dutch, as without all question they were: and therefore the Flemmings applying themselves to that trade, or indeed to any other foreign trade, must be of infinite disadvantage to the Dutch. Should they encourage a whale or herring-fishery, or attempt to carry on a trade to the Baltick, or the Levant, any of these undertakings would equally wound the Dutch commerce. But still I can't apprehend what right the Dutch can have to exclude this people from the fisheries, or from trading with any Prince or State upon earth independent of them. What have the Dutch to do to prescribe what nations the King of Persia, the Great Mogul, or the Emperor of China, shall deal with? Are not their ports open to all the world in friendship with them? or, what pretence can the Dutch have to monopolize the trade to the Baltick? That people indeed tell us, they will not suffer the subjects of Spain or the Empire to trade thither in their own bottoms, but what right they have to exclude them I can't learn; and what is most surprizing is, that the Hollanders should expect Britain to defend them in all their extravagant pretences, while they stand by idle spectators of the contest, and continue to trade with all the nations at variance.

'Tis true, it is not for the advantage of the Dutch, that the Flemmings should become a trading people again. When Bruges and Antwerp flourished, the ports of Holland were scarce mentioned; and indeed had not the Dutch by their forts block'd up the mouth of the Scheld, it is not to be conceived how the Flemmings could so suddenly lose their foreign trade; for the harbours of Flanders, though not the best in the world, are any of them as commodious however as that of Amsterdam; and the product, as well as manufactures of the country, were then much beyond those of the United Provinces. They have plenty of corn, and good pasture, and their plantations of flax still exceed those of Holland; and their manufactures of linnen and lace are much beyond any thing we meet with in Holland; and

should they encourage their fisheries, their navigation and foreign commerce, the Dutch must lower their top-sails. But notwithstanding the Dutch would be very nearly affected by such attempts, England could receive but little prejudice by it; for if they don't take our herrings, the Dutch will; and it must be indifferent to us, which of these nations become the common carriers of Europe. If the Flemmings do not bring the merchandize of the Baltick to the southern kingdoms of Europe, but leave this branch of commerce to the Dutch, what advantage or disadvantage is it to us, that we should be spirited up to prevent the Flemmings entering upon a foreign trade? If it be said, that the Imperialists by this means may become too formidable, and destroy the balance of power in Europe; this I believe must appear to be a chimæra to all that consider the present growing power of France: that kingdom will always find the Empire employment enough to divert their thoughts from attacking Britain; and should LEWIS XV appear as enterprizing a Prince as LEWIS XIV, I don't see why he should not bid as fair for universal monarchy, notwithstanding he is so much courted by some Powers at present; it may possibly cost us as much hereafter to undo what we are doing, as it did to resume Flanders out of their hands by the last thirty years war. And why at last are we so exceeding jealous of the poor Flemmings breaking in upon our commerce, and have no manner of apprehensions of the potent French? a nation, who at this very day, while they are at peace with us, are spiriting up and assisting the natives of America to fall upon and distress our settlements on that side, and are in a fair way of supplanting us in our sugar trade; an article at present perhaps as important as that of the fine spices was formerly.

In one thing indeed I am for lessening the trade of Flanders, as I was in the former part of this volume for abating the pride of Holland; and that is in prohibiting the importation of their lace and linnen. If to promote our home manufactures, it was thought necessary to prohibit the wearing of India silks and calicoes, why is it not equally expedient to prohibit the linnen and lace of Holland and Flanders? Will any man pretend it is necessary to his being, or well-being, in the phrase of a late writer, to wear hollands and cambricks, and Flanders laces, when the linnen of Ireland or Scotland is very little inferiour to that of Holland; and probably would be soon equal to it, if those nations met with suitable encouragement? But while nothing but what is foreign will go down either with ladies or gentlemen, or even with inferiour tradesmen and apprentices, what are we to expect but to see our nation beggar'd, even in our silk manufacture, in which we equal, and perhaps



CHAP. perhaps excel any nation in the world? The mercer at this day can sell nothing unless he swears it is of foreign make; so depraved is the sickly taste of our people at present! But surely if reason and argument has at present lost its force, and can make no impression on this whimsical generation, in cases which so nearly concern us, authority will one day interpose and prevent our destruction. What an immense treasure every year issues out of the kingdom to purchase hollands, cambricks, lace, and (clandestinely) foreign wrought silks? What multitudes of people lie unemployed and starving in the three kingdoms for want of encouraging these manufactures; while there is not a nation in Europe scarce but prohibits our woollen manufacture, and compels their people to wear their own coarse home-made cloth, between which and the English there is no manner of comparison. If we are so fond of imitating foreigners therefore, let us imitate them in this, namely, in encouraging our own manufactures, though they should be something inferior to theirs.

There are two objections indeed made to this reform, which a native of Britain may be ashamed to mention. One is, that by prohibiting the Dutch linnens, &c. we should lessen the duties of the crown: and the other, that by this means we should disoblige our best ally. But as to the duties arising by the importation of linnen, I may say without offence, that our present Court would be far from founding its grandeur on the ruin of the subject. We are happy indeed in a numerous royal progeny, but if they were still more numerous, they may be supported without the destruction of the British trade. If the customs should fall short, other ways and means may be thought of to supply their room, without diminishing the lustre of the royal house. And as to the disobliging an ally; will any nation give themselves those airs, and be so impertinent, as to call the promoting our own trade and manufactures a breach of friendship? No, the more they see you apply yourselves to put the kingdom into a wealthy and flourishing condition, the more will they and other nations court your friendship, and in proportion to your indolence in this particular will be their neglect and contempt of you. Besides, as their loss is our gain, and riches would flow in upon us by the encouragement of our manufactures, we should stand in less need of foreign powers to defend our interests. The more independent we are, the greater is our security. Every one would court the alliance of a powerful wealthy neighbour, few care to associate themselves with beggars.

There is a third reason given, why our trade and manufactures do not flourish as might be expected under the many advantages we have of other nations, and that is our mercenary temper.

A bribe well applied by a subtle foreigner shall blast the most promising undertaking. I am credibly informed, that in the reign of King CHARLES II, a commission being obtained to drive the Dutch from some of our settlements they had surprized in the East-Indies; and the English East-India Company having fitted out a strong squadron of ships accordingly, when their commanders came to open their commissions at the Cape of Good Hope, they found themselves impower'd to make war upon the Indians, but not one word of acting against the Dutch; so that the whole design was defeated, and the treasure it had cost the Company in fitting out this squadron was thrown away. And this the Dutch brought about by clapping a round sum into the Duchess of Portsmouth's hands, who thereupon procur'd the instructions given to the East-India Captains to be alter'd. And one provoking circumstance in this enterprize was, That the thing was all the while pretended to be so very great a secret, that the officers who were to be entrusted with the execution of it, were not to be acquainted with the extent of their commission till they had sail'd half their voyage, and pass'd the Cape of Good Hope, when the Dutch were in the secret from the very beginning. So destructive are the influence of he or she-favourites: the wealth they heap upon themselves and their creatures is a trifle, if compared with the mischiefs they do in betraying the most important interests of their country.

But this nation, one would think, had taken such precautions, that it could not lie in the power of any designing foreigner, or treacherous courtier, to stifle any well-weigh'd proposal for the advancement of the British commerce. For here are commissioners of trade, with noble salaries allowed them, who are, or ought to be, the guardians of our foreign trade, and upon a due application to the throne might baffle all the attempts of designing men to destroy our commerce. The government no doubt takes care to put none into this important commission, of whose skill and fidelity they are not very well assur'd; and these gentlemen will certainly be ashamed to receive such large sums of their country's money, without doing something annually for the advancement of her interests. But to return from this digression: Flanders an hundred and fifty years ago had all the trade of Europe; her ports were crowded with the ships of all nations, and she had some ships of her own; but upon the oppressions of her own Princes, and the revolt of the United Provinces, both merchants and mechanics left the country, and their commerce in an instant dwindled to nothing; since when they have scarce had a ship at sea, or dealt in any thing but the productions of their own soil, till the peace of Utrecht,



II. **U**trecht, when falling into the hands of the Imperialists, a variety of projects were set on foot for reviving their antient commerce. The first that took effect was that of the India trade, which alarming their neighbours the Dutch, they soon drew the English into the quarrel, and by their influence have in a manner put a stop to their navigation thither. The next thing the Flemmings proposed, was to establish a fishery; and this they are labouring at now, but whether the Dutch will not be as sensibly affected by this attempt as by the other project may be a question; and whether we are not to be haul'd in by neck and shoulders to oppose this design also, must be left to time to discover; though, as I have observed already, it must be perfectly indifferent to us whether the Dutch, the French, or the Flemmings, take the fish upon our coasts, since they are not thought worth our own care. If it be objected, that it is dangerous to suffer the Flemmings to increase their shipping; have we not much more reason, as hath been intimated already, to be apprehensive of the increase of the French shipping; and may not this people, as the Hollander did the last war, assist us in breaking that power, which in a very few years will probably become as formidable as ever? But these are remote prospects, and I believe the Dutch will take such care to keep the naval power of Flanders under, that we need have no apprehensions of them. I see very little prospect at present of their prejudicing our foreign trade, or contending with us for the sovereignty of the sea, as both the Hollander and France have done.

## CHAP. IV.

*Treats of the religion, government, forces, and revenues of the Austrian Netherlands.*

**T**HE religion of the Austrian Netherlands being Roman Catholick, needs no particular description here; only we may observe, that the administration of their ecclesiastical government is much milder here than in many other Popish countries: we have scarce an instance of late years of the inquisition exerting its authority in these provinces as in Spain or Portugal; every one who visits these countries, knows that Protestants live with all imaginable freedom amongst them.

The Emperor, by the consent of all the Princes and States concerned in the last war, was, after the peace of Utrecht, acknowledged Sovereign of these provinces; and in him, or his Viceroy, and the Convention of the States of the respective provinces, is the legislative power in each lodged. Here new laws are enacted, and by their assent

alone is money levy'd, and the whole assembly must be unanimous in the passing of an act. The Assembly or Parliament of each province, consists, 1. Of the Bishops, Abbots, and dignified Clergy. 2. The Nobility and Gentry. And, 3. The Deputies or Representatives of their chief towns. These meet at Brussels, except those of Luxemburg and Gueldres, who by their antient privileges cannot be summon'd out of their respective provinces, any more than the States of Brabant: neither do the States of the several provinces which meet at Brussels assemble in one house, but each of them apart, and make distinct laws for their respective countries.

The present Regent of the Austrian Netherlands is the Arch-duchess, MARY-ELIZABETH, &c. daughter of the late Emperor LEOPOLD, who is assisted by three councils. The first stiled the Council of State, where war and peace and foreign alliances are considered; and from them ambassadors receive their instructions and dispatches. 2. The Privy-Council, the members whereof are appointed by the Sovereign or the Regent, the President whereof is keeper of the great seal. In this court are determined the boundaries of provinces, their jurisdiction, &c. And, 3. The Council of Finances, which superintends the publick revenue.

Besides the Regent, or Governour-General, every province hath its particular Governour, subject to the Regent; and in every province are courts of justice established for the trial of civil causes. The civil and canon law are in force here, where they do not interfere with the particular laws of the country; and from the civil courts of every province there lies an appeal to the grand council at Mechlin, already mentioned. As to criminal matters, there is an officer called the Provost in every province, who with his associate hath the determination of them, but accountable however to the Grand Provost, or Chief Justice, who resides in Brussels, the capital of the Austrian Netherlands.

The forces stipulated to be maintained in the Netherlands by the barrier-treaty, made between the Emperor and the Dutch, anno 1715, I have already observed are thirty thousand men, and upon an appearance of war are to be forty thousand; of which his Imperial Majesty's quota is three fifths, and that of the Dutch two. I have also in the description of the United Provinces specified the barrier towns, in which the States are to have separate garrisons, to which I refer the reader, to avoid repetition.

The Walloon troops are generally good, and by the antient constitution of this country, no others ought to be introduced; but as the Spaniards had done for many years, so the Imperialists



CHAP. rialists now introduce what forces they please, and  
IV. chuse to rely on their German troops rather than  
on the natives.

Revenues.

The revenues of the Netherlands, when under the dominion of the Spaniards, were not sufficient to defray the charges of the civil government, and maintain their garrisons; (I mean since the revolt of the seven provinces, and the decay of their commerce; for in their flourishing state, when Antwerp was the centre of trade, there was not a kingdom in Europe which yielded a larger revenue to its Princes.) But their finances having been better regulated by the Imperialists, and their trade something revived by the vast demand of late for their fine linnen and lace, they are not so great a burthen to the Emperor as they were to Spain: however, it is still a question whether the publick revenues will maintain the charges of the government, even in time of peace. The ordinary revenues of the government are either those arising from the demesne lands, or from the customs. If there be an extraordinary tax to be raised, it is demanded of the States of the respective provinces, with whom the court usually maintains so good a correspondence, as not to meet with frequent denials: but the supplies must be much more precarious there than with us, because the consent of every single member is requisite to compleat the grant.

The Emperor, though he be not much richer by the acquisition of the Spanish Netherlands, is however much stronger than he was. The forces

maintain'd by the Imperialists and the Dutch in CHA  
this country, and the many strong fortresses they IV.  
are possessed of, will enable them always to give  
France a considerable diversion on this side; and  
the putting the Emperor and the Dutch into the  
possession of them, will in all probability keep the  
French within due bounds: but should we foolishly  
and impolitickly join with France to wrest this  
country out of the hands of the Imperialists, we  
shall soon be in the same condition we were on  
the death of CHARLES II, King of Spain; and  
it may occasion as expensive and bloody a war to  
recover them as the last. But I hope we shall  
not ever be changing hands, and throwing away  
our blood and treasure for we know not what.  
This may indeed be the wish and interest of the  
soldiery; but can never be to the general advantage  
of the British nation.

The nobility and gentry of the Austrian Ne- Nobility  
therlands are much more numerous than in the &c.  
United Provinces, especially in Luxemburg. They  
have most of them their palaces in and about the  
capital city; and their country-seats are so many  
castles, walled and moated round, from thence  
denominated *Chateau's*. The principal order of  
knighthood here is that of the Golden Fleece, of  
which there are fifty Knights, usually men of the  
first quality. As to the modern history of this  
country, the reader will find it blended with that  
of Germany and the United Provinces. I proceed  
therefore in the next place to the description of  
Switzerland.

# THE PRESENT STATE OF SWITZERLAND.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the situation and extent of Switzerland, of the air and climate; and of its mountains, rivers, lakes, springs, and woods.*

CHAP. I. **S**WITZERLAND, stiled by the Romans  
I. *Helvetia*, as it is still by the Italians, if we in-  
clude the country of the Grisons and their o-  
ther allies, is bounded by that part of Alsace called  
the Suntgaw, the Black Forest, and part of the Cir-  
cle of Suabia towards the north; by the county of  
Tyrol on the east; by the duchies of Savoy and  
Milan, and the provinces of Bergamo and Brescia

The situa-  
tion and ex-  
tent of  
Switzerland.

in Italy towards the south; and by the county of CHA  
Burgundy or Franche Comte in France towards I.  
the west: extending in length from east to west  
about two hundred and sixty miles, and in breadth  
from north to south upwards of an hundred miles,  
there being some parts of Italy and Gaul annexed  
to it, which were not included in the antient  
*Helvetia*.

This



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Switzerland contains 28 Cantons viz. 23 Papists, 4 Protestants, & one intermixed with both. The Superficial contents is com: P. of AL  
puted at 15884 Square miles The greatest Length at 200, and  
Broadth at 170 miles The Canton of Bern is Bigger than SACE  
Popish Cantons.



P. of AL

SACE

to the French

P. of FRANCE  
FRANCHE COMTE  
St. Hippolite

47

FRIBURG  
CANT. Pop.

GENEVA Prot.

LAKE OF GENEVA

Thonon

Les Glaciers

Chamonix

Beaufort

Compagnons

P. of Piedmont

PART

Basel C. Pr.

Basel B.

Biel T.

Bern

Herbbling

Thun

Lucerne CANT.

Lucerne Pop.

Basel C. Pr.

Basel B.

Biel T.

Bern

Herbbling

Thun

Lucerne CANT.

Lucerne Pop.

Neuburg

Basel C. Pr.

Basel B.

Biel T.

Bern

Herbbling

Thun

Lucerne CANT.

Lucerne Pop.

Basel C. Pr.

Basel B.

Biel T.

Bern

Herbbling

Thun

Lucerne CANT.

Lucerne Pop.

Basel C. Pr.

P. of Danube

Basel C. Pr.

Basel B.

Biel T.

Bern

Herbbling

Thun

Lucerne CANT.

Lucerne Pop.

Basel C. Pr.

Basel B.

Biel T.

Bern

Herbbling

Thun

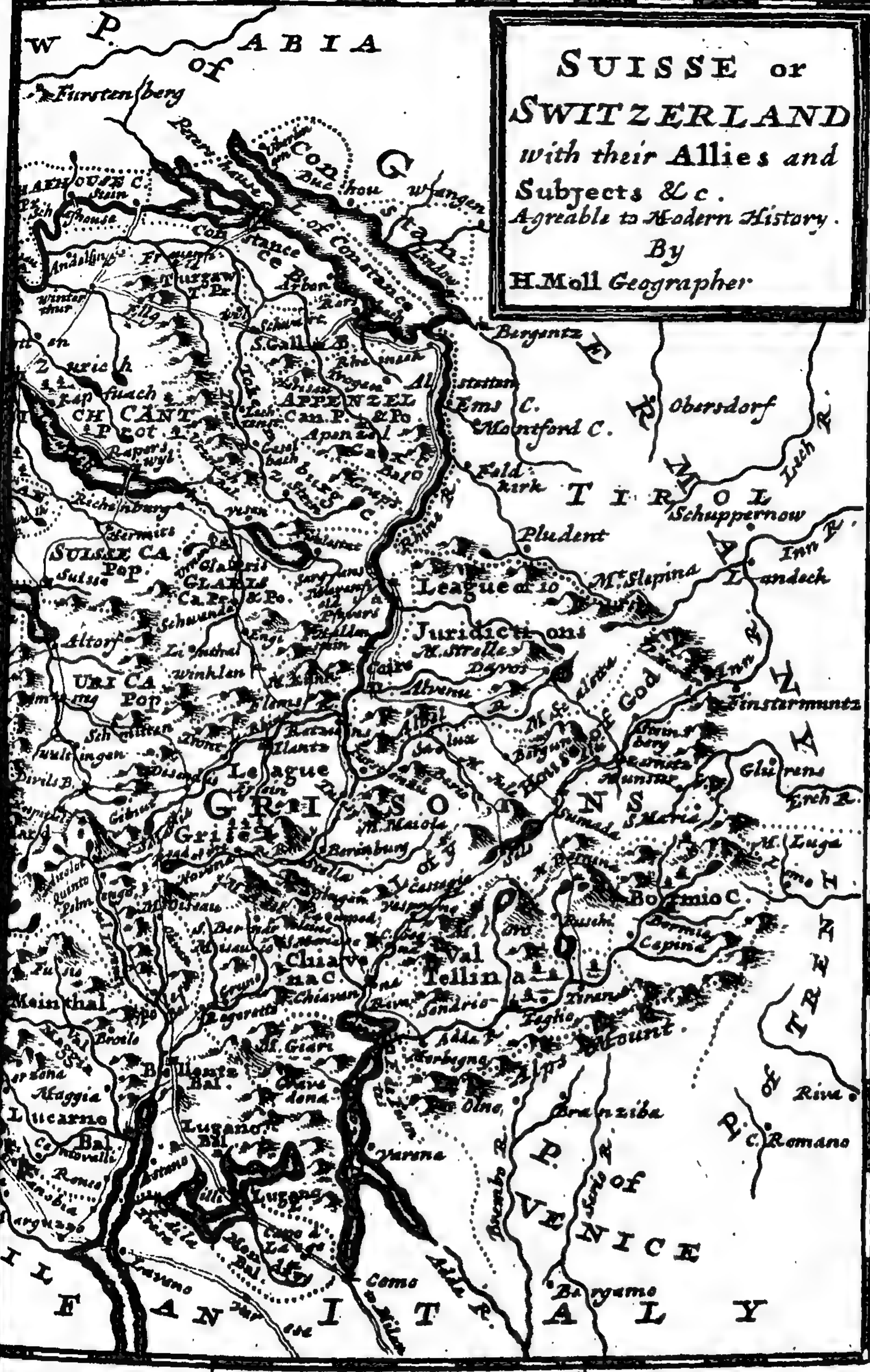
Lucerne CANT.

Lucerne Pop.

Basel C. Pr.



SUISSE or  
SWITZERLAND  
with their Allies and  
Subjects &c.  
Agreeable to Modern History.  
By  
H. Moll Geographer





**H A P. I.** This country lying between the latitude of forty-five degrees, forty-five minutes, and forty-seven degrees thirty minutes, might reasonably be expected to be moderately warm; but their mountains being the highest in Europe, and great part of the year cover'd with snow, occasions a sharper air than is found in much colder latitudes: however, the honourable Mr. STANYAN, who resided several years in this country with a publick character, assures us, he met with some summers so warm that the heat was very inconvenient; but then the weather is subject to frequent changes, and passes from hot to cold in a day's time. The Alps, he adds, were the occasion of frequent rains; and as rain in the flat country is usually snow upon the mountains, the air becomes exceeding cold whenever they have a lasting shower. But tho' the air be moist, it is notwithstanding healthful, and the people live to a good old age; malignant distempers, which in other parts of the world depopulate whole cities, being seldom known in this country: what they are most afflicted with, are wens or swell'd throats, which disfigure them extremely, and are supposed to proceed from their drinking snow-water.

**H A P. I.** As Switzerland is separated from every other country by prodigious mountains, so is every Canton almost divided from another by a ridge of hills; from Italy it is divided by a long chain of hills, call'd the Alps, which, tho' exceeding high, and during the winter cover'd with snow, are not naked and barren, but in the summer afford good pasture to the very tops; and in some places are seen fields of arable, on a precipice where one would imagine it impossible for a plough to go. The rest of the country, says the same honourable writer, is rather hilly than mountainous, and in some places we meet with a plain champain country: two thirds of the Canton of Bern particularly, is a plain fruitful country, abounding in good corn. The Cantons of Zurich, Solcure, and Friburg, with Bazil and Schaffhausen, also are pretty much upon a level, and produce good grain, though it be for the most part a rocky soil, which requires a deal of good husbandry to produce a crop.

**H A P. I.** The source of many great rivers are found in or near this country, from whence it is generally concluded to be the highest land in Europe; particularly the Rhine, the Rhone, the Danube, the Adda, the Ticino, the Lintz, the Aar, the Rufs, the Inn, and innumerable other lesser streams; not a valley but is water'd by a rivulet. There are also a great number of noble lakes; my author says, he reckon'd up above thirty, whereof some might deserve the name of seas, particularly those of Constance and Geneva, being near sixty miles in length, and twelve in breadth; and

those of Neuschattel, Zurich and Lucerne, almost of equal magnitude; and besides the lakes in the valleys, there is one on the top of every mountain almost; in short, there is not an inland country in Europe so well supplied with water, and particularly with springs, the best and purest in the kind that can be tasted, by which means the husbandman may flow his low grounds as often as he pleases.

There are also all over the country, as well on the hills as in the valleys, abundance of fine woods; here you may see whole forests of pine and fir-trees, which if they lay nearer the sea, would be inestimable. There are also some groves of oaks and elms, but deal is most generally used both for building and firing, there being no great plenty of the other.

## CH A P. II.

*Treats of the nature and produce of the soil, and of their plants and animals.*

**T H E** mountains of Switzerland are not barren, as has been observed already, but afford good pasture, on which they feed great herds of cattle: there is also on the mountains some arable land, but more in the valleys, which seem to be a hard strong soil, much worse than the hills, and require all the husbandman's care and skill to raise a crop. My author observes, that if the Switzers were not the best husbandmen in Europe, many of their valleys would scarce bear any thing; and as it is, the cold tempestuous seasons about harvest frequently destroy all the fruits of their labour. In the Cantons of Lucerne, Ury, Switz, Underwald, Zug, Glaris and Appenzel, they have not corn enough for the subsistence of the natives, and in some of them none at all: And tho' the surplus which the other Cantons produce might supply them if it came to maturity; yet the mountains which surround them, says my author, are such magazines of hail, rain and tempests, that the fruits of the earth are frequently blasted by storms, or kill'd by cold rains, and sometimes they lose their harvest entirely: for which reason the Switzers in plentiful years lay up their corn in magazines, to prevent a famine among the common people in times of dearth.

Switzerland also produces wine of several sorts, of which two are preferred above the rest: the first is white, produced in the Pais de Vaud, upon the banks of the lake of Geneva; and the second, which is red, grows in the country of Neuschattel: the white is good table-wine, and the red has something of the relish of Burgundy, but is inferior to it. The wine also which is made in the Cantons of Zurich, Schaffhausen, and some other places, is admired by the natives, but



**CHAP.** but not very agreeable to foreigners, being almost  
**II.** as sour as vinegar: the same misfortune frequently happens to their vines as to their corn-fields, the vintage being often spoiled by unseasonable weather. The timber which grows in this country, as has been intimated already, is chiefly fir and pine, with some oak and elm; travellers do not mention any other. The Switzers abound in good cattle of all kinds; they have not only sufficient for their own use, but drive a great trade with them in the neighbouring countries, especially with their horses. Venison they have in abundance, and are well furnish'd also with all manner of fowl, both wild and tame: their wild-fowl, as well as their venison, is observed to have a more delicious taste than in countries of a lower situation. Besides deer, they have wild hogs, and goats of various kinds, particularly bouquetins and chamois, which they reckon among their venison; and it is of the skin of the chamois that the shammy-leather is made.

Animals.

Their lakes also abound in excellent fish, particularly trouts of an extraordinary size; it is not uncommon to take them of sixty pounds weight, and the larger they are, the sweeter and firmer is their flesh; they have such plenty of these and other fish, that they sell great quantities of them.

Minerals.

It is said there are some veins of silver, lead, iron and copper in their mountains; but I don't find any of them are wrought, or that they receive any benefit from them. They have also plenty of black marble with white veins and spots in it; and great quantities of crystal on the tops of the mountains and sides of the rocks, being of two kinds, the one clear and transparent, and the other pale and cloudy: and in the Valais they meet with a kind of bituminous coal.

### CHAP. III.

*Treats of the respective Provinces, or Cantons; and of their chief towns and buildings publick and private.*

Provinces.

**SWITZERLAND** may be divided into three parts, viz. 1. Switzerland Proper, or the thirteen cantons. 2. The subjects of Switzerland, or the conquer'd countries. And, 3. The allies of Switzerland. The thirteen Cantons, according to their precedency are, 1. Zurich. 2. Bern. 3. Lucern. 4. Uri. 5. Switz. 6. Underwald. 7. Zug. 8. Glaris. 9. Bazil, or Basle. 10. Friburg. 11. Soluthurn. 12. Scaffhausen, And, 13. Appenzel. Of which the Protestant Cantons are Zurich, Bern, Bazil, and Scaffhausen, with above two thirds of the Canton of Glaris, and more than half of Appenzel; the rest are all Roman Catholicks.

1. The Canton of Zurich, is bounded by Schaffhausen on the north; by the Canton of Appenzel towards the east; by the Cantons of Zug and Switz on the south; and by Bern and Lucern towards the west: extending about fifty miles in length from north to south, and forty miles in breadth from east to west: and is of a round, or rather oval form; and tho' it be not half so large as that of Bern, is look'd upon as richer in proportion to its territory: for here the people apply themselves more to trade, and have establish'd several beneficial manufactures. Zurich is divided into twenty-four bailliages, thirteen whereof are so inconsiderable that the Bailiffs or chief Officers usually reside in the capital city of Zurich, where they dispatch the business of their respective districts in their own houses. Two others of these bailliages, named Stein and Winterthur, have such large privileges, that they are almost independant of the Canton; the people being govern'd by their peculiar laws and magistrates, and the government only send an officer every year to receive the revenues payable to the State. The remaining nine bailliages are of a large extent, and so considerable as to require the constant residence of their Bailiffs, whose offices afford them handsome perquisites. The chief towns in the Canton of Zurich, are, 1. Zurich, <sup>Chief town</sup> the capital city. 2. Kiburg. 3. Gruningen. 4. Lauffen. 5. Ruffy. 6. Wadisshweil. 7. Andelfinger. 8. Griffeuree. 9. Kringenew. 10. Eglisow. 11. Regensburg. And, 12. Stafen.

1. Zurich, situate at the north end of the lake <sup>Zurich city</sup> of that name, in forty-seven degrees, thirty minutes north latitude, about sixteen miles south of the frontiers of Germany. It is divided into two unequal parts by the river Limagus, having a communication by three bridges. The town is small, but populous, and surrounded with a wall, and other modern fortifications. Their publick buildings, especially their churches, make a tolerable figure, and their private houses are some of them lofty structures, tho' the materials are generally clay and timber, and their streets but narrow. It is a very antient city, supposed to have been the capital of the *Tigurini*, one of the four Helvetian people, and was enlarged and beautified by **CHARLEMAIGN**, who built the great church, where his statue is still preserved. The library and the arsenal are taken notice of by travellers, as worth the viewing. The adjacent country produces corn and grapes, but their wine is not good. **ZUINGLIUS**, who was Canon of the great church, introduced the reformation here. The adjoining lake is four and twenty miles long, and three broad, the water of it green, but not brackish, the colour supposed to be occasion'd by the melted snow which falls from the mountains, and contains a nitrous salt. The principal manufacture of the

CHAP. III.  
Zurich Canton.



HA P. the place is crape, and the people generally apply themselves to trade, having the convenience of exporting and importing merchandize on the lake, which hath a communication with the Rhine. The rest of the towns of this Canton do not require a particular description

Can- 2. The Canton of Bern is bounded by that of Bazil and Soluthurn towards the north; by Lucern, Underwald and Soleure on the east; by the lake of Geneva towards the south; and by Neufchattel and Burgundy or Franche Comte towards the west: extending an hundred and twenty miles in length, and sixty in breadth, and some give it much larger dimensions; however, it is generally agreed to make near a third part of Switzerland, and to be the most fruitful of any of the Cantons, as well as the most powerful. It is usually divided into two parts: the one called the German country, and the other the Roman, or French, distinguish'd by the different languages they use. The French part is named the *Pais de Vaud*, the pleasantest, but not the most fruitful, taken from the Duke of Savoy in the year 1536. The whole Canton is divided into seventy-two bailliages, govern'd by as many Bailiffs, who are members of the council of two hundred at Bern, and chang'd every six years. There are in this Canton many considerable cities and towns, whereas in most of the small Cantons there is no town at all, and in the rest scarce more than one of any consequence.

of towns. The chief towns of the Canton of Bern are, 1. Bern, the capital. 2. Lausanne. 3. Thun. 4. Arberg. 5. Vangen. 6. Lansburg. 7. Erlach. 8. La Serre. 9. Bruk. 10. Nion. 11. Sana. 12. Aubone. 13. Brientz. 14. Walen. And, 15. Yverdon.

city. Bern stands in a peninsula, being encompassed on three sides by the river Ada; in forty-seven degrees of north latitude, forty miles south of Bazil, and about as much west of Lucern. It stands on a rising ground, most of the houses are of free-stone, and it is a mile in length, consisting chiefly of three broad streets, through which run as many clear rivulets, and most of the houses have a piazza before them. The great church, the town-house, and the arsenal, are said to be noble structures; and the whole is defended by a wall and fortifications after the modern way.

Lausanne. 2. Lausanne, the capital of the *Pais Roman*, or the country of Vaud, is situate on three hills, near the north side of the lake of Geneva, forty miles south-west of Bern, and thirty north-east of Geneva, which is frequently therefore called the lake of Lausanne. The town was formerly an Imperial city, but has been subject to the Canton of Bern since the year 1536. It was also a Bishop's See, suffragan to the Archbishop of Besançon; but upon falling into the hands of

the Protestants, the See was removed to Friburg. CHAP. III. Of the other towns of this Canton I meet with no particular description.

Lucern Can- 3. The Canton of Lucern is bounded by Soleure on the north; by Zurich, Zug and Underwald towards the east; and by the Canton of Bern on the south and west; being about fifty miles in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west. This is one of the chief of the Roman Catholick Cantons; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Lucern. 2. Sempech. 3. Sursee. 4. Rot. 5. Sualhusen. 6. Wiken. 7. Willisow. 8. Hotburg.

Lucern city. The city of Lucern is situate on a lake of the same name, at the mouth of the river Rufs, about twenty miles south-west of Zurich, and forty to the eastward of Bern. It lies in a plain, and is encompass'd with mountains on two sides; a neat elegant town, with a spacious marketplace, and surrounded by a wall and other fortifications. The town-house and Jesuits college are magnificent structures; and here the Pope's Nuncio and the Spanish Ambassador usually choose to make their residence. The neighbouring lake is about twenty miles in length, and seven or eight broad, and it hath a communication with the Rhine by the river Rufs. The other towns of this Canton don't seem to merit a description.

Uri Canton. 4. The Canton of Uri is bounded by Switz on the north; by Glaris and the country of the Grisons on the east; by Underwald towards the south; and by the Canton of Bern on the west. This Canton consists but of one valley, extending from Altorf to the foot of mount St. Goddard, through which the river Rufs takes its course, and frequently overflows great part of it. The country produces no wine, and but little corn: the neighbouring mountains however furnish them with pasture for great numbers of Cattle, by the sale whereof they are able to purchase both corn and wine. There is but one bailliage belongs to this country, and that a poor one; but being a great thorough-fare for merchandize between Switzerland and Italy, they raise money by the duties on goods which pass through their country. There is not one wall'd town in this Canton; the most considerable village is Altorf, near the river Rufs and the lake Lucerne, where the courts of justice for the Canton are held.

Switz Can- 5. The Canton of Switz is bounded by Zurich and Zug on the north; by the Canton of Glaris on the east and south; and by Lucern and Underwald towards the west; extending about five and thirty miles in length from east to west, and five and twenty in breadth from north to south. It is very mountainous, having only three narrow valleys, which yield little corn, and no wine; and there are only three poor Bailliages belonging to it: It does however give name to the whole.



CHAP. whole country, being the first Canton, it is said, III. that took arms to defend their liberties. They have no wall'd towns, their principal village Switz lies on the banks of the river Meuse, near the lake of Lucern.

Underwald. 6. The Canton of Underwald is bounded by Switz and Lucern on the north; by Uri on the east; and by another part of Lucern on the south and west; extending about five and twenty miles in length from east to west, and as far in breadth from north to south. This Canton is very mountainous, and the soil no better than that of Switz: There is not one bailliage in it, and but eight good villages.

Zug. 7. The Canton of Zug is about eighteen miles long and seven broad, and surrounded by those of Lucern, Zurich and Switz. This is much more fruitful than the Cantons last described, yielding corn and wine sufficient for the inhabitants, and contains six baillages, though none of the richest. The village of Zug, the most desirable place in the little Cantons, stands on a hill, on the east side of the lake of Zug, which is about seven miles long.

Glaris. 8. The Canton of Glaris is bounded by the valley of Lintz on the north; by the country of the Grisons on the east and south; and the Cantons of Uri and Switz towards the west; extending about twenty miles in length from north to south, and is near as much in breadth from east to west. It consists of one large valley, which yields them a sufficient quantity of corn, as their mountains do of pasture for their cattle: but as to other necessaries, the inhabitants are forced to purchase them of their neighbours. There is one good bailliage in it, and by a treaty of comburgership, it is coarbitrator in conjunction with the Canton of Switz, of all differences which arise between the Abbot of St. GALL, and his subjects of Tockenbourg.

Basil. 9. The Canton of Basil is bounded by the circle of Suabia in Germany on the north and east; by the Canton of Soluthurn on the south, and by part of Alsatia on the west, being twenty miles in length and eighteen in breadth, and contains five baillages. This Canton having so small extent of territory, the natives have applied themselves wholly to trade, by which they are grown rich. They were formerly subject to their Bishop, who upon the reformation was driven from Basil, and deprived of his authority in great part of the Canton, but still retains his sovereignty in some places, and is a Prince of the Empire. He usually resides with his Chapter at Porentru, from whence the Protestants call him the Bishop of Porentru; the Catholics, however, still stile him Bishop of Basil. The country he remains possess'd of lies to the southward of Alsace, between Franche Comte

and the Canton of Soleure; the inhabitants whereof are vested with such privileges, that he hath little more than the name of Sovereign, and the liberty of collecting his revenues; for they are not only govern'd by their own laws and magistrates, but claim a right of contracting alliances with other powers for their protection; in pursuance whereof, his Protestant subjects are in a confederacy with the Canton of Bern, and under its immediate protection; of which my author says he saw an instance in the year 1706, when the Bishop endeavour'd to introduce some innovations, in order to enlarge his authority: for the people of Munster complaining thereof to the Canton of Bern, procured a body of four thousand of their troops to march to their assistance, who reinstated them in their former rights, in opposition to the Bishop, and then return'd home. And this is very common, he observes, as well as necessary in Switzerland; for if the Protestant subjects of the Roman Catholick Princes or Bishops were left to their discretion, they must not expect long to enjoy either their religion or liberties.

The chief towns of this Canton are, 1. Basil, or Basle. 2. Valtenberg, or Waltenberg. And, 3. Homburg.

Basil, or Basle, the most beautiful city of Switzerland, is situate on the river Rhine, near sixty miles to the southward of Strasburg, and three miles south of the fortress of Hunningen, in the latitude of forty-seven degrees, forty minutes. It is divided by the Rhine into two parts, joined by a noble stone bridge of fourteen arches. The town is large, the streets wide and clean, and their squares spacious, adorn'd with no less than three hundred fountains; their publick and private buildings magnificent, and generally built of stone. The church of St. MARY, which was the cathedral when the Roman Catholics were in possession of it, is a stately pile; and the town-hall and arsenal admired by travellers. Here is also a flourishing university, wherein are seventeen Professors, viz. in Divinity, Law, and Physick, three of each; and in Philosophy and other sciences, eight more. ERASMUS spent the latter part of his life here, dying in the year 1536, in the seventy-first year of his age, having founded a college for twenty Students in divinity. He was interred in the great church of St. MARY's, where he hath a marble monument on the north side of the communion table, and his library is kept in this church. They claim the invention of making paper, and assure us that printing was introduced among them in the year 1478. Trade flourishes here as much as in most cities in Switzerland, and there are several wealthy merchants in the place, it lying near the frontiers of Germany and



H A P. and France, and having the conveniency of the Rhine to facilitate their importations and exportations.

10. The Canton of Friburg is almost surrounded by that of Bern, and is about twenty-five miles in length and twenty in breadth, containing fifteen bailliages. This Canton produces corn enough, but no wine. The chief towns are Friburg, Estavaye, and Gryers or Gruyeres.

The city of Friburg is situate on a hill, almost surrounded by the river Sana, in a pleasant country, sixteen miles south-west of Bern. The place is surrounded by a wall and other fortifications; and besides the cathedral, travellers take particular notice of a fine piazza, and a noble publick fountain. The Bishop of Lausanne hath his residence here.

11. The Canton of Soluthurn, or Soleure, is bounded by that of Bazil, and part of Alsace towards the north; by the Canton of Bern on the east and south; and by the bishoprick of Bazil on the west; being about twelve miles in length, and ten in breadth. This Canton affords plenty of bread-corn, but no wine, and contains ten bailliages. The chief towns are Soluthurn or Soleure, Olten, and Golgen.

Soluthurn, or Soleure, is pleasantly situated in a fruitful valley, upon the river Aar, about twenty miles to the northward of Bern. It is defended by a wall and other fortifications, and is tolerably well built. Here the French Ambassador usually resides.

12. The Canton of Schaffhausen is bounded by Suabia in Germany on the north, east and west; and by the Canton of Zurich on the south; being about twenty miles in length, and twelve in breadth, and is well supplied with the necessaries of life, especially fish, of which they have greater plenty than most of their neighbours; the chief towns whereof are Schaffhausen, Herblingen, Newkilch and Halaw.

The city of Schaffhausen is esteem'd the finest town in Switzerland next to Bazil, it is situate on the Rhine, about twenty-five miles north of Zurich, and as many to the westward of Constance. The streets are broad, and the houses built of stone, generally painted on the outside, as in many other towns of Switzerland. All vessels being obliged to unload here, on occasion of the neighbouring cataracts of the Rhine, it is become a place of good trade.

13. The last Canton, says my author, both in rank and goodness, is that of Appenzel, consisting of one large barren valley: it is bounded by the country of St. Gall towards the north, by the Rhintal on the east; by the country of Grisons on the south; and by Togenberg on the west; being about twenty miles over either way. The inhabitants live chiefly upon milk and cheese,

and are esteem'd the most clownish people of Switzerland; they enjoy so small a share of the comforts of life at home, that the better sort endeavour to get into some foreign service. It is said to have obtain'd its name from an Abbot's cell, built where Appenzel now stands, being called in Latin, *Abbatis Cella*. The chief place is Appenzel, which is rather an open village than a town, about thirty miles to the southward of Constance.

### *The Subjects of Switzerland.*

THE subjects of Switzerland are such countries, towns and bailliages as belong to them all, or to several of them in common, having been conquered by their united arms. The common bailliages are nine, viz. the county of Baden, the Free Villages, the counties of Turgovy, Sargantz and Rhintal, and the four Italian bailliages of Lugano, Locarno, Mendrisio and Valmadia, to which we must add the three cities without territory, viz. Bremgarten, Mellingen and Rapperswil.

The county of Baden hath the Rhine on the north and west, and the Canton of Zurich on the south, being as large as some of the little Cantons, and of a much more fruitful soil; and formerly belong'd to the house of Austria, but the seven old Cantons made a conquest of it in the year 1415.

Baden, the capital city, so named from its baths, lies on the river Limath, about fourteen miles north-west of Zurich, and six to the southward of the Rhine. It is one of the antientest towns in Switzerland, and the place of their general Diets, and usually called Upper Baden, to distinguish it from Lower Baden in Germany.

The Free Ambter, or Free Villages, is a small district, which formerly went under the name of the county of Roer, and was conquer'd by the seven old Cantons at the same time that Baden was conquer'd. There is no great town in this district, the principal place is Mayenburg near the river Rufs. They were denominated free on account of the liberty given them to chuse their own magistrates. The natives are all of them Roman Catholicks.

The county of Turgovy, or Turgow, is bounded by the Rhine and the lake of Constance on the north and east; by the country of the Grisons towards the south; and by the Canton of Zurich on the west; being about forty miles long, and thirty broad, and contains fifty parishes. It was taken from the house of Austria by the seven old Cantons at the same time as Baden was conquer'd by them. The inhabitants are most of them Protestants. The chief towns are, 1. Frawenfeld. 2. Weil. 3. Bishop's Cell. 4. Arbor Felix. And, 5. Disenhove.



**CHAP. III.** 1. Frawenfield, the capital, is situate on the river Marck, about ten miles south-west of Constance. 2. Weil, a small city, with a beautiful castle, the residence of the Abbot of St. Gall, situate about ten miles north-west of St. Gall. Altho' the seven old Cantons, or as some say, ten Cantons, have the supreme jurisdiction in the Turgow, yet the clergy and nobility have inferior jurisdictions in many places. The Bishop and Chapter of Constance also have a jurisdiction in several parts of the country, as the Abbot of St. Gall hath in other parts of it; and there are eight monasteries, to which some others are subject, but all however under the protection of the Switzers.

**Sargantz.** The county of Sargantz is situate on the frontiers of the Grisons, of no great extent or revenue. The chief towns are, 1. Sargantz. 2. Wallenstat. 3. Rugatz. And, 4. Pfevers. The county was purchased by the seven old Cantons of the last Count, anno 1483.

The town of Sargantz, which takes its name from the river Sar, on which it stands, is a small town and castle, where the Governour resides, about sixteen miles to the southward of Appenzel. The inhabitants of this, and all other places in this district are Roman Catholics, except one community.

**Rhintal.** The county of Rhintal extends it self along the Rhine before it falls into the lake of Constance, and is a very narrow district. This was also taken from the house of Austria by the seven old Cantons, when Baden was conquer'd; but Appenzel having some pretensions to it, was admitted into a share of the sovereignty. Two thirds of the inhabitants are Protestants. The chief town is Reineck, situate on the Rhine, at its entrance into the lake of Constance.

**Rappersweil.** 2. Rappersweil, situate on the lake of Zurich, sixteen miles south-east of the city Zurich, taken from the house of Austria by the Cantons of Uri, Switz, Underwald and Glaris in the year 1458, remarkable for its wooden bridge a mile and a half in length.

**Mellinghen. Bremgarten.** The two cities of Mellinghen and Bremgarten, are situate within the county of Baden, and are govern'd by their own laws and magistrates, but subject to the old Cantons.

**Lugano, &c.** The four bailliages of Lugano, Locarno, Mendrisco and Valmadia, are situated on the Italian side of the Alps, and were formerly part of the duchy of Milan, but dismembred from it by Duke MAXIMILIAN SFORZA, and given to the Switzers in the year 1513, for the service they had done him in his wars. They belong to twelve of the Cantons, Appenzel having no share in them, being not then received into the alliance as a Canton. These four bailliages extend se-

veral leagues in the warm climate of Italy, but the country is mountainous. The chief towns are, 1. Lugano. 2. Locarno. 3. Scona. And, 4. Brifago.

The city of Lugano is situate on the north side of a lake of the same name, about eight miles from the frontiers of Milan, the Governour whereof hath the command of the other bailliages.

Locarno is situated on the west side of the lake Mayor, ten miles north-west of Lugano, formerly a considerable place, but now in a ruinous condition.

The natives of all these four bailliages are Roman Catholics; and so bigotted, that when a Protestant Canton sends a Governour in its turn of that persuasion, he is not allow'd the exercise of his religion in his own house. There are still three other bailliages in Italy, viz. Bellinzona, Valbruna, and Riviera, subject in common to the three Cantons of Uri, Switz, and Underwald, taken by them in their wars with the Dukes of Milan, and the sovereignty yielded to them anno 1516.

The little Barvug of Alfax belongs to the Canton of Zurich, and the county of Werdenberg to that of Glaris, both of them situate on the banks of the Rhine before it enters the lake of Constance. And another bailliage, call'd Gasterren, belongs to Switz and Glaris, and lies between the lakes of Zurich and Wallenstat, on the banks of the river Limat.

Four considerable bailliages also in the Pais de Vaud, belong jointly to Bern and Friburg, being taken by their united arms at the time that all this country was won from the Duke of Savoy, viz. Morat, Granfon, Echelens and Swartzemburg, to which governments each Canton sends its Bailiffs alternately.

And, according to my author, the war in 1712, between the Cantons of Bern and Zurich on the one part, and Lucern, Uri, Switz, Underwald, and Zug on the other, hath made great alterations in the property of the common bailliages; for by the ensuing treaty of peace the whole county of Baden, half the free bailliages, including particularly the cities of Bremgarten and Rappersweil, were yielded to the two Protestant Cantons of Zurich and Bern, reserving to Glaris its share in the sovereignty, because that Canton had not concern'd it self in the war. The Canton of Bern also was admitted to a share in the sovereignty of Turgovy, Sargantz, Rhintal, and the other half of the free bailliages, of which it had no part before that war. These common bailliages are govern'd by their respective Bailiffs, elected out of the several Cantons, who are co-sovereigns; every Canton appointing the Bailiff by turns, who is changed in some bailliages every five, and in others



CHAP. IV. others every six years ; and these Bailiffs are not accountable to the particular Canton which elected them, but to the Cantons in general that are co-sovereigns.

## CHAP. IV.

*Treats of the persons, habits, genius and temper of the Switzers.*

persons and habits. THE Switzers are generally good bodies of men, tall, and well made, and living in a cold mountainous country, where hunting over the rocks and precipices is their principal diversion, are a very hardy race ; but as they are frequently exposed to tempestuous stormy weather, their complexions are not the best ; most of them wear their hair, and in some places long beards are still in fashion, but few of them care to part with their darling whiskers.

Their women are handsome, and well shaped ; and, according to my author, want no charms in their persons or conversation : but all fine clothes with silver or gold, jewels or lace, are prohibited both sexes. In the town of Basil, tho' situate on the frontiers of France, and some other parts of the country, they still retain their ruffs, and old Swiss dress : but generally those who border upon France follow the French in their dress, as well as language ; and those who lie on the confines of Germany, the modes of that country, as far as their sumptuary laws will admit. Those who travel, easily conform themselves to the manners of the people where they reside ; insomuch, that it may be discern'd by the air and dress of a Swiss officer in what country he serves. Those who reside in France wear gay clothes, are forward in their behaviour, and full of words in conversation : while those who serve in Holland affect a plain dress, and are reserv'd in discourse.

their genius and temper. The same judicious author, already cited, divides the Swiss into three classes ; namely, 1. The peasants. 2. The gentry and vassals. And, 3. The citizens. The first he looks upon to be an honest, robust and laborious people, whom necessity has taught to be excellent husbandmen, and to make the most of a bad soil, who by their industry often grow rich ; and tho' they are affectionate to their Sovereigns, yet having been always used to live in a state of liberty, and little acquainted with taxes, would not easily bear new impositions ; but this is to be understood chiefly of the peasants in the German country, for the natives of the Pais de Vaud, or the French country, are accused both of laziness and theft. By the gentry and vassals, are intended such of the better sort as are not citizens of the capital

CHAP. IV. of any Canton, and consequently are excluded from all beneficial employments in their own country. These our author looks upon as the most unhappy among the natives of Switzerland ; for altho' they have lands and lordships, which they enjoy in great security, and pay scarce any taxes to their Sovereigns, yet being disabled to hold any places of profit or trust, and living in a country where there is no trade or profession they can get any thing by, it is as much as they can do to support their families suitable to their rank. And indeed the rich yeomanry in most countries seem to have the better of the poor gentry. 3. The citizens, which in those Cantons where the government is aristocratical, our author subdivides into three classes : 1. The merchants and tradesmen. 2. The pen-men. And, 3. The military men. The tradesmen are generally proud and lazy, which proceeds from their privileges of being chosen into the magistracy by virtue of their burghership, and of excluding all but themselves from exercising any trade in their cities ; from whence it proceeds that their goods are bad, and yet very dear.

2. Their pen-men are those that have never been in any military service abroad, nor have exercised any trade at home : these have no hopes of raising their fortunes in the Cantons, where there is little trade, except by their baillages, and therefore all their thoughts are turn'd towards getting into the great council, after which they are sure of a baillage sooner or later ; and in the mean time they either live upon their rents, or the profits they gain in the inferiour magistracies of the city, in which they are usually employ'd.

3. The military men are those who have serv'd in the troops of some foreign Prince or State ; who are in most esteem, not only because they are usually the most polite, but chiefly because the trade of arms is deem'd the most honourable employment. These usually remain in foreign service till they are very old, unless they are of the great council, and then after they have gain'd a tolerable fortune they return home, and endeavour to procure a baillage. And 'tis observed, that the greatest fortunes which have been made in Switzerland, have been rais'd by military service.

And now we are treating of the military men, it may be proper to inquire into the valour of the Switzers, for which they are so much famed. This is a quality, says my author, universally allow'd them ; even in former ages, wherever the Helvetians are mention'd, their courage is applauded. Nor are they less remarkable for their fidelity than for their courage, into whatsoever service they enter. But as I have formerly intimated, possibly we are as much obliged to our education, as to our natural temper for this good quality.



CHAP. quality. There are many more instances of an  
 IV. acquired than a native courage. Nay, there is  
 scarce an instance where troops have served an  
 apprenticeship to the trade of war, and are be-  
 come veteran soldiers, but they may be depend-  
 ed on, let them come from what country they  
 will. Where troops are equally disciplin'd, it is  
 nothing else but the size of the men and horses  
 that gives them the superiority. Now the Swit-  
 zers, it appears, are of as large a bulk as any  
 people of Europe; they have the advantage also  
 of a very rough education, being enured to hard-  
 ships, and taught the use of arms from their  
 cradles. They follow their game over mountains  
 and precipices, till dangers are become familiar to  
 them. And, lastly, their troops being continu-  
 ally in foreign service, they can never want good  
 officers and soldiers; they must of necessity there-  
 fore be fitter for military service, than the troops  
 of any other nation who have not had the like  
 advantages, tho' their native courage should not  
 exceed that of their neighbours.

But as my author observes, the Switzers are  
 generally charged with that barbarous custom of  
 letting out their troops for hire to serve any  
 cause; nay, to furnish nations that are enemies  
 with separate bodies; whereby it comes to pass,  
 that the nearest relations, father and son, bro-  
 ther and brother, are frequently engaged against  
 each other, and beat out one another's brains as  
 it were in sport, when they have no manner  
 of concern in the quarrel. But this, the same  
 gentleman assures us, is a very groundless charge:  
 for, 1. They never grant their troops to any  
 Prince or State, but by virtue of some preceding  
 alliance. 2. They grant troops only for the de-  
 fence of the nation they are given to, and not to  
 act offensively; so that the Swiss troops in the  
 French service are never suffer'd to invade the  
 Empire, or Holland; nor, on the contrary, the  
 Swiss who are in the service of those two powers,  
 to invade France. And, 3. The sovereign never  
 receives any subsidy or perquisite from the Prince  
 or State to whom their troops are granted, con-  
 tenting themselves with procuring a beneficial ser-  
 vice to their subjects, without reserving any pro-  
 fit to themselves. But then he admits that what he  
 offers on this subject ought to be restrained chiefly  
 to the Protestant Cantons; for he acknowledges  
 that the conduct of the Catholick Cantons, and  
 especially those called the petty ones, have too  
 often give occasion for drawing reproaches on the  
 whole nation, from those who do not distinguish  
 between one and the other: so that it seems the  
 charge is true in part, tho' not universally.

And indeed, whoever has been in the service  
 in the Low Countries, either in the first war in  
 the reign of King WILLIAM or the latter in the  
 reign of Queen ANNE, must have found Switzers

engaged on both sides. Whether they were hired  
 to act defensively only, or otherwise, I can't tell;  
 but certain it is, they were frequently upon the  
 offensive, and drawn up against each other. And  
 we find the Dutch do not only employ them in  
 offensive wars in their own service, but sometimes  
 let them out again to other Princes, as they have  
 done more than once to the King of Great Bri-  
 tain, and they have served here accordingly. So  
 that notwithstanding what our author hath ad-  
 vanced in their favour, it seems evident to me,  
 that the Swiss are not altogether innocent in this  
 particular; and it may still be difficult entirely to  
 wipe off that aspersions of sacrificing their people  
 for any cause, and letting their troops to any power  
 that will pay them.

The Switzers also have been long aspersed as a  
 dull heavy generation, especially by the French;  
 but those who have resided among them, and  
 know them best, give us quite another character  
 of them; they assure us, that there is no where  
 to be found men of clearer judgments, or greater  
 dexterity in the management of affairs, or of a more  
 lively conversation with true wit and genuine hu-  
 mour, than are to be met with here among those  
 who have had a good education improved by tra-  
 vel. Indeed among the peasants upon the moun-  
 tains, who converse chiefly with their cattle, it is  
 no wonder if we meet with some as stupid as the  
 shepherds and husbandmen of other countries;  
 but no considering man will take an estimate of  
 a people from this class. There are not many of  
 the Switzers, 'tis true, apply themselves to learn-  
 ing; the poverty of the country, and the strait-  
 ness of their fortunes, oblige them to turn their  
 thoughts another way. There are few of them,  
 my author observes, that are free enough from  
 domestick cares to employ their time in specu-  
 lation. There are however many learned men  
 amongst them in the two great professions of divi-  
 nity and law, especially in the universities of  
 Bern, Basil, Zurich and Lausanne.

As to the honesty and simplicity of the Swit-  
 zers, for which they have been so generally ap-  
 plauded heretofore, late writers assure us, they  
 very little deserve any such character at this day;  
 even their courts of justice and magistracy are  
 not free from corruption, but the best purse usu-  
 ally carries the cause. On the other hand, though  
 they are generally charged with the vice of drun-  
 keness, I don't find they are more addicted to  
 it than their neighbours. The Swiss peasants in-  
 deed are many of them given to tipling, as the  
 lower rank of people are in most places; but  
 among people of condition the practice is very  
 rare. They have their publick feasts, wherein  
 some excesses are committed, but their ordinary  
 way of life is very sober; insomuch that our au-  
 thor affirms of the Switzers in general, that they  
 are.



AP. are the least given to drinking of any people sprung from the German stock ; and at last sums up their character in these words :

‘ The Switzers are a people equally brave in arms, and faithful to their engagements ; who have more esteem for the military virtues than the civil ones ; yet are desirous to live in perpetual peace themselves, and to make war for others. They are perfectly able, when united, to defend themselves against any invader ; but not in a condition to make conquests on their neighbours. Their country is crouded with people, which generally makes the riches of other nations, but for want of trade increases the poverty of this. It produces none of the superfluities of life, and not enough of the necessities ; yet by the advantage of their situation, both are supplied them by their neighbours at reasonable rates. It happens to be placed almost in the center of Europe, without being thoroughly known : and they are courted for their valour by some of their neighbours, who scarce allow them any other good quality. But one may say of these republicks as of private men, viz. that they are placed in a certain mediocrity of fortune, which puts them below envy, and above contempt. One finds among them none of the gaudy pleasures of courts, but a great deal of the satisfaction which proceeds from a quiet easy life. In short, they have more wit, and perhaps less sincerity, than the world allows them ; and seem to conceal some of the subtleties of the Italian under the frankness of the German. Their virtues are natural to them, and their vices chiefly owing to the temptations which men struggling with difficulties are apt to fall under.’

## CHAP. V.

*Contains an abstract of the antient and modern history of Switzerland.*

History of Switzerland. JULIUS CÆSAR first mentions the Helvetians as a nation, and relates, that this people having made an incursion into Burgundy during his government of Gaul, with a design to transplant themselves into that desirable country, to take away from their people all thoughts of returning to their antient seats, set fire to their dwellings, burning no less than twelve great cities, and four hundred villages. That they began their march with their families, amounting to near four hundred thousand souls, whereof about a fourth of them were able to bear arms. Their first design was to have penetrated into Savoy ; but not daring to pass the Rhone in the face of his army, they alter'd their march, and enter'd

Franche Comte, where CÆSAR having cut off many of them in several engagements, compell'd the rest to return home ; and having reduced them under the Roman power, annex'd this country to that part of his government call'd *Gallia Celtica*.

The Helvetians remain'd subject to the Romans till the destruction of that empire by the northern nations, when new kingdoms and states being erected out of its ruins, Switzerland was comprehended in that of Burgundy, about the beginning of the fifth century. This kingdom not lasting above an hundred years, Switzerland upon the fall of it was united to the crown of France, to whose Kings it remain'd subject till the beginning of the ninth century. About the year 870, two new kingdoms of Burgundy were erected, called *Burgundia Cisjurana*, and *Burgundia Transjurana* ; but the former was united to the latter about the year 926, and of this kingdom of *Burgundia Transjurana*, Switzerland continued a part till 1032, when RODOLPH the third and last King of Burgundy, dying without issue, transferred his kingdom to the Emperor CONRAD II, call'd the Salick, whose successors enjoy'd it near two hundred years ; when this kingdom being neglected by the Emperors, several petty sovereignties were form'd out of it. In the thirteenth century the Counts of Hapsburg, from whom the house of Austria is descended, to whom several fiefs in this country had been granted by the Emperor BARBAROSSA, begun to take the government of this people upon them, and particularly of their cities, on their voluntary submission to him ; for it seems their nobility used them in so barbarous and tyrannical a manner, that they found themselves under a necessity of imploring the protection of some potent neighbouring Prince. They agreed therefore that RODOLPH should send Bailiffs or Governours amongst them, with power of administering the *Haute Justice*, or judging in criminal causes ; but with an express reservation (if my author be not mistaken) of their rights and liberties, which were very extensive. But RODOLPH was so engaged in other places, that he could not afford these cities the protection they expected from him ; whereupon not being able any longer to endure the tyranny and insults of the nobility, they had recourse to arms, demolish'd the castles of the lords, and after a twelve years war, compelled many of them to leave the country.

RODOLPH being now advanced to the Imperial dignity, the nobility applied themselves to the Emperor, charging the commons of Switzerland with rebellion ; but the Emperor having heard the contending parties, declared himself in favour of the people ; and governed them with great mildness and goodness while

CHAP. V.



CHAP. he lived, confirming their ancient privileges,  
 V. and granting them several new ones. But upon  
 the death of this Emperor, his son, the Emperor  
 ALBERT, enter'd into very opposite measures,  
 determining to make himself absolute in this coun-  
 try, which he endeavour'd to accomplish first by  
 caresses and persuasions only; but when he found  
 those arts would not avail him, he appointed o-  
 ther Governours with positive orders to reduce  
 them to his obedience, either by corrupting their  
 leading men, or, if that fail'd, by force of arms;  
 and accordingly, when the first method was found  
 ineffectual, they openly invaded their privileges.  
 Whereupon the people sent a deputation to the  
 Emperor, to complain of the violation of their  
 rights and liberties; but instead of a redress, they  
 met with only threats of the utmost vengeance if  
 they refused an absolute submission to his pleasure.  
 And at their return home, they found their Go-  
 vernours still exercising the most notorious acts of  
 tyranny, by oppressing, imprisoning, and impo-  
 verishing the subject. They deprived the people  
 of their estates, says my author, by arbitrary sen-  
 tences, imposed extravagant fines for trivial of-  
 fences, and tortur'd others on a pretence of con-  
 spiracies against the government; till the exasper-  
 ated people at length enter'd into a real conspi-  
 racy, which proved fatal to their Sovereign. The  
 three principal men who first formed the design,  
 were ARNOLD MELCHDAL of Underwald, WERNER  
 STOUFFACHER of Switz, and WALTER FURST of Uri,  
 who were rather substan-  
 tial yeomen than gentlemen. These having been  
 alike ill-treated by their respective Governours, had  
 enter'd into a very strict friendship, and were con-  
 triving to free themselves and their country from  
 the oppressions they labour'd under. Each of them  
 afterwards engaged three of their friends to assist  
 them with their advice; and these twelve became  
 the principal managers of the plot, who meeting  
 at Grutli in the canton of Uri, laid a scheme for  
 promoting a general insurrection, binding them-  
 selves by the most solemn oaths not to discover  
 the design. And the first of January 1308, being  
 fixed for their rising, an accident happen'd in the  
 mean time, which gave them fresh provocation,  
 and had like to have occasion'd an insurrection  
 sooner than was intended. For it seems, among  
 other pieces of arbitrary and whimsical tyranny,  
 GRIESLER, Governour of the Canton of Uri,  
 had order'd his cap to be set upon a post in the  
 market-place of Altorf, the capital of Uri, re-  
 quiring every person who passed by to pull off his  
 hat to it on pain of death; which most people  
 complied with, till WILLIAM TELL, a bold  
 resolute fellow, and one of the conspirators, took  
 an opportunity of frequently passing by without  
 shewing any manner of respect to the cap; where-  
 upon he was apprehended by the guards that were

placed to see the order put in execution, and was  
 brought before the Governour; who, by way of  
 punishment, commanded him to set an apple upon  
 his son's head, and shoot at it with an arrow, de-  
 claring that if he mis'd it he should be hang'd.  
 The father rather than run the hazard of being  
 accessory to his son's death, desired they would  
 take away his own life without further ceremony;  
 but the Governour would not indulge him so far,  
 declaring that if he refused to shoot at the apple  
 immediately, he would hang up his son before  
 his face, and himself afterwards. Whereupon  
 old TELL promised to make the attempt in the  
 market-place in the presence of the Governour,  
 imagining probably that his fellow-conspirators  
 would have taken this opportunity of assembling,  
 and rescued him before he had made the experi-  
 ment; but nothing of this happening, the old  
 man took two arrows out of his quiver, and draw-  
 ing his bow with all the anguish that can be i-  
 imagin'd in so tender a case, providentially struck  
 the apple off his son's head without giving him  
 the least wound; upon which the people gave a  
 general shout, to the great mortification of the  
 Governour: who proceeding to inquire of TELL,  
 what he meant by taking two arrows out of his  
 quiver, assuring him he would forgive him, what-  
 ever his design was; TELL boldly answer'd, that  
 the second arrow was design'd for the Governour,  
 in case he had been so unhappy as to have kill'd  
 his son. Whereupon the Governour answer'd,  
 though he would spare his life according to his  
 promise, yet he look'd upon him to be so dange-  
 rous a man, that he ought however to be shut up  
 in some dark prison: and accordingly order'd him  
 to be put in irons, and carried on board a vessel  
 to be transported to the castle of Castlenach on the  
 lake Lucerne; and to prevent his escaping, went  
 on board the vessel himself to see his sentence put  
 in execution. When they came about the middle  
 of the lake, as the story goes, there arose so vio-  
 lent a storm, that they were in the utmost danger  
 of sinking; when the Governour's servants know-  
 ing TELL the prisoner to be an excellent pilot, pro-  
 posed the taking off his chains, and letting him  
 manage the helm, as the only expedient for saving  
 all their lives; which being consented to, TELL  
 with a great deal of difficulty steer'd the boat into  
 smooth water under the shore, when he jumped  
 out upon a piece of a rock, and made his escape;  
 and the Governour, despairing of overtaking him,  
 sail'd on to the next town, called Brunen, from  
 whence he proposed to go to the castle of Castle-  
 nach by land. TELL having notice of the day  
 he was to go, conceal'd himself in a wood on the  
 side of a hollow way, by which he knew the Go-  
 vernour must pass, and meeting with a favourable  
 opportunity, shot him through the heart with an  
 arrow, and made off, while the company remain'd  
 in



AP. in the utmost confusion. In memory of which exploits, a chapel was built on the spot of ground where the Governour lost his life; and another upon the rock from whence TELL made his escape, which are still to be seen. But though this relation may be true in the main, I find the circumstances frequently varied according to the genius or humour of the person who relates it.

On New-year's-day, 1308, the time prefixed by the conspirators for a general insurrection, some of the most resolute of them resorted to the castles, where the Governour and Commanders of the Imperial troops resided, under pretence of carrying the usual presents; and having concealed arms under their clothes, fell upon the guards as they enter'd the gates, and had the good fortune to reduce every fortress they attempted. The Governour LANDENBURG and his forces were in such consternation, that they fled without making any manner of resistance, but were surrounded afterwards, and made prisoners by the country people, who only required an oath from them, that they would never return into the country again, and then gave them their liberty to retire wherever they saw fit.

Thus, says the honourable writer above cited, was the foundation of the Helvetic liberty laid by three plain countrymen, without the advantages of birth or riches, which are usually thought necessary towards the execution of such popular enterprizes; and in honour of their memories a festival is annually held, where the company are entertain'd with songs, containing the history of their deliverance from Austrian tyranny.

The Emperor ALBERT hearing of this defection, was about assembling an army to have reduced them to obedience; but being kill'd soon after as he pass'd the river Rufs, these Cantons had a favourable opportunity of establishing themselves, while the Empire remain'd in confusion. About seven years after Archduke LEOPOLD, the son of ALBERT, march'd into the Canton of Switz with twenty thousand men, threatening utter destruction to the confederated provinces. The Switzers made little resistance, till the Austrian army was advanced into a narrow valley, between two mountains, near Morgarten, where rolling great stones from the tops of the hills, they put the Austrian cavalry in confusion; and at the same time attacking them in front with fifteen hundred men, they obtain'd a compleat victory, which they pursued with such diligence, that they drove the enemy entirely out of the country.

Upon the victory of Morgarten, the three Cantons enter'd into a perpetual league, which was at first made for ten years only, and took an oath for the due observation of it, from whence

they were called *Eydgnoffen*, a German word, signifying parties to the same oath; and the battle being fought in the Canton of Switz, which first gave them any credit in the world, the name of this little province was afterwards communicated to the rest, as they enter'd into the league, and even to their allies.

The house of Austria made several attempts afterwards to reduce the Cantons of Switz, Unterwald and Uri to their obedience; but were so far from effecting it, that they lost several more of their provinces, which from time to time enter'd into the league with them; of which the first was the Canton of Lucern, who came into the confederacy of the three Cantons in the year 1332, although this province was the proper dominion of the Austrian family. The Canton of Zurich was the next which enter'd into the confederacy, in the year 1351, and upon account of its extent, was allow'd the first place in their general assemblies, though it was the fifth which came into the alliance. This was a free Imperial city, and no part of the dominion of the house of Austria; however, their confederating with the revolted provinces occasion'd a new war between the allies and the house of Austria; in which the Switzers made themselves masters of the Canton of Glaris, which the same year 1351, was received into their alliance. In the following year, 1352, they took the province of Zug from the enemy, and added it to the number of the Cantons: and in the latter end of the same year, the Imperial city of Bern came into the alliance, and constituted the eighth Canton. And as these eight Cantons continued in alliance upwards of an hundred and twenty years without increasing their number, they obtain'd the name of the eight old Cantons, upon the addition of the rest.

In the year 1481, Friburg, part of the demesnes of the house of Austria, and purchased by them of the Counts of Kybourg, was received into the number of the Cantons; as was Soleure, an Imperial city, the same year. In 1501, Basil and Schaffhausen, two other Imperial cities, came into the alliance; and the country of Appenzel was added to them in the year 1513, having purchased their liberty of the Abbot of St. Gall, their then Sovereign, and this compleated the number of the thirteen Cantons. But the house of Austria, far from relinquishing their pretensions to these countries, still exercised them with perpetual wars, by whom they were not more distressed than by their own nobility, who constantly join'd with the house of Austria in all its attempts upon the confederated Cantons; but the nobility being at length driven out of the country, or reduced to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Cantons, the Switzers were declared a free people, independent of the Empire and the house of Austria, by the treaty



CHAP. of Munster, anno 1648, at the same time, as my  
VI. author rightly observes, as the United Provinces  
were declared independent by Spain.

Since the peace of Munster they have not engaged much in foreign wars, but several warm disputes have happen'd among themselves on account of religion; and particularly in the year 1712, when a war broke out between the two Protestant Cantons of Zurich and Bern, and the five Catholick Cantons of Lucern, Uri, Switz, Zug, and Underwald, wherein the former defeated the five Roman Catholick Cantons in two general battles, and took from them the country of Baden, and many other large territories. But the breach was at length made up by the mediation of the French Ambassador at Arraw, on the following terms; viz. That the country of Baden, with the town, and those of Keyserthal, Klingnau, Bremgarten and Mellingen, should remain in full propriety to Bern and Zurich, provided that the Roman Catholicks in those towns and their dependencies should have the free exercise of their religion. That the Catholick Cantons should admit the Canton of Bern into the government of the common bailiwicks of Turgow, Rhintal, and Sargantz; and should yield for ever to the two Cantons aforesaid, the town of Rappersweil, the bridge on the lake of Zurich, and the village of Harden, with its appurtenances and dependencies; of which the neutral Cantons became guarantees. But the five Popish Cantons aforesaid have never had a good understanding with the Cantons of Zurich and Bern, since their yielding up these territories. On the contrary, they seem ready to call in the French, or any other power, to assist them, to be reveng'd of their enemies, without regarding what the consequences may be to their country.

#### CHAP. VI.

##### *Treats of the government of the Switzers.*

Government.

General Diets.

THE general Diet, which represents the Helvetic Body, consists of two Deputies from each Canton; besides which, the Abbot of St. Gall, and the cities of St. Gall and of Bienne send Deputies as allies; and a General Diet is usually held at Baden on the feast of St. JOHN BAPTIST annually, which seldom lasts longer than a month. The first Deputy of the Canton of Zurich presides at these Diets, proposing the matters to be debated, and collecting the votes, and performing all other acts proper for the President of an assembly. The Canton of Zurich hath the privilege of convoking the Diets by circular letters, wherein the reasons for assembling them are contain'd: And the Deputies of this Canton form the Abscheid, or result of their deli-

herations at the conclusion of the Diet, which are sent to every Canton; and these gentlemen are always the speakers when the Deputies of the Cantons are sent to compliment or treat with a foreign minister.

The matters consider'd of at a General Diet are either the accounts of the Governours of their common bailliages, or appeals from the sentences of such Governours in civil and criminal cases, the redressing the grievances of their common subjects, or composing the differences which may have arisen between the Cantons, and every thing else which may contribute to their mutual interest. And to this Diet the ministers of foreign Princes usually apply themselves, either by way of audience or memorial. The French Ambassador particularly never fails to attend the Diet, though he have nothing more than compliment to offer. But besides this Midsummer Diet, which meets of course, any one Canton may summon a Diet upon an extraordinary occasion; as may the minister of a foreign Prince, if he apprehends his master's affairs require it, and he will defray the charges of the Deputies; and there is seldom a year passes without one extraordinary Diet or more.

Besides these General Diets, their differences in religion have since the Reformation occasion'd partial Diets. The mutual confidence between the Cantons seems in some measure lost, through the zeal of each party for their particular opinions. This enters more or less into all their publick actions; and though their General Diets are still continued to regulate the affairs of their common bailliages, all other matters of importance are treated of at particular Diets of the respective religions; that of the Protestants being held at Arraw, and that of the Roman Catholicks at Lucern; which being the most potent Catholick Canton, acts as their head; as that of Zurich does as the head of the Protestants. These Diets are summon'd whenever either of the parties please; and our author rightly observes, that the thirteen Cantons do not make one commonwealth, but are so many independent States, united together by strict alliances for their mutual defence.

The first league amongst them reduced to writing was made between the three Cantons of Switz, Uri, and Underwald, after the victory of Moregarten abovemention'd, in the year 1315, by which each party stipulated to assist each other with all their force, against every power that should attack them; that none of them should enter into any treaty or alliance without the consent of the other; and that if any difference should arise between two of them, the third should decide it. About the year 1481, the eight old cantons enter'd into another alliance, to assist each other in defensive, but not in offensive wars; and it was agreed,



AP I. agreed, that the auxiliary troops should be maintain'd by the respective cantons which sent them; but if a siege was undertaken for the service of a particular Canton, such Canton should defray the particular charge of it: That no auxiliary Canton should be obliged to send their troops beyond the limits of Switzerland: That upon a difference between two Cantons, they should each of them chuse two arbitrators, who might elect an umpire to decide the matter, if they could not agree, and his sentence should be executed by all the Cantons. The five first Cantons also obliged themselves not to enter into any alliance without the consent of all five; but the three others reserv'd to themselves the liberty of entering into separate treaties, provided they were not prejudicial to the former alliance. Afterwards the eight old Cantons obliged themselves to assist each other in the support of their respective forms of government, and agreed upon a body of military laws to be observed by the whole nation; since which there has been no new alliance formed between them, though there are five other Cantons added to the old ones. Nor is there any act or instrument, according to the above-cited honourable author, whereby they are all incorporated into one body; no common civil judicature, which hath a right of obliging all the Cantons by its decisions; no common coin or treasure; but every Canton have these things distinct: each hath now a right of making particular treaties with foreign powers, and of sending and receiving publick ministers, and of doing all other acts of sovereignty separately from the other. And when the thirteen Cantons send Ambassadors to a foreign State, they never chuse one or two to represent them all, but each Canton sends its particular ministers, to shew its right of sovereignty. I proceed now to inquire into the several forms of government in the respective Cantons.

And first my author observes, that the government in some of the Cantons is aristocratical, and in others democratical. The seven aristocratical Cantons are those of Zurich, Bern, Lucern, Basil, Friburg, Soleure, and Schaffhausen; the other six are democratical. And this difference in their respective forms of government he conjectures to be the effect of the state each of them happen'd to be in, when they were erected into Cantons; for as each of the first kind consisted of one city, with very little territory belonging to it, the government naturally came to be lodg'd in the citizens only, and afterwards continued so, notwithstanding a large acquisition of country to their respective dominions: whereas the six democratical Cantons having no cities, but being divided into little communities, which had equal pretence to the sovereign power, they could scarce avoid falling into a popular frame. There is this far-

ther distinction to be made among the Cantons, which he denominates aristocratical, (though they are all equally so in relation to their subjects) namely, that the capital cities of some of the Cantons have the form of a democracy, as Zurich, Basil, and Schaffhausen, where the ordinary tradesmen, who are divided into tribes, have their share in the government, and may be elected by their tribes into the Sovereign Council; whereas in the cities of Bern, Lucern, Friburg, and Soleure, the Lesser Council, consisting of twenty-seven, joined with a smaller number of the Greater Council, have the sole right of filling up vacancies in the Sovereign Council; and these always chusing their friends and relations to fill these vacancies, the ordinary citizens have no share in the government.

In the Canton of Bern, which is much the most considerable, the legislative authority is lodg'd in the Great Council, consisting of two hundred and ninety-nine persons, when compleat; but as about ninety odd are usually absent on their respective governments, or other avocations, it is generally stiled the Council of two hundred. Out of the members of this Council is elected another called the Senate, or Lesser Council, consisting of twenty-seven Members, with their two Avoyers, who preside in both Councils annually by turns; and the two youngest of this assembly have also the title of Secret Counsellors; who, according to my author, resemble the Tribunes of the people in the Roman commonwealth, and summon the Great Council, whenever they apprehend any thing design'd which may be prejudicial to the liberties of the people, or upon any other emergency.

This Senate have the executive power, and meet every day of the week, except Sundays. The Great Council assemble but twice a week, unless upon extraordinary occasions. Peace and war, alliances, the publick treasure, and all civil employments of importance, are in the disposal of the Great Council; and all ecclesiastical employments, and some inferiour civil offices, are in the gift of the Senate. When the Great Council assemble, the Senate constitute a part of it, or rather is lost in the Great Council, having no existence while that is assembled.

The vacancies in the Great Council are filled up by the Senate, and sixteen Members of the Great Council, called Seizeniers from their number, who are chosen out of the old Bailiffs, that is, such as have enjoyed a government or bailliage the whole term of six years. But for the better understanding of this office of Seizenier, it is necessary to premise, that in the city of Bern there are twelve companies, or abbeys, as they are called, viz. four greater, and eight less; and in one of these companies, every citizen, whether



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gentleman or tradesman, is obliged to enroll himself, that he may be qualified to be a member of the Council of two hundred, or to enjoy any other place of trust in the government; and the head or chief of any of these companies is called the Seizenier; the great companies having each of them two, and the lesser one, which makes the number sixteen. When a new Seizenier is to be elected, all the old Bailiffs, who are out of office, meet in their respective abbeys, and the matter is determined by lot; for as many balls are put into a bag as there are candidates for the office, one of them of gold, and the rest of silver, and he that happens upon the golden ball is the Seizenier. And these Seizeniers are usually chosen a little before the vacancies in the Great Council are filled up, and continue in their office till another promotion is made, which is seldom above once in nine or ten years. These Seizeniers take care of the affairs of their respective companies, and see that nothing be transacted to their prejudice. They represent the grievances of the citizens to the Council, propose the making or repealing of laws, and in conjunction with the four Banderets, or Standard-bearers, (of whom hereafter) are empower'd for three days before Easter annually, when all other employments in the State are suspended, to inquire into the behaviour of every minister and officer in the government, and to deprive him of his employment or place in the Great or Lesser Council. But in case of an expulsion of any member from the Great Council, the sentence must be confirm'd by that Council, though they may expel a member of the Senate or Lesser Council absolutely, there being no appeal in that case. Having thus explain'd the office of a Seizenier, my author continues to relate the manner of filling up the vacancies in the Great Council, which is seldom done till there are fourscore or an hundred vacant places; the reason of which delay is said to be, that they may have an opportunity at the same time of satisfying a great number of persons; but indeed that the remaining members of the Great Council may have the fewer competitors for bailliages and places of trust, for which none but the members of that Council are qualified. Those who are entitled to chuse members of the Great Council, as hath been observed already, being the Senate, or Lesser Council, and the sixteen Seizeniers, every one of whom has the privilege of naming a member, and the two Avoyers, or Presidents two a-piece; great court is made to them by the candidates. The Chancellor and Gressier also are allowed each of them to name one: and the Commissary-General, and some other great officers, claim a right of being elected, as they usually are; so that there are always about fifty who have some assurance of being elected. The rest of the candidates are chosen by a plurality

of voices; and the only qualification required is, that he be a member of one of the aforesaid companies, and enter'd into the thirty-third year of his age.

Nothing is more common than for an Elector to name his eldest son, if he be qualified; and if he be not, he has an opportunity of marrying his daughter well, by giving his vote for her lover, which is sometimes her only portion, and not a bad one, as it entitles the son-in-law to a bailliage. It is very merry upon this occasion, as my author observes, to see numbers of passionate lovers starting up in three or four days time, and pretending all the devotion imaginable for their mistresses, whom they have scarce ever seen; for there is not three days difference between the choice of the Seizeniers and the election of the members of the Great Council; and till the Seizeniers are appointed, they can't tell to whom to apply to. The first visits therefore which a Seizenier receives after his election, are from persons who pretend to be passionately smitten with his fair daughter, if he have no son, and the match is almost as soon concluded as proposed, when the father meets with a man to his mind, which he seldom misses of: for as it is necessary towards the making a man's fortune in this republick, that he be a member of the Great Council, those of the wealthiest and best families frequently attempt to come into it this way, when others fail. Thus 'tis evident, that the vacancies in the Great Council are constantly filled up with the relations and friends of the remaining members; and consequently the government is lodged in some few great families, the ordinary citizens being excluded from any share in it, unless they have the good fortune to be chosen by a majority, after the relations and dependants of the Great Council are provided for, which is but a remote prospect. And as they are excluded from this assembly, so are they by consequence from all places of profit and trust in the government; these being reserved only for the members of this great body, as hath been intimated already.

The members of the Senate, or Lesser Council, are upon a vacancy elected by the Great Council out of their own body, with this restriction, that neither the father and son, nor two brothers, can be of the Senate at the same time: and these vacancies in the Senate are filled up as soon as the deceased Senator is buried; but in the great one, as hath been observed, they wait till there be fourscore or an hundred vacancies, which is usually nine or ten years.

The great officers of State in this republick are,  
1. The two Avoyers, as the French stile them, or Schultheissen, as the Germans call them, whose employments are for life, but they exercise them by turns annually. The person in office, who is called the Reigning Avoyer, presides both in the greater and lesser Council, proposes the matters to be debated there, and keeps the seals which are put to all



AP. all acts of state, and to him all persons apply, who have any business to transact in either Council; and the Avoyer out of office only takes place as first Senator till the year is expired, when he takes the seals and resumes his authority in his turn: and though these are very honourable posts, and they have a great influence on all affairs of State, the profits of them are but small, not amounting to three hundred pounds a year. The next great officers are the Bandarets, or Standard-Bearers of the city, which being divided into four wards, the citizens rendezvous under their colours in their respective precincts; and their places are for life, but the profits do not yield each of them more than an hundred pounds per annum. Their authority was formerly much greater, when with the Seizeniers they had the election of the members of the Great Council, but this privilege they are now deprived of. The next great officers are the two Treasurers; one called the Treasurer of the German country, and the other of the Pais de Vaud or Roman, who receive the revenues of their respective districts, and continue in their office for six years; these are the most profitable employments in the State, and as my author observes, those who have the management of the publick money, will always find means to enrich themselves in spite of the best regulations. The next great officer is the Superintendant of the publick buildings: and these nine are always given to Senators, as a reward of their faithful services to the publick. The other offices of any importance, such as Chancellor, Greffier, Commissary, &c. are enjoy'd by members of the Great Council, and some inferiour employments by the ordinary citizens; but it is very seldom that a citizen, who is not of the Great Council, comes into a place of considerable profit.

And thus having treated of the government and magistracy in the city of Bern, our author proceeds to those of the country; where he observes, that the whole Canton is divided into seventy-two bailliages, govern'd by as many Bailiffs, who are members of the Great Council, and changed every six years. These Bailiffs are invested with the civil as well as the military power in their respective districts; being generals of the militia, and supreme magistrates in civil and criminal causes, and though they have their associates in the courts of justice, the Bailiff only has the authority of pronouncing sentence. In civil causes indeed, where the thing in dispute is of consequence, there lies an appeal to the courts of appeal at Bern, where one is establish'd for the German country, and the other for the Pais de Vaud, and in capital cases the sentence must be ratified by the Great Council. And from the court of appeals for the German country there still lies an appeal to the Great Council; but those of the Pais de Vaud, 'tis

said, are deprived of this privilege, as being naturally so litigious, that there would be no end of their contentions, if they were indulged in it.

These bailliages are so profitable, that the Bailiff may make a tolerable figure during his six years government, and in some of them lay up five or six thousand pounds, which in a country where all superfluities in equipage and cloathing are retrenched, and every thing husbanded to the greatest advantage, is a considerable sum, as my author observes; and as these are the principal employments by which they hope to make their fortunes, all their views are turn'd that way; and while the election to them was determined by open votes, all manner of corruption and servile compliances were practis'd in order to obtain them; which being found to have an ill effect on the publick affairs, the way of balloting for them was introduced, till they found a way of discovering, who voted for them and who against them, notwithstanding this caution; and consequently the same dependance on the leading men, and the same enmities among themselves were observed as before: whereupon it was agreed in the year 1710, that all employments should be disposed of by lot; and accordingly as many balls are put into a bag as there are competitors, one of which being gilt, he that draws it hath the bailliage. But the posts of Avoyer, Banderet, Treasurer, and Senator, are still disposed of by ballot; it being ridiculous, as my author observes, to leave the appointment of the chief officers in the State to meer chance. No batchelor can be a candidate for any bailliage or place of profit, nor can a man's own relations, or his wife's, to the degree of second cousins inclusive, give a suffrage for him in any case. The members of the Great Council and Senate, as well as the two Avoyers and four Bandarets, have their places for life, as hath been intimated already; unless they have been guilty of some notorious crime, or committed an act of bankruptcy; in which cases they may be degraded. The rest of the publick employments are held for six years, except those of Secretaries to the Council, and some other posts, where long experience is required, which the possessors seldom leave but for some good bailliage; and the Chancellor's employment is of late limited to twelve years, but in lieu of it he hath the choice of any bailliage. Formerly when a person had enjoy'd a good bailliage for his term of six years, he would immediately lay in for another, by which means some few of the leading men ingrossed all the valuable bailliages in their families; wherefore in the new regulation for disposing of them by lot, it was provided, that the bailliages should be divided into five classes, according to their reputed value; and any person, who hath enjoy'd a bailliage, is disabled standing for another bailliage, but in the two lowest classes, and that



CHAP. there should be an interval of seven years between his quitting one bailliage and his being promoted to another; and even then he must wave his pretensions, if any of the Great Council, who have never had one, pretend to it. There is very little profit arises to the members of the Great Council, some small allowances of corn and wood only for the use of their families, but it is coveted however as the only road to preferment. The salary of a senator is about three hundred crowns per ann. including his perquisites; and yet they serve the publick with that diligence and fidelity, that their whole time is taken up in the discharge of their offices.

Altho' the executive power be in a great measure lodg'd in the Senate, there are however councils appointed for several branches of business, who are all members of the Great Council; the most considerable of which, is that of the Secret Council, consisting of the Avoyer out of office, who is President, the four Banderets, the two Treasurers, and the two Secret Counsellors; to whom all matters of state which require secrecy are referr'd, and they are empower'd to act in many cases for the publick good without communicating the affair to the Great Council, tho' when the danger is over their determinations must be ratified by it.

The Chamber of Banderets is the next council, where the accounts of the bailiffs and all other officers of state are examin'd, and consists only of the four Banderets, and the two treasurers, who preside by turns. Besides these there is a consistory, consisting of more of the laity than of the clergy; for the laity are supreme here, as in many other states, in causes ecclesiastical. This court takes cognizance of matrimonial contracts, adultery, fornication, and other offences against good manners; but as the adulterer was formerly punished with death for the first fact, it must now be the third before they proceed capitally against him; and for the first and second he is only punished by fine and imprisonment, and made incapable of any publick employment.

Another chamber or council is appointed to see the sumptuary laws put in execution, in which they are very severe; not only because it is of great consequence to the state to have these laws duly observ'd, but because the fines come into the judges pockets, as my author observes. And there is a court of justice in the city of Bern, where both civil and criminal causes are try'd in the first instance, besides the two courts of appeals already mention'd; an officer is President of this ordinary court, call'd by the Germans the *Gross Weibel* and by the French the *Gros Sautier*, to whom the preservation of the publick peace is committed, and who is empower'd to punish all offences against it. These are the standing councils in Bern, the members of all which are members of the Great Council, except the clergy of the con-

fistory: And besides these, upon any great emergency, a particular council or committee is appointed to inquire into the matter, which is dissolv'd as soon as the business referr'd to them is at an end.

The form of government in the Cantons of Lucern, Friburg, and Soleure, differs little from that of Bern, only the Great Council at Lucern consists but of an hundred members, and the Senate of thirty-five. As to the three cities of Zurich, Basil, and Schaffhausen, the capitals of the three Cantons, to which they communicate their names; the citizens of each are divided into twelve or more tribes, and each of these tribes hath its quota of members both in the Great Council and in the Senate: In Zurich particularly each tribe hath twelve members in the Great Council, and four in the Senate, or Lesser Council, which numbers are always compleat, the vacancies being immediately fill'd up when there are any; not by a new choice of the tribe the deceas'd member was of, but by the remaining fifteen representatives of that tribe; by which means the body of the people have now very little share in chusing their representatives either in the Great Council or the Senate; but this is said to be an encroachment on their privileges. There is still another difference between the form of government in these three Cantons, and that of Bern, namely, that the Senate in each of these cities consists of fifty persons, besides the two Avoyers, or Burghermasters, whereas that of Bern has but twenty-five members besides the two Avoyers; tho' but half of these, 'tis true, are in office at one time, for each of them govern their six Months by turns, unless in cases of judicature, when all the fifty are assembled. Here our author takes an opportunity of considering some of those maxims which are most in vogue in Switzerland, and other popular governments: As, a well-regulated militia, in opposition to a standing army of mercenary troops: Equal agrarian laws, that one or a few families may not so far exceed the other in riches and power, as to endanger the publick liberty: And lastly, an equal rotation of magistracy, that each may have his share of the power and profits of the government in his turn; which are all observ'd in the seven Cantons already mention'd. But of the first, the militia, I shall speak in another place. As to the second, an equal agrarian law, it appears that all their children, both male and female, by their constitution inherit an equal part of their ancestors substance, only the father hath a power of disposing by his will of one third part of his estate to which of his sons he pleases; so that the greatest estates are soon split into small parcels, and thereby an equality of power, in some measure, preserv'd among the people. And there cannot be a more equal rotation among the magistrates, who are most of them

changed



H A P. VI. changed every six years : from whence my author infers, that the Sovereigns of these Cantons have little reason to apprehend any intestine division among themselves. But then, as the supreme councils have gradually deprived their fellow-citizens of many privileges, and the principal families still endeavour to engross the government to themselves ; they are in danger of insurrections from the people, and have felt them more than once in some of their cities ; nor is there any way to satisfy the body of the citizens, as the same gentleman apprehends, but by taking a greater number of them into the administration. In relation to their subjects, it is observ'd, that the government of these seven Cantons is very unequal, for the sovereign power is lodg'd only in the citizens of the capital city of each Canton, out of whom the members of the Great Council are chosen, and these only are qualified for places of profit or trust, so that the rest of the Canton are excluded from all possibility of sharing in the government ; and this was not unreasonable at the first establishment of these commonwealths, who had then little or no territory beyond the walls of their cities : but now their dominions are so far extended, and comprehend many good towns and villages, if the inhabitants of these are not indulg'd with some share in the administration, it is apprehended they may one day endeavour to set up for themselves, or transfer their allegiance to some neighbouring Prince or State. This inequality is most visible in the Canton of Berne, which makes above a third part of Switzerland, where about fourscore families have engrossed the whole government to themselves. I have seen, says the same honourable writer, within the space of eight years, civil commotions in Geneva, Lucern and Zurich, occasion'd by the discontents of the citizens with their governours, for retrenching their privileges and engrossing the power to themselves, which have generally ended in a redress of their grievances. And it is observed of late years, that the citizens of these cities generally gain ground of the government, and compel them to reinstate them in such privileges as they have taken from them : and if these discontents arise in the capitals of these little states, where the subject does not lie under such incapacities and disadvantages as in the countries under their dominion ; our author infers, they may more justly be apprehended in the country, where the inequality of the government is still greater, as the extent of the territory is so. But in this I must take the liberty to differ from him ; for people who have never enjoy'd any share in the government, are not so liable to mutiny at being kept out of the administration, as those who have been deprived of their part in it : nor are they so capable of fomenting an insurrection in the country where they lie dispers'd, as in cities, where a multitude of malecontents may assemble in a moment, and get to a head before the government can be prepared to suppress them ; especially in places where there is no standing army, and the mob are as good soldiers as the militia ; or rather, where the militia are form'd out of the mob. But what is look'd upon as a great security to the government of the Cantons is, that they impose very moderate taxes on their subjects, which are frequently the source of popular discontents. And a further security to them is, that all the Cantons are mutually obliged to assist each other in the support of their respective forms of government. But our author inclines to think, that neither of these securities can be much relied on : For, first he observ'd, that the subjects thought no mildness of the government cou'd make them amends for being excluded any share in it : And as to mutual assistance, it is not only a dangerous experiment to call in strangers to pacify domestic commotions, but it happens in this case, that the Protestants and Papists have so little affection for each other, that they would do but very little for the preservation of those of a different persuasion in religion : And they are in general so jealous of the overgrown power of the Canton of Bern, that they would be glad to see it weaken'd.

I proceed now to inquire into the form of government in those six Cantons, where there are no great cities, viz Switz, Underwald, Uri, Zug, Glaris and Appenzel ; and these, it seems, are all of them democratical : for each of these Cantons being divided into districts, according to their extent, some twelve, others six, and others four ; each district or community, in some respects, appears to be an independent sovereignty ; for in these they have both civil and criminal judicatories, in which the rest of the Canton cannot interpose, and from whence there lies no appeal. But in the management of the publick affairs, every district having chosen a deputy or representative, they assemble at some certain place, and form a standing council of the Canton ; and where the matter to be debated is of great importance, they send each of them two or three representatives, but still they have but a limited authority ; for according to my author, the supreme legislative power remains in the diffusive body of the people ; every male in the country upwards of sixteen years of age, and every servant as well as his master, having an equal share in the sovereignty. But these assemblies do not usually meet more than once or twice a year to chuse their magistrates, and their representatives to be sent to the general diets ; tho' they may be convoked at other times, as there is occasion to give their consents to such acts as require their concurrence. The first officer in these Cantons is called Land-Aman, and is

Form of government in the lesser Cantons.



CHAP. chosen in a full assembly of the people, who always express their consent by holding up their hands. His office resembles that of an Avoyer, or Burgher-master; but is changed in some of these Cantons every year, and in others every two years. He is President both of their standing Council and General Assemblies, and hath the chief direction of all publick affairs, with the advice of the council. So soon as the Land-Aman is chosen, the people elect him a deputy, who is call'd Stat-Halter, and acts in the absence of the other. They proceed also to choose Treasurers, Secretaries, and other Officers of state in the same manner, who continue in their posts a longer or shorter time, according to the customs of the respective Cantons; but though every member of the Canton seems to have an equal share in the government of it, it appears they are generally govern'd in their determinations by the gentry, to whom they pay a particular regard. On the other hand, if they apprehend they have been led into schemes that are destructive to their country by designing men, they never fail to punish the authors of such advice with the utmost severity.

I shall conclude this head with some of Mr. ADDISON's remarks on the government of the Switzers. He observes, that their constitution is extremely well adapted to the poverty and barrenness of their climate: That the misery of being subject to a despotic Prince, in a country composed of rocks and mountains, is sufficiently evident from the governments in their neighbourhood, where, notwithstanding their lands are much better than those of the Swiss, the people are in greater want of the necessaries and conveniences of life. A Prince's court, he remarks, eats too far into the income of a poor state, and introduces various kinds of luxury, which are not consistent with a narrow fortune. If the vanity of dress, balls and entertainments were as common in the Cantons as they are in France, their military roughness would soon be lost, their tempers grow too soft for their climate, and their expences out-run their revenues; and as the materials for their luxury must be imported from abroad, their country, which has few commodities to export against them, and but very little treasure to answer the balance, would infallibly be ruin'd. (What follows is as applicable to a mix'd government as to a republick: I cou'd wish the words were written with a sun-beam, and never out of my country-men's view, who seem to be plunging themselves into the greatest excesses of all kinds that ever any people were guilty of, and which must naturally draw on them inevitable destruction, if not suddenly remedied.) The words are these: "Luxury wounds a republick in its very vitals, as its natural consequences are rapine,

"avarice and injustice; for the more money a man spends, the more must he endeavour to augment his stock; which at last sets the liberty and votes of a commonwealth to sale, if they find any foreign power (or ambitious nation) that is able to pay the price of them." ADDISON's Travels, p. 384. It is no wonder therefore, he adds, that the poor commonwealths of Switzerland endeavour to suppress every thing that may introduce vanity and luxury; that they prohibit gaming, balls, and all extravagancies of dress; and that their magistrates in their publick assemblies appear in the plainest garb imaginable, to set an example to the rest. Persons of different qualities indeed are distinguish'd by their ornaments, but they are such as may be purchased at a very moderate price: a great officer, for example, is known by the depth of his hat-crown; and their holiday-clothes, which have an appearance of finery, go from father to son, being seldom worn out in two or three generations. 'Tis an ordinary thing to see a man of substance wear the breeches and doublet of his great-grandfather; and their peasants are clothed in a coarse kind of canvass, the manufacture of the country.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Treats of their revenues and forces.*

AS neither the product or trade of Switzerland are considerable, the publick revenues are not large, if compared with those of other kingdoms and states: but if we compare their income with their expences, as my author observes, some of these republicks cannot be esteem'd poor; for tho' their annual revenue be small, the charges of the government is less, and they lay up something every year, which in a long tract of time, furnishes them with a considerable treasure: and it is observed to be one advantage that a commonwealth has of a monarchy, that the former are generally better husbands of their treasure, not throwing it away upon their pleasures or passions as Princes usually do, and saving the expences of courts and guards, and other glittering sopperies, stiled by some the embroider'd part of the government. The little popular Cantons indeed have scarce any publick revenues, but tax themselves voluntarily, according to the exigency of their affairs; and if they happen at any time to have a thousand pounds in their treasure, they will agree to divide it among the several communities the Canton is composed of, if the publick has no present occasion for it: though at the same time they protest against the practice for the future. But the commonwealths in Switzerland which may be esteem'd rich, are those which



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have cities for their capitals, and among these the revenues of the Protestant Cantons exceed those of the Catholick republicks, being possess'd of the church-lands, which they seized at the reformation, the profits whereof are appropriated to the service of the government, except a small part of them which are reserved for the maintenance of the clergy. The revenues of the Catholick Cantons with cities, viz. of Lucern, Soleure and Friburg, are so inconsiderable, that after the annual expences of the government are defrayed, there remains but a very small sum to be laid up in the publick treasury; even the little Cantons of Bazil and Schaffhausen, though of a much smaller extent, are richer than these three Catholick Cantons, and always have a considerable sum in their treasury. But the two wealthiest Cantons are those of Zurich and Bern, the former of which, by the advantage of its trade, is the richer, in proportion to the extent of its territories; but Bern is so much larger, that the revenues of this Canton are supposed to amount to as much more as the former.

The several branches of the publick revenue in the Canton of Bern, are, 1. The profits of the demefn lands which belong to the State. 2. The tenths of the produce of all the lands in the country. 3. A certain tax upon lands which are not the property of the gentry, called in French, *Cenfes Foncieres*. 4. Customs and duties on merchandize. And, 5. the revenue arising from the sale of salt. From the first of these branches arise great quantities of corn and wine, which the State lays up in magazines in the several bailiages, and sells to the people in times of scarcity. From the second, consisting of the tenths of the fruits of the earth, they raise considerable sums in so large an extent of country as this Canton contains, none being exempted, except some few seigneuries of the gentry. From the third, which is a tax on such lands as are not in the possession of the gentry, they levy about twenty pence an acre. From the fourth branch, consisting of duties on merchandize, they raise but little, the duties being very moderate, and their trade but inconsiderable: but from the fifth branch, arising by the sale of salt, they raise great sums, for the States alone retail it to the subject, and impose what price they please. There is another casual tax arising from the sale of all estates, the Sovereign being entitled to a sixth part of the value upon every alienation. What may be the just amount of all these taxes my author does not attempt to determine; only observes, that as their revenues consist chiefly in the sale of corn and wine, these are more or less, according to the price such things bear; and as the State sells none in plentiful seasons, it may happen that several years together little or no money is laid up

in the treasury: and on the other hand, they may lay up in one year the increase of many. Our author relates, that when he resided amongst them, namely, about the year 1712, the Canton of Bern, had three hundred thousand pounds out at interest, which, he was credibly inform'd, did not amount to a sixth part of what then remain'd in their treasury. That those who pretended to guess at the annual revenues of Bern and Zurich, lay the first at three hundred thousand crowns per annum, and the other at an hundred and fifty, whereof they compute about two thirds are expended in the ordinary and extraordinary charges of the government, by which computation Bern lays up an hundred thousand crowns a year, and Zurich fifty: but this he observes is meer conjecture, and chuses therefore to leave the amount of their revenues undetermin'd. As to the three Catholick Cantons with cities, namely, those of Lucern, Soleure and Friburg, though their revenues will do little more than discharge the necessary expences of the government, yet that little overplus it seems puts them in a condition of maintaining a small number of troops every year for three or four months: but the two small Cantons of Bazil and Schaffhausen are better provided with treasure than any of the three Catholick Cantons. And it is very necessary that these republicks should always have some money in bank, for they have no extraordinary ways and means of raising money upon an emergency, as other States have: the imposing new taxes on the breaking out of a war, are impracticable here, the greater part of the subjects on whom they should be levied, being employ'd in their militia. And though the people might be willing to contribute what is in their power for their necessary defence, they would not be able to maintain a war of any long continuance; and especially the little Cantons, who have no treasure in bank when the war breaks out, cannot expect that their militia should long remain together at their own expence.

Standing forces have ever been thought inconsistent with the welfare of these republicks since their first institution; but there is no where in Europe a better-regulated militia: with these they have from time to time maintain'd their liberty against all the attempts of the house of Austria and France; and during the long wars they had with those powers, were esteem'd excellent soldiers, tho' they never kept the field the year round, but when the campaign was ended used to return to their respective dwellings. The Cantons having continued now upwards of two hundred years in peace with all their neighbours, and having had no wars but among themselves on account of religion, which have not been very frequent, their troops are not esteem'd equal to what

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CHAP. VII. what they were formerly. Almost the only religious disputes which have occasion'd a rupture amongst them, are those in 1531, in 1656, and in 1712. In the two former of which the Catholick Cantons gain'd great advantages of the Protestants; but in the third, which lasted but four months, the Protestants broke the power of the Catholick Cantons, and would have made an entire conquest of them, if the Catholick Princes in their neighbourhood had not threatned to interpose in the quarrel. My author is of opinion, that the present Switzers are not at all degenerated from their ancestors in point of bravery, the troops of that nation in foreign service having behaved to the satisfaction of every power that employ'd them in the late war; and that the charge of their being degenerated amounts to no more than this, That the forces which are newly raised amongst them, and have not been exercised with constant war, as their ancestors were, require some time to discipline them before they can be a match for veteran troops. The reasons usually given by these people against maintaining a body of standing forces, are, 1. That it would endanger their liberties. 2. That very few of the Cantons are able to maintain such a body of troops as would secure them against an invasion. And, 3. That a standing army maintain'd by any of the Cantons in time of peace, would create a jealousy in the rest, and induce the neighbouring Princes to interpose, and oblige them to disband such forces. Therefore to maintain their civil governments in perfect freedom and independance, and to avoid giving jealousy to their neighbours, and that they may be provided with a bank of money in case a war should break out; they think it conducive to their prosperity to be without a standing army, and depend upon their militia, who are regulated in the following manner:

Every male from sixteen to sixty is enrolled, and about one third of them regimented under the titles of Fuzileers and Electionaries; and out of the other two thirds these are from time to time recruited. The Fuzileers are all unmarried men, of a good size, and in the flower of their age, always ready to march at an hour's warning. The Electionaries are married men, but of an age and size fit for service. Every regiment of Fuzileers consists of ten companies, and every regiment of Electionaries of twelve, besides Staff-officers; there being in each company of Fuzileers an hundred and ten men, and in a company of Electionaries two hundred and eighteen, including officers of all kinds. Every soldier provides his own arms, but all are of one make, and of the newest fashion, there being an officer called the Commissioner of arms, who inspects their arms and mounting, and punishes those who are

not conformable to the standard. They have also of late introduced an uniformity of cloathing, being all grey cloth, with facings of different colours to distinguish the regiments: and having found that horse are of little use in this mountainous country, they have converted all their horse into dragoons, except that in the Canton of Bern they have one regiment of Cuirassiers, which their vassals maintain at their own expence. There are ten troops in every regiment of dragoons of sixty men each, and the horses as well as arms are of the soldiers providing, none being admitted into the dragoons but substantial farmers, who are always furnish'd with horses for their husbandry. And tho' neither horse nor foot receive pay while they remain at home, yet as soon as they take the field, their pay is settled after the following manner, double pay being allow'd to the officers the first month, to enable them to provide their equipage.

The pay of the Field and Staff-Officers per month.

|                      | <i>French Livres.</i> |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| A Colonel per month  | 240                   |
| A Lieutenant Colonel | 180                   |
| Major                | 165                   |
| Aid Major            | 75                    |
| Adjutant             | 48                    |
| Chaplain             | 75                    |
| Surgeon              | 48                    |
| Clerk                | 24                    |
| Prevot               | 18                    |
| <hr/>                |                       |
| Total                | 873                   |

The pay of a company per month.

|                      | <i>French Livres.</i> |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| A Captain per month  | 120                   |
| A Captain Lieutenant | 90                    |
| Lieutenant           | 75                    |
| Second Lieutenant    | 60                    |
| Ensign               | 48                    |
| Serjeant             | 15                    |
| Each under officer.  | 12                    |
| Each Corporal        | 8                     |
| Each Drum and Fife   | 7                     |
| Each Appointee       | 7                     |
| Each Soldier         | 6                     |

There is only this difference between the pay of the Fuzileers, Electionaries and Dragoons, namely that the Dragoon-Officers are supplied with forage *gratis*, and the Foot-Officers pay for it; and the private dragoon has six-pence a day and ammunition-bread, while the foot-soldier hath two-pence a day deducted out of the six-pence for his ammunition-bread. Every Field-Officer in both hath two servants paid by the State on the foot



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In the magazine of Bern there is always an entire new set of arms for all the militia of the Canton, besides those that are in common use; and there is a third set for the militia of every bailliage, kept in the castle where the Bailiff or Governour resides; where there is also laid up a sum amounting to three months pay for the whole militia of the bailliage, which money was raised upon the several communities for this purpose many years since, and is still reserved for any pressing occasion, not having been touched by the State during the last war, nor cannot be disposed of without the consent of the several communities, since the chief of each has a key of this little treasury, and the Bailiff another.

The Canton of Bern have also a very fine train of artillery in their capital, ready to march upon the shortest warning; besides a great number of cannon in the castles where their Bailiffs reside: and for the service of their artillery they have three companies of cannoneers, and one of bombardeers, consisting of an hundred men each, with proper officers, who are in constant pay, and commanded by the Waggon-Master-General. Every community is taxed to furnish the necessary horses and waggons for the use of the train and army, and know the proportion which they are to send, getting them ready upon the least notice. There belongs also to the train an hundred and twenty men of several trades, as carpenters, smiths, wheelwrights, &c. and to these is added a company of guides, actually listed, with their Captain, Lieutenant and other Officers, who have a perfect knowledge of the country.

They have no General or Commander in chief in time of peace; the principal military Officer in the Canton of Bern is the President of the council of war. Nor do they fill up the posts of Secretary of war, Commissioners of victualling, Treasurer, Quarter-masters, Grand Prevot, and others, till the army is ready to take the field. And whenever a General is appointed for any expedition, there are several deputies of the Statesmen of the greatest rank and experience appointed to accompany him, and be a check upon him, who can undertake nothing of consequence without their consent; but the General with these deputies disposes of all military employments in the field, which in time of peace are in the gift of the Great Council.

For the better disciplining of these troops in the Canton of Bern, which is divided into eight districts, there is an officer called the Grand Major in every one of them, who takes care that all the militia, as well those that are regimented as others, be in a constant readiness to march; and that their arms, ammunition and cloathing be in a good condition: for which end he often takes his rounds, visiting both officers and soldiers, and drawing them out at least once a year for a general review. He hath also an officer under him in every bailliage, who rides from one community to another, and exercises the soldiers every Sunday and Holiday after divine service, and sees that their arms and accoutrements be in order, and punishes the neglect of them. There are also butts erected in every community, where on certain days of the year they meet to shoot at a mark; and the cannoneers do the same with their great guns and mortars.

And for the readier assembling of their militia, there are signals in the most conspicuous places of every bailliage, which consist of wood and straw, with which they make fires in the night-time, or a smoke in the day; and at every one of these signals is a Corporal, with a constant guard of six men, who set fire to the combustible matters on the approach of an enemy, or whenever they observe any other signals lighted, whereupon the whole body of the militia run to their arms, and march to the appointed rendezvous. And what renders them much better disciplined than the militia of other nations, is, the custom of the young fellows to serve three or four years in the Swiss troops abroad, after which their officers are obliged to permit them to return home; so that a good part of their militia have actually been in some foreign service, and may therefore well be look'd upon as regular troops, who being intermix'd with the rest, soon make them as expert as themselves. What number of forces these republicks can raise, my author does not determine; but observes, that in the late war between the Protestant and Popish Cantons, the Canton of Bern had forty thousand men in the field, and the Canton of Zurich twenty thousand, tho' only the regimented troops were rais'd; and these, as hath been intimated already, make but a third part of their militia. The same establishment which is observed in the Canton of Bern, is generally practised in all the other Protestant Cantons; but those of the Catholics are not always in a condition to furnish their magazines with corn and other necessaries proper for an army when it takes the field.

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*Treats of their trade and manufactures.*

Trade.

THE Switzers export scarce any merchandize to foreign countries, except horses, black cattle, butter and cheese. The French take off great numbers of their horses in time of war for remounting their cavalry, insomuch, that my author assures us, he has known ten thousand horses bought in this county by the French in the space of a year for the use of their army. And the King of Sardinia in the late wars had Swiss horses for his dragoons and artillery, but those of Germany for remounting his cavalry. Great numbers are also sold into the Milanese, and other parts of Lombardy, for their coaches. They dispose of great numbers of their black cattle in Italy, and their cheeses in most countries of Europe. These commodities are common to all the Cantons; but the towns where manufactures may be said to flourish, if compared with the rest, are those of Zurich, Basil, Schaffhausen and St. Gall. Zurich is considerable for a manufacture of crape, which they have brought to some perfection, and export in great quantities. The town of St. Gall is as famous for its linnen, which, tho' much inferior to that of Holland, is afforded cheaper, and worn by the gentry as well as common people. Basil and Schaffhausen are not distinguish'd for any particular kind of manufacture, but lie mighty convenient for a foreign trade, as they are situated upon the frontiers of the Empire; for here they have the opportunity of exchanging the merchandizes of France, Italy and Germany, which brings no small profit to the inhabitants, many of whom are considerable merchants. The rest of the towns of Switzerland enjoy only a little retail trade.

As to their importations, having neither corn or wine sufficient of their own growth, to supply their necessities, they are forced to be obliged to their neighbours for them, and are supplied chiefly from Suabia and the Milanese. Their salt is imported from Tyrol, Franche Comte and Bavaria, with which countries the Sovereigns of each Canton enter into treaties to be supplied at a certain price, and make great advantages by retailing it out again to their subjects. A salt-pit indeed has lately been discover'd in the Canton of Bern, but it does not yet afford any thing considerable. And as there are scarce any manufactures of silk, wool, or hair, in Switzerland, all their clothing of these kinds is also imported from

abroad, except a very coarse sort of woollen stuffs, <sup>CHAP. VII</sup> which their peasants wear. Their mechanicks also are such bunglers, that the better sort of people usually send for their common utensils from other countries. From all which it is evident, that their importations much exceed their exportations, and their country consequently grows poorer every day. According to my author, the species of gold and silver are scarce seen in publick commerce, which proceeds in some measure, as he observes, from the coin being hoarded up by those Cantons who have publick treasuries, which for want of circulation is lost to the country, and for want of securities to place their money out at interest upon, which obliges them to send it to foreign banks, when they have any, whereby the country is deprived of the use of it. The balance of trade therefore being much against the Switzers, their governours to prevent the consumption of foreign goods as much as possible, have endeavour'd to retrench all superfluities in clothing and furniture by sumptuary laws, which prohibit the wearing of gold, silver, jewels, silks, and thread-lace, and whatever else is more chargeable than useful in dress; only the women are a little indulged in the wearing silks at weddings and on festivals, and on some other solemn occasions: but altho' this hinders the mischief from increasing, it is by no means a compleat remedy. Nothing, as my author observes, can prevent the exportation of their coin, but the establishing manufactures in their country, which may serve at least for their own consumption; and though they have no good wool or silk of their own growth, they may however be supplied with these on moderate terms by their neighbours. When the French Refugees left their country upon the revocation of the edict of Nantz, it seems many of them retired into Switzerland, and endeavour'd to establish several manufactures there; but not being encouraged or protected by the government, and persecuted by the natives, who would not suffer a foreigner to exercise any trade in their cities, the French Protestants found themselves under a necessity of removing into other countries; whereby, as my author observes, the Protestant Cantons lost the best opportunity they are ever like to have of erecting profitable manufactures in their country: as long as their citizens have the privilege of hindring foreigners from exercising trades amongst them, and are such indifferent artists themselves, there is very little hopes of seeing manufactures flourish among them, or a foreign trade carried on to any advantage.



## C H A P. IX.

*Treats of the religion of the Switzers.*

they only banish their brethren of a different sect, and permit them to sell their estates. CHAP. IX.

By these wholesome severities the Swiss Calvinists glory, that they have maintain'd almost a constant uniformity in their worship ever since the reformation, tho' they have not been totally free from sectaries; for in the Canton of Bern two sects arose, the one call'd Pietists, and the other Anabaptists. The first did not advance any particular doctrines which were not profess'd by the establish'd church; but pretended to a greater sanctity of life and purity of manners than their neighbours, and distinguish'd themselves by absenting from the publick worship, either on pretence of their unworthiness to approach the house of God, or that they could not edify by the discourses of worldly-minded men, whose lives were a contradiction to their doctrines. They make a covenant with all their senses not to indulge them in any pleasure, even to shun the smell of a rose or violet, and to turn away their eyes from every beautiful object: To avoid as much as possible what the world calls innocent pleasures, lest their affections should be tainted by any sensuality, and diverted from the love of him, who is the only hope and comfort of their beings. But their enemies, it seems, charg'd them with spiritual pride, fraud and insincerity in their dealings; and that they made use of the mask of religion only to surprize and impose on credulous people; and if any of them were found endeavouring to propagate their opinions and make disciples, they were banish'd by the government. As to the Anabaptists, their opinions were propagated in the Canton of Bern but very lately. These, 'tis observed, scruple to acknowledge the power of the magistrate, or to take oaths of allegiance to the government they live under; but that which render'd them most obnoxious in Switzerland, is their holding it unlawful to bear arms, even in defence of their country; for here being no standing forces kept on foot, but the sovereign relying entirely upon the militia, if this opinion of the unlawfulness of bearing arms should prevail, they must necessarily become a prey to the first invader. The government therefore observing, that their peasants who were enroll'd in the militia began to excuse themselves when they were commanded into the service, on scruples of conscience; thought it high time to punish the followers of this sect with the utmost severity; fining and imprisoning some, and banishing others, and their banish'd teachers who return'd into the country they hang'd. At length they came to a resolution of banishing all Anabaptists in general; and above three hundred of them became refugees in Holland only about the year 1710. But the same reasons the Swiss Presbyterians assign for persecuting their brethren

THE Swiss Cantons, as hath been observed already, are divided into Popish and Protestant, both of them exceeding zealous in their way: the clergy, according to my author, taking more pains to raise the aversion and horror of the people against the religion of their adversaries than in countries where there is but one religion profess'd. The Protestant Cantons are rigid Calvinists, and the rest had follow'd their example at the reformation, says the same gentleman, if the Catholics, not trusting their cause to the force of argument, had not had recourse to arms, and made war upon such as embraced the new opinions: in which the Protestants were defeated at the battle of Coppelin, anno 1531, whereby the progress of the reformation received some check in this country, many were reduced by force to the Romish persuasion who had deserted it, and others confirm'd in it that were wavering. Other battles were afterwards fought, in one of which ZUINGLIUS, one of the fathers of the reformation, was kill'd; but at length a treaty of pacification was propos'd between the contending parties anno 1531, whereby it was agreed, That each Canton should regulate religious matters in their respective territories, and not molest their neighbours on those accounts; which restored peace to the Cantons at that time: and though there have since been some skirmishes amongst them on account of religion, they have not been of any long continuance. In the year 1566, a Synod of the Protestant clergy of Switzerland was assembled, where the articles of their faith were drawn up, and entitled, *The Helvetick Confession*: in which they adhere to the doctrines of CALVIN, as to grace, free-will, election and predestination, condemning the tenets of ARMINIUS; insomuch that they oblige all their clergy, on their admission into Holy Orders, to swear that they will defend and maintain the reform'd religion as it is contain'd in the Helvetick confession, and oppose Arminianism, and all other doctrines contrary to the said confession to the utmost of their power. And notwithstanding both Popery and Calvinism are tolerated in their common bailiages, or governments, there is no toleration in the Cantons themselves, every one who does not profess the religion establish'd is banish'd the country; even Lutherans, and every other denomination of Protestants: but the disciples of CALVIN are liable to the same pains and disabilities as the Papists are in the Protestant Cantons, who look upon themselves as extremely moderate, that



CHAP. IX. brethren that differ from them, for aught I see, may be urged by any other Protestant government: for instance, they urge, 1. That should they tolerate sectaries, these would infallibly join with their Roman Catholick neighbours against the establish'd church. 2. That no controversies are managed with more heat and unchristian malice, than those which concern religion. And, 3. That these disputes ever have an influence on the state, and frequently endanger the subversion of the government; but if these be of any weight in Switzerland, and can justify persecution there, I can't see why they won't excuse any other government in requiring uniformity in religion. But to proceed: The Swiss clergy in some of their cities have a great influence, and take the liberty of teaching politicks instead of divinity in their pulpits, endeavouring to work up the passions of their auditors to their own pitch: but in the Canton of Bern the government confine them to religious subjects, and keep them in an entire dependance on the state.

## CHAP. X.

*Treats of the allies of the Switzers.*

Allies of the Switzers.

THE allies of the Switzers are, 1. The Grisons. 2. The town and county of Neuchatel. 3. The Abbot and City of St. Gall. 4. The Valesians. 5. The republick of Geneva. And, 6. The towns of Mulhausen and Bienne. The most considerable of whom are the Grisons.

The Grisons. Three leagues.

The country of the Grisons, antiently part of the Roman *Rætia*, consists of three provinces, united for their common defence. The first is stiled, the Grison, or Grey League, and communicates its name to the whole country. The second is called, The league of the house of God, from the Bishop of Coire's residing in it. And the third, The league of the ten jurisdictions, as it comprehended that number of communities.

Their situation and extent.

These three leagues including the countries they have acquired by grant or conquest, viz. the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, are bounded by the circle of Suabia on the north; by the county of Tyrol on the east; by the states of Milan and Venice towards the south; and by the Cantons of Uri, Glaris and Appenzel towards the west; being about an hundred miles in length and sixty in breadth. In the Grison league are twenty-seven communities, in that of the House of God twenty-two, and in that of the Ten Jurisdictions fourteen.

Chief towns of the Grison league. Ilantz, &c.

The chief towns in the Grison league, are Ilantz, Dissentis, Flintz, and Splagen. Ilantz is a little town, situate on the Rhine, about fifteen

miles south-west of Chur or Coire, where the assemblies of the three leagues meet.

The chief towns in the league of the House of God (which is stiled sometimes Caddee, and by the Germans, Gotthuspunt) are Chur, Coire, the capital of the three leagues, Cassaccia, Vespun and Bergon. Coire, the most considerable town of the Grison country, is situated at the foot of two mountains, on the banks of the river Plesur, little more than a mile from the Rhine, and about sixty to the southward of Constance, and was a free Imperial city till the year 1498, when it enter'd into the Grison league. The Bishop of Coire had some kind of jurisdiction in this city till the reformation, and hath still a palace here, a cathedral, and some houses for the Canons about it; but his revenues are at this day very mean, though he be a Prince of the Empire. The buildings are tolerable, considering the country, and the town is encompass'd with a wall and fortifications, most of the inhabitants being Protestants.

The only town mention'd in the league of the Ten Jurisdiction, is that of Davas, or Tafas, situate among the mountains, two leagues to the eastward of Coire, of which I meet with nothing remarkable.

The manners and customs of the Grisons differ but little from those of the Switzers, any more than their soil and climate, and therefore do not need a particular description. They were formerly subject to a variety of Princes; some of them to petty Sovereigns, others to the Bishop of Coire, and more of them to the house of Austria. Those subject to the first, purchased their liberty, or became free by the extinction of the families of their lords. The Bishops of Coire were deprived of their power at the reformation, and have now no share or influence in the government of that city, or the territories belonging to it. And the house of Austria have at several times sold all their dominions in this country, except the little lordship of Retzuns, of which the Grisons are the immediate sovereigns. And thus by degrees the Grisons becoming an independent and free people, erected themselves into a commonwealth, the sovereign power whereof is vested in the people; for every male of sixteen years of age and upwards, has a vote in matters of state, as in the petty Cantons of Switzerland. But then they have a better method of collecting their votes; for the people of every community first elect one to represent them in a Council or Diet, and then the persons so elected, amounting to the number sixty-three, that is, one for every community, meet and debate of their affairs: and in these assemblies all resolutions are determin'd by a majority, as their elections are by a majority of each community, every one of which



AP. which are govern'd by their particular laws and customs, chuse their own magistrates, and are indeed so many petty states. The several communities of each league also have their particular Diets, where they are represented by their deputies, and chuse their chief and other officers annually. There are four other kinds of Diets, composed of the representatives of the three leagues: the first is called the general Diet, consisting of a deputy from every community, besides the three chiefs, which is held once a year in each of the three leagues by turns, the chief of the league where the Diet is held being President. These meet the latter end of August, and having consider'd extraordinary affairs, proceed to settle the publick accounts, and determine controversies between the communities, which usually takes up about three weeks. The second Diet consists of half the number of deputies, (two communities sending one by turns;) these have no fixed times of meeting, but are convoked whenever their affairs require it. The third Diet, denominated a congress, consists only of three deputies from each league, besides the three chiefs, and meets annually in the beginning of March at Coire, being held for the ordinary affairs of the government. The fourth is a meeting of the three chiefs only, who assemble a little before the general Diet, to prepare matters for them. And every one of these assemblies may be summon'd as often as the affairs of the government require it, or any foreign minister hath business to propose to them: but in all of them the deputies are so limited by their instructions, that they cannot take a final resolution on any matter in debate, but must resort to the communities which sent them, to have it confirm'd.

The subjects of the three leagues are a mixture of Protestants and Papists; but the Protestants making two thirds of the people, and all things being determin'd by a plurality of voices, my author looks upon this republick as a Protestant state; especially as they are allied only to the two Protestant Cantons of Zurich and Bern. There are only the two bailliages of Meyensfeld and Malants within the three leagues, the Governours whereof are removed every two years: but they have eight or nine governments more in the Valteline, and the counties of Bormio and Chiavenna, which three provinces were formerly part of the duchy of Milan, and yielded to the Grisons by the SFORZA's, Dukes of Milan, in consideration of their services in the wars. And notwithstanding these provinces are subject to the Grisons, the Roman Catholick religion only is tolerated here; for in all the treaties between the Sovereigns of Milan and the Grisons, it is stipulated, that no Protestant shall remain there

more than six weeks in one year, during which time he shall not exercise his religion; nor are their Protestant Governours allow'd to keep a Chaplain in their houses. X.

The Valteline consists of one large valley, about ten leagues in length, abounding in corn, wine and oil, and the most delicious fruits. The two other counties of Chiavenna and Bormio, are very fruitful, but not in so great a degree as the Valteline, which is as valuable for being a pass between Germany and Italy, as for its fertility; I shall therefore be a little more particular in describing the situation of this country: and I find that the Valteline is bounded by the country of the Grisons on the north; by Tyrol towards the east; by the territories of Venice on the south; and by the duchy of Milan towards the west; the chief towns whereof are Tirano, Sondrio and Morbegno. Tirano, the capital of the province, is situated on the banks of the river Adda, about six miles to the northwards of the territories of Venice, and fifty south-west of Coire. Sondrio stands upon the Adda, forty miles south of Coire, and is a place of the greatest strength in the Valteline, and the residence of the Governour.

The county of Chiavenna is of a small extent, and bounded by the country of the Grisons on the north and west; by the Valteline on the east; and by the four governments of Italy on the south; the chief towns whereof are Chiavenna and Pleury.

Chiavenna is a little town pleasantly situated at the foot of the mountains, upon the river Macra, which near this place falls into the lake of Como. It was antiently a large place, but had the misfortune, great part of it, to be buried by a mountain which hung over the town. And the like accident happen'd to the town of Pleury on the 25th of August 1618.

The county of Bormio is bounded by the country of the Grisons on the north; by the bishoprick of Trent on the east; by the Valteline towards the west; and by the Venetian territories on the south; being surrounded by inaccessible mountains: the chief town whereof is Bormio, situate on the Adda, three miles from its source.

The bailliages in the Valteline, as well as those in Chiavenna and Bormio, are disposed of by each community of the Grisons by turns, and sold to the best bidder, who is always made Bailiff or Governour, and must be guilty of great exactions on the poor people under his power, before he can reimburse himself. The stated publick revenues of the Grison leagues are very inconsiderable; and therefore upon a war breaking out, or any other emergency, they tax themselves in proportion to their abilities, and the necessity of the service.

The



**CHAP. X.** The duties arising from goods carried through the country, constitute the principal part of the publick revenues, if we except the pensions paid them by foreign Princes, which are divided among the common people as well as the magistrates: though it may be difficult to distinguish one from the other, when they are not in the execution of their offices; for their Senators do not think it beneath them to keep inns for the entertainment of travellers, or to exercise other mean employments; and in short, the Grisons may well be reckon'd the refuse of Switzerland. What renders them most considerable is, the passes through their country between Germany and Italy, of which there are four only by which their country is accessible; and even these may be defended by a very small force. The first by the lake of Como, which preserves their communication with Italy. The second by the valley of Comonica, which gives them an entrance into the territories of Venice. The third by the valley of the Inn, which lets them into Tyrol. And the fourth, by a bridge over the Rhine near Coire, they have a communication with Suabia and the Cantons of Switzerland.

Neufchatel  
and Vallengin.

The counties of Neufchatel and Vallengin also are allies of the Switzers: they are subject to the same Prince, and form together a little sovereignty, bounded by the bishoprick of Bazil and the territory of Biel towards the north; by the lake of Neufchatel towards the east; by the Canton of Bern on the south, and by Franche Comte or Burgundy on the west; being about twelve leagues in length from north to south, and six in breadth from east to west. The air of this country near the lake is temperate; but very sharp in the mountainous parts of it. The soil is stony, but produces the best wine in Switzerland, by the sale whereof to foreigners the natives make great advantages. Their language is French, and they resemble that nation more in their manners and customs than the Germans, having more vivacity than the rest of the Switzers, with a good share of vanity.

They are in a manner a free independent people, notwithstanding they have always had a Prince for their head; for nothing is determined but by the three estates. They have also the privilege of chusing their own magistrates and standard-bearer, and are subject to no taxes but what they lay upon themselves; and the whole country is of the reformed religion, except the two villages of Cresier and Landeron, the inhabitants whereof are Roman Catholicks. Upon the death of the duchess of Nemours, the last Countess of Neufchatel, as heiress of the house of Longueville, the States of the country were inclined to submit themselves to the late King of Prussia, as heir by his mother to the house of Orange, which derived its title to Neufchatel from the marriage

of one of its Princes with the heiress of the house of Chalons, the direct Sovereign of those two counties. Several competitors also arose at the same time, who claimed as heirs in blood to the house of Longueville; but the States rejected their claim, and adjudged it to the heirs of the house of Chalons; and the King of Prussia accordingly took possession of it. The chief towns in the county of Neufchatel, are, 1. Neufchatel, the capital; and, 2. Landeron.

1. Neufchatel, called by the Germans, *New-Neufchatel*, is situated at the north-east end of the lake to which it communicates its name; about twenty miles north-west of Bern, and fifteen north-west of Friburg. The town is well built, and adorn'd with several handsome fountains. It is govern'd by a Council of sixty Burghers, and enjoys large privileges; among which the most considerable is, that they are comburghers or fellow-citizens with the Canton of Bern, which is not only their protector, but umpire of all the differences between them and their Sovereign; and this Canton supported them in their religious and civil rights, while they were under the dominion of Popish Princes. The Counts of Neufchatel were formerly allied to the Cantons of Bern, Lucern, Solcure, and Friburg; but since the investiture of the King of Prussia, the Popish States do not seem fond of renewing the alliance, and they may be looked upon now as allied only to Bern.

2. Landeron, situate near the lake of Biel, remarkable for the strength of its situation, and a noble castle, the residence of the Prince.

The country of Vallengin lies about a league to the northward of Neufchatel, the chief town whereof is of the same name. It is situated near the foot of Mount Jura, which separates it from Burgundy, and is divided into five valleys, which contain about forty villages, the inhabitants whereof are generally Calvinists.

The Abbot and city of St. Gall are also allies of the Switzers. The Abbot is Sovereign of a country called the Patrimony of St. Gall, lying between the Canton of Zurich and the lake of Constance, as also of the county of Tockenbourg contiguous to it; extending about thirty-six miles in length, and twelve in breadth. He assumes the title of a Prince of the Empire, which is merely titular, having neither vote or session in it. He was also formerly Sovereign of the city of St. Gall, and of good part of the Canton of Appenzel; but they have both of them purchased their liberty, and have now no dependence on him.

The city of St. Gall is situated in the Turgow, about five miles south-west of the lake of Constance, and ten north-west of Appenzel, and forms a little commonwealth at present, without any

CHA  
X.

Chief

New-Neufsch

Landeron

Vallengin  
county.

St. Gall,  
Abbot, his  
territory.

St. Gall  
city.



A.P. any territory belonging to it. The government consists of a Great and Little Council, as in other cities of Switzerland, and is of the aristocratical kind. Both the Abbot and town of St. Gall have the privilege of sending Deputies to the General Diets of the Swiss Cantons, who have session, but no votes there. It is one of the best towns of trade in the country, and particularly remarkable for its linnen manufacture, which employs the inhabitants of all ages and conditions. The whole country about them furnishes them with vast quantities of flax, out of which 'tis computed they make annually forty thousand pieces of linnen, of two hundred ells to the piece, which they send into Italy, Germany, and the adjacent countries, in packs carried by mules; by which traffick the natives are so enrich'd, that there is no place where there are found more wealthy Burghers in proportion to the extent of it; or where there are so few poor people. In the town of St. Gall 'tis computed there are about ten thousand souls; the government resembling that of the other cities of Switzerland. The abbey and the town are mortal enemies to each other, and every little offence on either side works them up into a flame. It is not long since, that a Monk in one of their processions, carrying his cross erected through the town, with three or four thousand peasants attending him, occasion'd a tumult among the citizens, who look'd upon it as an unpardonable insult on their religion, and running to their arms, drew down four pieces of cannon to the gates of the abbey, vowing to be reveng'd for the affront; but the Catholics who attended the procession, being let out of the convent by a back way which led into the Abbot's territories, escap'd their fury. The Abbot however was so exasperated that he raised an army, and block'd up that side of the town which faces his dominions, prohibiting his subjects to furnish the citizens with any manner of provisions: when they were just upon the point of entering into a war, the Cantons, their protectors, compromised the matter; ordering, that the townsmen, who had been too rash in taking up arms, should pay a fine of two thousand crowns; and on the other hand, that no priest should carry his cross through their town erected for the future, but let it hang about his neck, without touching it with either hand till he came within the precincts of the abbey. Neither the publick buildings of the town, the abbey, or the abbey-church, are very magnificent; but a collection of the inscriptions on the walls of this and other Popish churches, Mr. ADDISON is of opinion, would give us a good idea of the Roman Catholick religion, and sufficiently expose the pride, vanity, and self-interestness of the convents, the abuse of indulgencies, and in a word, the superstition, credulity, and childishness of that religion. The town

and abbey of St. Gall have a bear for their arms; and the Catholics, according to Mr. ADDISON, have an uncommon veneration for the memory of that bear which was the occasion of it; of which one of the Monks of this abbey gave him the following relation, with tears of affection in his eyes. He related, that St. GALL, whom they stile the great Apostle of Germany, found this country little better than a vast desert, occasion'd, I presume, by its being over-run with bears and other beasts of prey; meeting therefore with a bear in his way on a very cold day, he commanded the brute to bring him a bundle of wood and make a fire, which the bear having performed, he commanded him to retire into the centre of the wood, and there continue the remainder of his life, which the bear readily obey'd, and neither he nor his relations ever molested mankind for the future: from whence their disciples are taught to believe, that their saints can restrain the rage of the fiercest animals, and alter their very natures.

The privileges claimed by the inhabitants of the county of Tockenbourg, having not long since been the occasion of a bloody war between the Protestant and Popish Cantons of Switzerland, the honourable writer above-mention'd, gives us the following account of the differences between the Abbot and that people. He relates, that the last Count of Tockenbourg having no children, granted such privileges to his subjects before he died, that he made them in a manner a free people: for he indulged them in making their own laws, and in chusing their own magistrates, and of entering into an alliance or comburghership with the Canton of Glaris, for supporting their rights; whereby the power of the Sovereign was so lessen'd, that the successor found little more left him than the right of collecting his revenues: all which was however ratified by Count RAREN, who succeeded as heir to this principality; who having enjoy'd it about thirty years, sold it to the Abbot of St. Gall, with an express reservation of the rights and privileges of the inhabitants; to which the Abbot also consented, and ratified them afresh, though he afterwards endeavour'd to abolish their new privileges, and particularly the comburghership with Glaris, which was their great support; which at length he found means to do, by insinuating himself so far into the good opinion of the magistrates of Glaris, that they withdrew their protection from the Tockenburghers, and suffer'd their Abbot to tyrannize over them at pleasure. Whereupon they had afterwards recourse to the two Protestant Cantons of Zurich and Bern, who for reasons of state, as well as religion, espoused their cause, and sent a solemn deputation to the Abbot, requiring him to permit them to enjoy their religious and civil rights; which he refusing,

CHAP. X.

Tockenbourg  
contest.



CHAP. refusing, the Deputies of the two Cantons went  
 X. into the country of Tockenbourg, and saw them  
 reinstated in their antient privileges. But religion  
 being concerned in the dispute, the Catholick  
 Cantons of Lucern, Uri, Switz, Underwald, and  
 Zug, took part with the Abbot; as the Protestant  
 Cantons of Bern and Zurich did with the Toc-  
 kenburghers; and after several attempts to accom-  
 modate matters by treaty in vain, a war broke  
 out in the year 1712, wherein the Protestants de-  
 feated the forces of the Popish Cantons in two  
 pitched battles, taking from them the county of  
 Baden, and several other territories: and the Po-  
 pish Cantons being no longer able to keep the  
 field against their victorious enemies, a treaty was  
 again set on foot by the mediation of the French  
 Ambassador, and a peace concluded at Arraw,  
 on the terms above-recited in the chapter con-  
 taining the modern history of this country. But  
 still the Cantons of Zurich and Bern kept posses-  
 sion of the abbey of St. Gall, and other places,  
 which they had taken from that Abbot, he re-  
 fusing to restore the Tockenburghers to their pri-  
 vileges: for the Abbot stiling himself a Prince of  
 the Empire, though he hath neither vote or session  
 in the Diets of the Empire, appealed to the Em-  
 peror as his Sovereign, alledging that Tockenbourg  
 was a fief of the Empire, and if there was any  
 dispute between him and his subjects, it ought to  
 be determined in the Empire, and not by the  
 neighbouring Cantons: and this was a doctrine so  
 extremely pleasing to the Emperor, that he gave  
 the Abbot some hopes of assisting him against the  
 Protestant Cantons, if they refused to abide by  
 his determination of the matter, and at the same  
 time offer'd his mediation to compose their diffe-  
 rences. But the Cantons of Bern and Zurich re-  
 fused to accept it; alledging, that they were a  
 free people, and had no dependance on the Em-  
 pire; and if they should submit their disputes to  
 the Emperor, this would give him a handle to re-  
 new his pretensions to their whole country. And  
 in this state things remain'd till the year 1718,  
 when the old Abbot being dead, and another of  
 a more pacifick temper succeeding him, the Pro-  
 testant Cantons, to avoid the intermeddling of  
 any foreign powers in their affairs, agreed to re-  
 store all the territories that had been taken from  
 the Abbot, and to acquiesce in more moderate  
 terms for their allies the Tockenburghers, than  
 they had at first insisted on: particularly, it was  
 agreed, that the Tockenburghers should acknow-  
 ledge the Abbot for their Sovereign, and do him  
 homage accordingly. That the Council of Re-  
 gency should consist of sixty persons, chosen out  
 of the several districts of the country by the Com-  
 mons, whereof one half should be Calvinists, and  
 the other Catholicks, and no member be chang'd  
 as long as he was capable of serving, and behav'd

well. That this Council should elect the Presi- CHA  
 dent, his Vicar, and a Treasurer. That the Vi- X.  
 car du Banderet and his officers should be alter-  
 nately of the religions above mentioned. That the  
 Secretaries, Commissaries, and Sautiers, should be  
 as many of the one religion as of the other. That  
 this Council should assemble once a year at least.  
 That the justiciary of the county should consist  
 of a President and twenty-four Judges; the Pre-  
 sident always to be the Bailiff of Tockenbourg,  
 who with the Judges should be appointed by the  
 Abbot, and consist of an equal number of each  
 religion. This court to take cognizance of all  
 criminal causes, and all fines and confiscations to  
 belong to the Abbot. The court of appeals to  
 be composed of an equal number of each religion,  
 one half to be appointed by the Abbot, and the  
 other by the Council of Regency. That there  
 should be only the two religions above-mention'd  
 tolerated in the county; and the ministers of the  
 Reformed should be allowed to exercise discipline,  
 and not be subject to the visitation of those of an-  
 other religion. That if any dispute should arise  
 for the future between the Abbot and his subjects,  
 each party should chuse three persons out of the  
 Cantons, who should determine the matters in  
 difference.

The republick of Valais is another allie of the The Vi  
 Switzers, which takes its name from a valley, in- or Val  
 habited by the subjects of this little common-  
 wealth; which extends from the lake of Geneva  
 to the mountain called La Fourche, where the  
 Rhone hath its source, and is divided in two parts  
 by that river, which runs through the middle of  
 it, and frequently overflows great part of the coun-  
 try. This county is called by the Germans *Wallise-  
 rand* and *Valinza*; and is bounded by Switzerland on  
 the north and east; by the Milanesse and the duchy  
 of Aoust on the south; and by Savoy on the west;  
 and is about eighty miles in length, and from ten  
 to twenty in breadth. It is separated from the  
 Canton of Bern and Savoy by mountains of a  
 prodigious height, which are always cover'd with  
 snow; and is usually divided into the Upper  
 and Lower Valais: the Upper Valais is again sub-  
 divided into seven independent communities, re-  
 sembling those of the Grisons, and the Lower  
 into six. Their mountains afford pasture for nu-  
 merous herds of cattle in the summer, and the  
 valley produces corn and wine, and a great variety  
 of delicious fruits; but it is to the industry of the  
 inhabitants, that this fertility of the low lands is  
 in a great measure to be ascribed, who with in-  
 credible labour convey the water from the rocks  
 and mountains by wooden troughs or channels,  
 for two miles together in some places, being ob-  
 liged to cut a passage through the rocks to lay  
 them in. The harvest continues in this country  
 from May to October, being sooner or later, ac-  
 cording



CHAP. X. cording to the situation of the place. In the compass of one day's travelling we find a variety of seasons, winter on one side a mountain, and summer on the other; while the spring appears in all its beauty in a third place. 'Tis said, there are mines of silver, copper, iron, and lead in some of their hills; but, I presume, scarce worth the working, or the poor Swiss would have been masters of more treasure than we find they are. The chief towns are Syon the capital, Martinach, and St. Maurice.

in, Martinach, St. Maurice. Syon, the *Sedunum* of the antients, a town of *Gallia Narbonensis*, called by the Germans *Sitte*, stands upon the river *Sitte*, which a little below falls into the Rhone, being about fifty miles to the southward of Bern, and sixty to the eastward of Geneva. It is the seat of the Bishop, who is a Prince of the Empire, and was formerly Sovereign of great part of the country; but his power is much diminished of late, and the government changed into a republick, though the Bishop still presides in their councils as their head, and hath a considerable influence on their affairs. The seven communities of the Upper Valais (to which the Lower is subject) send Deputies to their Diets in the same manner as the Grisons do, and their commonwealth is govern'd in the same manner. The Valesians were antiently allied to the Canton of Bern, but are now much more nearly allied to the Catholick Cantons, both by interest and inclination, as they are themselves of the Catholick religion.

Geneva, Gex. The next allie of the Switzers I shall mention is, the city of Geneva, which stands at the south-west end of the lake Lemman, or Geneva, in the latitude of forty-six degrees, twenty-five minutes, thirty miles south-west of Lausanne, and seventy south-west of Bern, being divided in two parts by the river Rhone, the south part of which is much the larger, and stands upon a hill; the other, which belongs to the country of Gex, is called Gervais, and stands upon a flat. There is a communication between them by three wooden bridges; travellers take particular notice of two handsome streets, the one extending along the banks of the river and lake, and the other ascending the hill. The houses lately built are generally of hewn stone, but the rest make no extraordinary figure; the most remarkable of their publick buildings are, 1. The church of St. PETER, formerly the cathedral, a handsome pile, wherein is the tomb of HENRY II, Duke of Rohan. 2. The town-house. And, 3. The publick library; but these don't seem to merit a particular description. In short, the town is not to be admir'd so much for its beauty, as for the water, the fine walks and prospects about it, which render it a pleasant abode. The walls are upwards of two miles in circumference, and the

fortifications sufficient to prevent a sudden surprize, but would not be able to endure a long siege. Its greatest security consists in the protection of its allies, the Cantons of Bern and Zurich, and in its being the interest of France to prevent Savoy's taking possession of it, and of Savoy that it should not fall into the hands of France. Otherwise, either of these powers, whose territories are almost contiguous to the walls of their city, might soon reduce the place. The inhabitants, 'tis computed, amount to about thirty thousand men, of whom five thousand may be able to bear arms; though in their arsenal, which is kept in admirable order, there are arms for twelve thousand men; and here they still preserve the scaling-ladders and arms they took from the Savoyards, when they attempted to surprize the city. The lower rank of people are a clownish generation, conversing with their cattle all the summer, whom they drive up the mountains about the middle of May, living in huts, and managing the business of the dairy till the winter returns, and then they come back to their dwellings in the town. The people of condition are esteem'd polite, many French and Italians of the Calvinistical strain residing amongst them, and several other nations making it their road to Italy. This town was antiently under the dominion of the Romans, and afterwards of the Burgundians. It was once also an Imperial town, and the Dukes of Savoy have had the sovereignty of it. The Counts and Bishops of Geneva seem for some time to have had a mixed jurisdiction in the place; but at the Reformation their Bishop was their Sovereign in temporals as well as spirituals. In the year 1533, the people expell'd their Bishop, and erected a form of government, resembling that of the neighbouring cities of Switzerland; for they have a Great Council of two hundred, in whom the legislative power is lodg'd, and another chosen out of it; consisting of five and twenty members, who have the executive power: these, however, advise with a third Council, called the Council of State, consisting of sixty members taken out of the Great Council. Sixteen of the members of the Great Council are always of the degree of Burgomasters, or Syndicks, four of whom are in office every year; the first presiding in matters of State: the second hath the direction of the hospitals: the third has the care of the militia: and the fourth is called the Burgomaster of the Reformation, who sees all orders and acts of their Synod and State put in execution. They have also their Treasurer and other officers of State, as in other Swiss republicks. Causes are heard in the first instance before five members of the Lesser Council, and others associated with them. The government is of the aristocratical kind; but of late years the common people have



CHAP. proved mutinous, and compelled their superiours  
 X. to part with something of their power; alledging  
 that they had formerly a greater share in the ad-  
 ministration, and have been unjustly deprived of  
 their rights and privileges by the leading men.  
 Their church is true Presbyterian, having been  
 formed by JOHN CALVIN in person, about the  
 year 1535. It is now govern'd by their city  
 clergy, who are fifteen in number, and the Burgher-  
 master for Reformation, with six others elected  
 out of the Great Council, and this assembly is  
 called the Consistory; but their decrees are of no  
 force till they are ratified by the Great Council.  
 Their people in the neighbouring country make  
 thirteen congregations, whose pastors at certain  
 times of the year assemble with the city clergy, and  
 form a synod, making acts for the government of  
 the church within their little territory, which are  
 also ratified by the Great Council. They take care  
 to keep their clergy humble in this State, by al-  
 lowing them moderate salaries of fifty or three-  
 score pounds a year a-piece, though as every thing  
 is cheap, this will preserve them from extreme  
 want. The Presbyterians here are in some in-  
 stances as rigid as their brethren in this part of  
 the world. They will allow of neither cards,  
 drinking, or dancing; but then they are not  
 near so strict in keeping the sabbath as the English  
 and Scots Presbyterians, for they allow and even  
 authorize all manly exercises on Sundays after di-  
 vine service; the gravest of them go to bowls,  
 and their militia are then exercised by an act of  
 State.

The ground about Geneva is not unfruitful, con-  
 sisting of gardens, vineyards, meadows, and rich pa-  
 stures on the neighbouring hills; but their territories  
 are very small, being hemm'd in by the dominions  
 of France or Savoy, and the lake on three sides, and  
 on the fourth their lands scarce extend four miles  
 in length. The lake, it hath been observed al-  
 ready, is about sixty miles in length, and twelve  
 in breadth; and produces a great variety of good  
 fish, especially trouts, which weigh forty and fifty  
 pounds a fish; and 'tis said, in some places not to  
 be less than four or five hundred fathoms deep.  
 The town has a good trade, which would be  
 much better, if the Rhone was navigable from  
 hence into France; but about ten miles below the  
 city there is such a cataract, or water-fall, that  
 no vessels can pass it, after which the river takes  
 its course under ground, rising again at Seyssel;  
 from whence it is navigable to the mouth. Their  
 principal manufactures are those of gold and silver  
 lace, silks, and shammy leather. And there is  
 a university here, but no salaries settled on the  
 Professors, whose gain arises chiefly from their pu-  
 pils and disciples. The language of the common  
 people is the Savoyard, or a very bad dialect of  
 the French tongue, but people of condition speak

it in greater purity. This republick was antiently CHA  
 allied to the Catholick as well as Protestant Can- X.  
 tons, but since they have adhered to the doctrine  
 of CALVIN, the Catholicks seem to have dropp'd  
 their alliance with this city.

Mr. ADDISON gives an elegant description of  
 the city and lake of Geneva, and the neighbour-  
 ing country, though his description of the town  
 is but partial. The greatest part of the city,  
 he observes, stands upon a hill, having its views  
 bounded on all sides by several ranges of moun-  
 tains at a considerable distance, which leave open  
 a wonderful variety of beautiful prospects. These  
 mountains cover it from all winds, except the  
 south and north, to the last of which the na-  
 tives of Geneva ascribe the healthfulness of the  
 air: for as the Alps surround them on all sides,  
 they form a vast basin, where there would be a con-  
 stant stagnation of vapours in this watery country,  
 did not the north wind put them in motion, and  
 scatter them from time to time. Another effect  
 the Alps have on Geneva is, that the sun rises later  
 here, and sets sooner, than it does in other places of  
 the same latitude, the sun gilding the tops of the  
 neighbouring mountains half an hour after it is  
 down with them. These mountains also add  
 much to the summer-heats, and form an horizon  
 that hath something in it very singular and agreeable.  
 On one side lie a long tract of hills that go under  
 the name of Mount Jura, cover'd with vineyards  
 and pasturage; on the other, huge precipices of  
 naked rocks, rising up in a thousand odd figures,  
 and cleft in some places so as to discover high  
 mountains of snow, which lie several leagues be-  
 hind them. Towards the south the hills rise more  
 insensibly, and leave the eye a vast uninterrupted  
 prospect of many miles: but the most beautiful view  
 is the lake and the borders of it, which lie north  
 of the town. This lake resembles a sea in the co-  
 lour of its waters, and the storms that are raised in  
 it, and in summer hath something like an ebb and  
 flow, which arises from the melted snow that falls  
 into it more plentifully at noon than at other times  
 of the day. It is encompassed by the dominions  
 of five different powers, namely, those of France,  
 Savoy, Bern, the bishoprick of Sion or the Va-  
 lais, and the republick of Geneva. The right  
 side of the lake going from Geneva belongs to the  
 Duke of Savoy, and is extremely well cultivated:  
 here the traveller is entertain'd with a variety of  
 prospects, consisting of woods, vineyards, mea-  
 dows, and corn-fields, which lie on the borders  
 of it, and run up the sides of the Alps. The  
 nearer we approach the east end of the lake, the  
 mountains on both sides grow thicker and higher,  
 till at length they almost meet, and we often see  
 on the tops of the mountains several sharp rocks,  
 which stand above the rest; for the soil, which  
 originally cover'd these mountains, and render'd  
 them



H A P. them much higher than they are at present, having been wash'd away by the rains, has left the veins of stone bare which supported them. The natural histories of Switzerland contain various accounts of the fall of such rocks, and the mischief they have done when their foundations have moulder'd away with age, or been rent by an earthquake. Those vast receptacles of snow which are found on the mountain tops, and in the hollows of the Alps, the ingenious Mr. ADDISON is of opinion, are the occasion of those periodical fountains that are found in Switzerland, and flow only at certain hours of the day; for as these mountains cast their shadows upon one another, they hinder the sun's shining on several places at certain times, and consequently prevent the sun's melting the snow that covers them some hours every day. Whenever it happens therefore that a fountain takes its rise from these reservoirs of snow, it will naturally begin to flow on such hours of the day as the snow begins to melt; but as soon as the sun leaves it again to freeze and harden, the fountain dries up, and receives no more supplies till about the same time the next day, when the heat of the sun again sets the snows a running that fall into the same little conduits and canals, and consequently break out and discover themselves always in the same place. But to return to the lake of Geneva: at the east end the river Rhone falls into it, bringing with it a prodigious quantity of water in the summer; for the snows melting at this season, both lakes and rivers are then much higher than in the winter: but the Rhone does not preserve its water unmix'd with those of the lake, as some writers have reported; there is indeed a stream discernable for about a quarter of a mile from its entrance, but it is afterwards wholly mixed and lost with the waters of the lake; nor is there any manner of current to be perceived till we come within a quarter of a mile of Geneva. The greatest town on the lake next to Geneva is Lausanne, which sometimes communicates its name to it; but the town of Morgé, between this place and Geneva, is look'd upon as the best port, and has some appearance of trade. There is a noble prospect of Geneva from the lake, which as we approach the town grows narrower gradually, till at length it changes its name into the Rhone, turning a great number of mills in its passage through the town, and is extremely rapid, though its waters are very deep.

Geneva is much the politest town in Switzerland, according to Mr. ADDISON, and may be look'd upon as the court of the Alps. Hither the Protestant Cantons frequently send their children for education: but notwithstanding some think that the Genevois have been of late refined by the conversation of the French Protestants, who make up one third of its inhabitants; others are of opi-

nion, they are rather corrupted than polish'd, having forgot the advice given them in their Great Council by Father CALVIN, who there recommended to them above all things, an exemplary modesty and humility, and as great a simplicity in their manners as in their religion; and their endeavouring to make a more splendid figure at this day, 'tis thought, will not turn much to their advantage. 'Tis well, says my author, if the great riches they are proud of being thought masters of, do not one day tempt the French King to reduce this wealthy town; for they are pleased to boast that some of their merchants are worth four hundred thousand pounds a man, who do not however spend five hundred pounds a year. But there is one thing very commendable in this, as well as in other Swiss republicks, and that is their laying up corn in their publick granaries in plentiful years, and retailing it out to the common people at a moderate price when it is scarce. At Geneva three of the little Council are deputed for this office, who are obliged to store up grain sufficient to serve the people at least two years in case of a famine; but none of these three directors are allowed to furnish the granaries from their own stock, that they may have no temptation to impose on the publick, either in the price or goodness of the commodity; nor may they buy any corn within twelve miles of Geneva. All publick-houses are obliged to buy their corn of the State; so that it is chang'd every two years, and is not in danger of spoiling by being kept too long. And this is one of the most considerable branches of the publick revenue, such corn being sold out much dearer than it is bought.

The little town of Bienne, or Biel, allied to Bienne, the Canton of Bern, is situated at the head of the lake of Bienne, ten miles south-west of Soleure, and fifteen north-east of Neuschattel; the Bishop of Bazil, or Porentru, hath some kind of sovereignty of it, but so limited, that they are generally esteem'd a free people, for they elect their own magistrates, and are govern'd by their own laws, only they are obliged to serve him in his wars, where the Canton of Bern are not parties; for they are comburghers and fellow-citizens with that Canton, which protects them in their religious and civil rights, being of the same persuasion in religious matters.

The last allie of the Switzers I meet with, is the city of Mulhausen, situate near Bazil, upon the river Ill in the Upper Alsatia, which is indeed beyond the limits of Switzerland. It is a petty republick, of a very small extent, which embraced the Reformation at the same time the city of Bazil did, on which account these two cities concluded a treaty of comburghership; by which means Mulhausen became a member of the Helvetic body, but most strictly allied to the



CHAP. Protestant Cantons : for whatever alliances may  
 XI. have been made between the Protestant and Catholic States of Switzerland, little benefit is to be expected from them ; each member infallibly adheres to those of the same religion, let the controversy be what it will.

### CHAP. XI.

#### *Treats of the interest of Switzerland.*

The interest  
 of the Switz-  
 zers.

THE Switzers we find situated in the heart of Europe : Their country surrounded by inaccessible mountains, a hardy race of people, able to defend themselves against all the world if they were united, but much more formidable before religion divided them into parties and factions, than they are at present. The Protestants are much the stronger indeed, if no foreigner was to interpose in their quarrels ; but as they are encompass'd by Catholic Princes and States, who are always ready to assist their brethren against heretics, the Protestant Cantons have no reason to look upon themselves to be in a state of perfect security. They were successful indeed in the war 1712, and still retain what they conquer'd of the Popish Cantons, but seem to have irritated them to that degree, that it is a question now whether the restoration of those territories would reconcile them ; for those of the Popish communion frequently threaten the Protestants to call in some foreign power, and even to submit themselves to a strange dominion, rather than not be compleatly reveng'd of their enemies. It is true, it cannot be the interest of the Germans to stand by and see the French possess'd of Switzerland ; and yet, if France should espouse the cause of the Popish Cantons, it would be very dangerous for the Protestants to fly to the Emperor's protection, who to this day pretends a title to their country. They would in these circumstances be reduced to a very hard Dilemma, namely, whether they would take the French or Germans to be their masters ; for nothing is more evident than that if the French or German was to join either party, the other would not be able to stand its ground without foreign assistance. On the other hand, if the Swiss were united, they need not fear all the forces of their neighbours. On the contrary, they would be courted by the nations that surround them ; for they are exceeding populous, and most of their able men inroll'd in their militia, which, for the reasons above mention'd, are very near as good as veteran troops ; and consequently in any contests between France and the Empire they would be able to turn the scale to which-ever side they inclin'd. There is no doubt therefore that it is abundantly the interest of this people more than any other to be unanimous, which they can't but

be sensible of ; and yet such are their misunderstandings, or rather implacable malice against each other, that it does not require the gift of prophecy to foretel that they never will be united again. Religious feuds which happen between people of the same country, where their passions are perpetually whetted by opposition, are seldom appeas'd but by the utter ruin of the one or the other party. The weaker side will rather run the hazard of being conquer'd and enslav'd by foreigners, than be tyranniz'd over by a domestick faction of a different communion. The neighbouring powers indeed condemn their folly, and do not court their alliance as formerly : Instead of paying every Canton a pension to purchase their friendship, they have nothing to do at present but to play the one against the other, and offer their protection to the weaker side, which will as surely ingage them in their interest as a stipend used to do. This is the case of the Popish Cantons, who will in a few years possibly become a province of France ; whose Prince they already look upon as their protector. There is no nation courts them more, or takes off more of their troops, which is esteem'd the greatest favour that can be done to a Swiss republick ; because it is a provision for many of their leading men, who are at the same time train'd up in the art of war, on which account they are at their return more respected than any class of men in their country.

The reason the French employ more of the Swiss than any other nation does, is, because their own foot are not of a size able to stand the shock of the German and Dutch infantry, (and it would be the same with their horse and dragoons, if they were not all of them pick'd men.) The Confederates in the late wars, 'tis true, had some Swiss among their troops, but the bulk of their mercenaries came from Germany and Denmark, whose troops are very little, if at all inferiour to those of the Swiss. These the French could not have, because in a different interest, and therefore were under a necessity of entertaining greater numbers of Swiss than the Allies did. And I believe the Dutch value the Swiss more than any other troops, because they raise them in the Protestant Cantons, who are of the same sect, and can rely on their fidelity more than on the troops of any neighbouring Prince or State, whose Sovereigns are more likely to be in an opposite interest : Nay, it seems the Dutch retain several Swiss regiments in their service in time of peace, though their pay is higher than that of their own soldiers, and at the same time disband their national troops. And here I can't avoid making one observation on the disciples of CALVIN, or the reformed churches in general, which is, That let them be never so far distant from each other, and separated by seas or inaccessible mountains, still they

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 XI.



**H A P.** they maintain a constant correspondence, and promote their common interest with all their might. The King of Prussia and the Hollander, whenever they have the least intimation that those of their communion are in danger of being oppress'd, leave no stone unturn'd to relieve them; and particularly interest themselves in the affairs of their Swiss brethren, whenever they find them threaten'd by any neighbouring power. And perhaps the Protestant Cantons relying upon the mediation of such mighty supporters, are the less solicitous of cultivating a friendship with the Cantons of a different persuasion, imagining that by the countenance of such powerful allies, they shall be able to maintain their ground against their enemies of the Popish religion both at home and abroad; not considering that if the Cantons of the Roman communion should unite their arms either with France or the Emperor, they might be dispossest of their country before any of their distant friends could be appris'd of their distress. And tho' they are sure to have the Emperor for them whenever they are attack'd by France, and on the contrary, the French for them if they are attack'd by the Emperor; yet it is highly probable, that which side soever remains conqueror, their privileges would be at least retrench'd, if they were not made a province to the one or the other. There is scarce an instance where different factions have called in foreigners to their assistance, but the constitution of that kingdom has undergone very great alterations, if it has not been intirely destroy'd. In every view therefore, it must be of the last importance to the Swiss to remain united, they can never otherwise make the figure in the world they have done, or indeed hope long to remain a nation.

'Tis true, the disciples of each communion, where they happen to be intermingled, as in some of the lesser Cantons, and in many of their common bailliages, can scarce avoid giving daily provocations to each other: the very rites and ceremonies of one religion are offensive to the people of the other, and every solemn procession proves a fresh occasion of a quarrel; while the Priests of each religion, out of an indiscreet zeal, march as it were in triumph upon these occasions, and cannot forbear insulting their opponents. The many arts that are used in making proselytes, administer also fuel to the flame, and a private conversion sometimes arms the whole country. The Protestants relate, that a Popish Priest having applied himself to one of their disciples, in order to reconcile him to the Romish church, and finding no other arguments would prevail, threaten'd that the devil would fetch him on a certain day, if he remain'd obstinate to the offers of grace. The fellow being apprehensive that some trick would be play'd him, procured two of his

comrades to keep him company at the time appointed; and while he was thrashing in his barn, a figure appear'd to him in so monstrous a shape, that his companions imagin'd Satan was come for him in good earnest, and immediately took to their heels; but whether the countryman had more courage than his friends, or was frighten'd to that degree he could not tell what he did, does not appear: however, certain it is, he fell upon the pretended phantom with his flail, and finding it to be composed of flesh and bones, did not leave off thrashing till he had beat his brains out; and coming to examine him more narrowly, found that this was the very Priest who had threaten'd him with this apparition, which he did not scruple proclaiming in the neighbourhood. Whereupon the Catholicks immediately assembled, and drew up a charge against the husbandman for murdering one of the fathers of their church: and such was the fury of both parties, that nothing would appease them till they had recourse to arms, and had engaged almost the whole country of Switzerland in the quarrel, which lasted a great while before it was made up. Every little trespass also is ready to throw them into a state of war: some young Students of Geneva, it seems, going out a shooting, and having just pass'd the territories of the republick, happened to shoot a fowl which belong'd to the Duke of Savoy's subjects: this occasion'd an insurrection of the mob in each country, and some on both sides were kill'd in the fray; nor did it end here, but the Duke of Savoy demanded an hundred thousand crowns of the city of Geneva for every fowl that was kill'd, and that the offenders should be deliver'd up to his mercy: nor could the republick pacify him till it had cost them considerable sums.

Another occasion of frequent misunderstandings I find is an agreement that both the Switzers and Grisons enter'd into with the State of Milan, and other Catholick powers, above an hundred years since, for the security of the Catholick religion in the countries granted to them; wherein it was particularly stipulated, That no Protestant should be suffer'd to settle there: which article not being much attended to at first, there happens to be several Protestant families in those countries which have continued there these hundred years. Of this the Popish Powers now complain, requiring that they may be banish'd the country, in pursuance of the above-mention'd treaties. The Protestants, on the other hand, thinking it unreasonable that their brethren should be driven from their dwellings after so long a settlement, refuse to comply with the demand. Nor are these differences like to be compos'd in haste, especially in the Valteline, the Emperor refusing to renew his alliance with the Grisons, unless all the Protestants



**CHAP.** stants are expell'd the country. From these instances it appears, how unhappy it is to have two different religions establish'd in one country, the disciples of each perpetually struggling for dominion, or to be reveng'd on their opponents for every injury or affront they conceive to be offer'd to them, by the votaries of a different communion. Much happier are the Dutch republicks, who, notwithstanding they tolerate all opinions in religion, suffer only the disciples of one to have any share in the government: nor will they bear an occasional conformist amongst them; but if a magistrate goes to a conventicle or place of divine worship which is only tolerated, and whose rites are not conformable to those of the national church, he is ever after render'd incapable of any place of profit or trust in the state: though, 'tis true, there are other kingdoms and states whose governours countenance every faction, and dread nothing more than an union among their subjects, lest they should come to consider their common interests, which are too often opposite to those of their respective courts.

Mr. Addison's Remarks on part of Switzerland. Lausanne.

The country of Vaud.

Cæsar's wall.

Friburg.

I shall conclude the description of Switzerland with some of Mr. ADDISON's observations in his travels through this country. At Lausanne, the largest town on the Lemman lake next to that of Geneva, this gentleman took a view of the wall of the cathedral church, which was open'd by an earthquake, and closed again some years after by another: the crack indeed was but just discernable when he saw it, but there were several people in the town then living, who had formerly pass'd through the breach. The country between Lausanne and Geneva, he observes, is the most fruitful and best cultivated of any among the Alps. 'Twas formerly under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy, but taken from him by the Canton of Bern, and confirm'd to that Canton by the treaty of St. Julian. About five miles from Nyon, they still shew the ruins of CÆSAR's wall, which extended eighteen miles in length, viz. from Mount Jura, to the banks of the lake of Geneva, as CÆSAR has described it in the first book of his Commentaries.

From Lausanne my author travell'd to Friburg, the capital of one of the largest Popish Cantons, the situation whereof is so irregular among rocks and precipices, that they are forced to climb up to several parts of it by stair-cases of a prodigious ascent. The college of Jesuits here is said to be the finest in Switzerland, from whence there are several beautiful prospects: and they have a collection of pictures, representing most of the fathers of their order, among whom are some natives of England, by us stiled Rebels, and by them Martyrs. The inscription under HENRY GARNET relates, that when the Here-

ticks could not prevail on him, either by force or promises to change his religion, they hang'd and quarter'd him. Two leagues from Friburg there is a little hermitage, esteem'd one of the greatest curiosities in Switzerland. It lies in the prettiest solitude imaginable, among woods and rocks, which at first view incline one to be serious. The hermit had liv'd here five and twenty years, and with his own hands wrought out of the rock a pretty chapel, a sacristy, a chamber, kitchen, cellar and other conveniences. His chimney is carried up through the whole rock, notwithstanding the rooms lie very deep; and he has cut the side of the rock into a level for a garden, to which he brings the earth he finds in the neighbouring parts, and has made such a spot of ground of it, as furnishes out a kind of luxury for a hermit; and as he observ'd the drops of water distilling from several parts of the rock, by following the veins of them he has made himself two or three fountains in the bowels of the mountain, which serve his table, and water his little garden.

The ways from Friburg to Bern are very bad, great part of them through woods of fir-trees, of which they have such great quantities, that they mend their high-ways in this country with wood instead of stone. The publick walks by the great church at Bern are worth the viewing: they are rais'd extremely high, and that their weight might not break the walls and pilasters which surround them, they are built upon arches and vaults. These walks afford the noblest summer's prospect in the world, for here you have the full view of a huge range of mountains that lie in the country of the Grisons, and are cover'd with snow. They are about fourscore miles distance from Bern, but their height and colour make them seem much nearer. The cathedral stands on one side of these walks, and is esteem'd the most magnificent Protestant church in Europe, out of England. The town of Bern is well supplied with water, there being a great variety of beautiful fountains at equal distances, from one end of their streets to the other.

Soleure, or Soluthurn, our author looks upon as the politest town in this country. The French King LEWIS XIV, advanced large sums towards the building of the Jesuits Church here, which is esteem'd the finest modern building in Switzerland; and the whole fortifications round the town are faced with marble.

Here, and in all other parts of Switzerland, the wine that grows in the Pais de Vaud on the banks of the lake of Geneva, is very cheap, notwithstanding the great distance between the vineyards and the places where the wine is sold; for their navigable rivers lie so commodiously, that after half a day's land-carriage from the

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A remarkable hermitage.

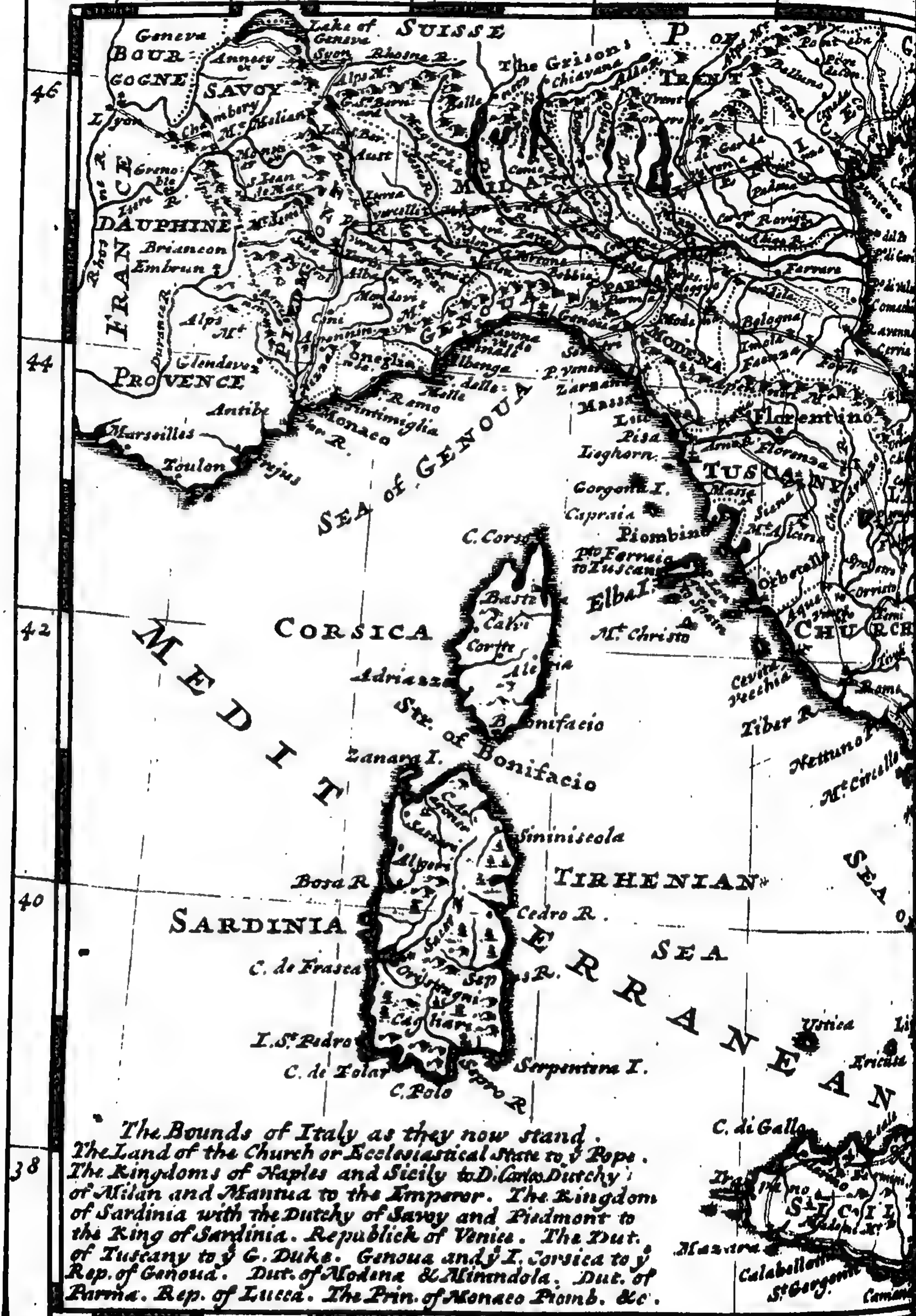
Highway.

Bern.

Soleure.

Convenience of water-carriage.







16 18 20 Deg. East from London

*Distances of Rome from the Capital Cities  
in the Several Dominions of Italy, viz. from*

| City     | Miles |
|----------|-------|
| Naples   | 150   |
| Modena   | 105   |
| Parma    | 150   |
| Genova   | 150   |
| Milan    | 170   |
| Verona   | 175   |
| Venice   | 230   |
| Turin    | 250   |
| Florence | 290   |

**ITALY.**  
*Distinguishing all the  
Sovereignities in it &c.  
Agreeable to Modern History  
By H. Moll Geographer.*

*Distances of Rome from the Capital Cities in Europe  
viz. Rome situated in long. 12. 5. Lat. 41. 54. N*

|                             |
|-----------------------------|
| 400 miles S. of Vienna      |
| 750 S.E. of Amsterdam       |
| 840 S.E. of London          |
| 680 S.E. of Paris           |
| 675 S. of Copenhagen        |
| 1455 S.W. of St. Petersburg |
| 1075 S. of Lisbon           |
| 845 S. of Madrid            |



46  
44  
42  
40  
38  
22

English Miles  
30 60 90 120



AP. the lake, they are embark'd on those rivers, and carried down the stream to Bern, Soleure, and all the richest parts of Switzerland.

Our author travell'd from Soleure to Zurich, which he observes is prettily situated on the lake of the same name, and is one of the handsomest towns in the country. The town-house is a fine pile of building, and has in the frontispiece pillars of a beautiful black marble streak'd with white, which is dug in the neighbouring moun-

tains, and the whole building is so well design'd, CHAP. XI. that it would make a good figure even in Italy; tho' they have in a manner spoil'd the beauty of the walls with abundance of childish Latin sentences, which consist often of a jingle of words: and 'tis observable, by several inscriptions, of this country, that their men of learning are extremely delighted in playing little tricks with words and figures. The Swiss wits are not yet got out of anagram and acrostick.

# THE PRESENT STATE OF ITALY.

## CHAP. I.

*Treats of the situation and extent of Italy. Of the air, seas, lakes, rivers, springs, mountains and woods: and contains some general remarks on the modern inhabitants.*

AP. AS to the name of this celebrated country, I meet with nothing certain, or even probable, in those writers who have pretended to shew us the reason of its being call'd Italy; and therefore chuse to omit all random guesses of this nature. Nor was it antiently comprehended under any one common name; but as it was canton'd out into several little sovereignties, each of them had a name appropriated to it, as will appear in the description of the respective provinces or divisions.

Italy, according to the common observation, resembles a boot, or leg with part of the thigh, and extends in length from the north-west to the south-east, that is, from the foot of Mount St. Bernard (a mountain of the Alps) to the city of Otranto, six hundred miles in a direct line; or if allowances are made for the winding of the roads, and the several ascents and descents of the Apennine mountains, we may reckon it seven hundred miles in length; if we turn aside to the right, and travel to Reggio, the most southern part of it, which lies upon the straits between Italy and Sicily, we shall find the whole extent to be eight hundred miles. The breadth is very unequal, for if we measure the boot-top under the Alps, it is at least four hundred English miles; in the calf of the leg about an hundred and twenty; and towards the instep a-

bout eighty in breadth; extending from thirty-eight degrees twenty minutes, to forty-six degrees northern latitude; and from the seventh to the nineteenth degree of longitude, reckoning from the meridian of London; and is bounded by the Alps, which separate it from France, Switzerland and Germany towards the north and north-west; by the gulph of Venice or the Adriatick Sea and the county of Trent towards the east; by the Ionian Sea and streight of Messina towards the south; and by the Tuscan or Tyrrhenian Sea towards the west.

The air of Italy is very different according to the situation of the respective places: upon the Apennine mountains it is exceeding cold; on the south-side of them the heats are troublesome, and from June to September in the Campania about Rome very unhealthful; though hither it was the great men of antient Rome used to retire in summer for the benefit of the air; whereas the modern Romans fly the country at this season, and chuse the city as much more healthful: the reason of which difference it is supposed proceeds from the country's being in a manner unpeopled and uncultivated, and the waters suffer'd to stagnate, which their ancestors used to drain off; for no countries are more unhealthful than those that are both hot and moist. The north side of the Apennine is more healthful as well as cooler, than

CHAP. I.

Boundaries.

The air.



CHAP. than the provinces on the south; but here also  
 I. are some unhealthful spots, as will appear when  
 we come to give a particular description of the  
 respective states.

Seas. The seas which encompass Italy on three sides,  
 are, the Adriatick sea, or gulph of Venice; the  
 Lakes. Ionian; and the Tuscan, or Tyrrhenian sea; as  
 hath been intimated already. There are also  
 abundance of fine lakes, of which the principal are,  
 the lakes Major, Lugano, Como, Iseo and Gar-  
 da, in the duchy of Milan; the lakes of Trasi-  
 mene or Perugia, Vulsin and Bracciano in Tus-  
 cany; and those of Fucin, Fundi, Castello-Gan-  
 dolpho and Calano in the Campania of Rome.

Rivers. Their chief rivers are, 1. The Po, which rises  
 Po. in the Alps, between Dauphiné and the marqui-  
 sate of Salusses, called antiently *Eridanus*, and ce-  
 lebrated by the poets for the fall of PHAETON  
 into it. The Po having cross'd Piedmont, the  
 Montferrat, Milanese and Mantuan, and in its  
 passage visited Turin, Casal, Plaisance and Cre-  
 mona, enters the duchy of Ferrara, and having  
 been much enlarged by the Adda, the Tesin,  
 and several other rivers which fall into it, dis-  
 charges it self by several mouths into the sea at  
 Venice. 2. The Tesin, which rises in Mount  
 Tefin. Adala, one of the mountains of the Alps, having  
 traversed the lake of Major, passes by Pavia and  
 falls into the Po. 3. The Adda, which having  
 Adda. cross'd the lake of Como, discharges it self into  
 the Po at Cremona. 4. The Oglio, which issu-  
 Oglio. ing out of the lake Iseo, joins the Po near Man-  
 Mincio. tua. 5. The Mincio, which running through the  
 lake Garda, passes by Mantua, and afterwards  
 Tanaro. falls into the Po. 6. Tanaro, which rises in  
 Piedmont, and falls into the Po at Bassignano.  
 Adige. 7. The Adige, which having its source in the  
 mountains of Tyrol, runs by Trent and Vero-  
 na, and falls into the Adriatick to the southward  
 of Venice. 8. The Arno, which rising in the  
 Arno. Apennine mountains, passes by Florence and Pisa,  
 and afterwards falls into the Tuscan sea. And  
 Tiber. lastly, The Tiber, which having its source also in  
 the Apennine mountains, runs through Romania  
 and Florence, and having pass'd by Rome, falls  
 into the Tuscan sea at Ostia. Besides which, there  
 are a multitude of lesser streams, which having  
 their source in the Apennines, fall either into the  
 Tuscan or Adriatick seas: but their waters are  
 generally foul and bad, scarce fit to drink; which  
 is supposed to proceed from their impetuous course;  
 for the Apennine, where they rise, being a very  
 high mountain, they rush down the sides of it,  
 carrying abundance of soil and filth along with  
 them, and running but a very little way before  
 they discharge themselves into the sea, continue  
 muddy all along. The antient Romans there-  
 fore, as well as some publick-spirited Popes of late  
 years, have taken the aqueducts under their par-

ticular care, and it is with a vast expence and CH,  
 labour they have collected the little springs which  
 rise in the mountains forty or fifty miles from  
 Rome, and convey'd through aqueducts of brick  
 or stone to that capital.

The chief mountains of Italy are, the Alps, <sup>Mozz</sup>  
 the Apennine, and Mount Vesuvius. The Alps  
 are the northern boundary of it, of which I have  
 treated already. The Apennine are a chain of  
 hills which run the whole length of the coun-  
 try, and divide the north-east from the south-  
 west provinces. Vesuvius is about six miles to  
 the eastward of Naples, and famous for its vol-  
 cano's and eruptions, which will be particularly  
 taken notice of in the description of that king-  
 dom. The Apennine mountains are generally  
 well cover'd with woods and pleasant groves, as  
 appears from a passage in Lucan, of which Mr.  
 ADDISON has given us the following transla-  
 tion:

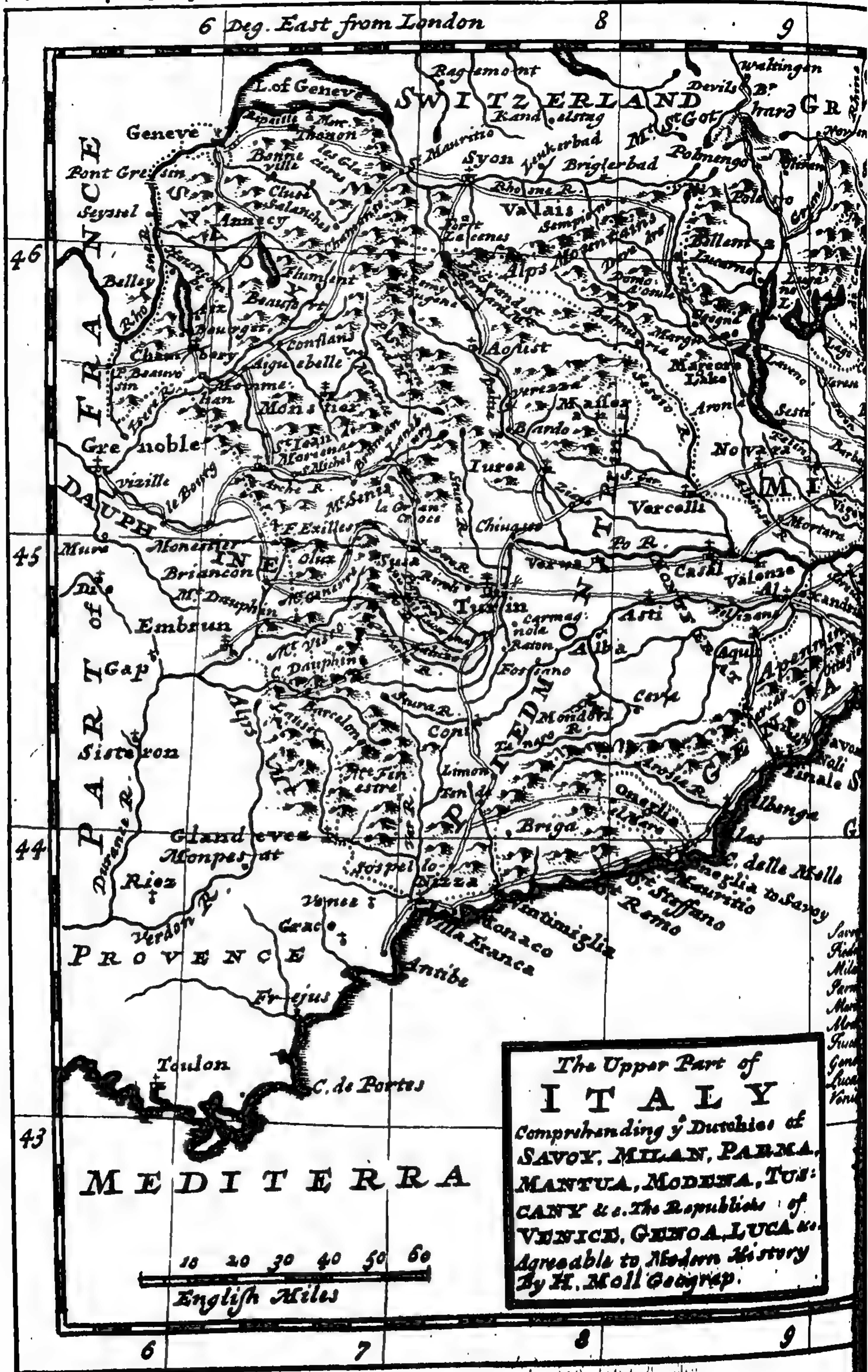
In pomp the shady Apennines arise,  
 And lift th' aspiring nation to the skies.  
 No land like Italy erects the sight  
 By such a vast ascent, or swells to such a height.  
 Her numerous states the tow'ring hills divide,  
 And see the billows rise on either side.  
 At Pisa here the range of mountains ends,  
 And here to high Ancona's shores extends.  
 In their dark womb a thousand rivers lie,  
 That with continu'd streams the double sea supply.

And SILIUS ITALICUS, in his relation of  
 HANNIBAL's march over the Apennine, gives  
 the following description of it, which the same  
 writer esteems every just, viz.

From steep to steep the troops advanc'd with pain,  
 In hopes at last the topmost cliff to gain:  
 But still by new ascents the mountain grew,  
 And a fresh toil presented to their view.

I shall conclude this chapter with some general <sup>Genius</sup>  
 remarks on the customs and manners of the Ita- <sup>and tem</sup>  
 lians, and can't but observe, that most travellers <sup>of the ad</sup>  
 who set out from hence, seem prejudiced against <sup>gives.</sup>  
 them on account of religion. The Italians, says  
 a judicious writer, excel in a complaisant obli-  
 ging behaviour, observing a medium between the  
 lightness of the French, and the starch'd gravity  
 of the Spaniard, and are by far the soberest peo-  
 ple that are to be found in the Christian world,  
 though they abound in plenty of the choicest  
 wines; nor is there any thing like luxury to be  
 seen at the tables of the great. They are generally  
 men of wit, and have a genius for arts and scien-  
 ces; nor do they want application. Musick, poc-  
 try, painting, sculpture and architecture, are their  
 favourite studies; there are no people on the face  
 of the earth that have brought them to greater  
 perfection. Their enemies indeed charge them  
 with











AP. with being too much addicted to pleasure and idleness, and affirm that they are generally insincere and perfidious; such masters in the art of dissimulation, that they can conceal their resentments till they meet with a favourable opportunity to revenge themselves, and then they never fail to strike home. But we may be assured that there are as many men of honour and probity in Italy, in proportion to the extent of the country, as in any other part of the world; and must not believe that murders and assassinations are so frequent here as some authors pretend. 'Tis true, they are of an amorous disposition, and too jealous of the fair sex; and some have push'd their resentment beyond the ordinary bounds, when they have imagin'd themselves abused; but these instances are not common. Travellers perhaps expect the same freedom with their women they are used to in cooler climates; but they should consider every nation is govern'd by its peculiar customs; that our notions of honour are given us in our education, from which we very difficultly recede: and we ought no more to expect that the conduct of the Italians should be conformable to ours, than that their air and climate should be the same. If there be some things which we cannot admire in them, there seems to be a great many more which deserve our imitation. But to proceed in their character: The nobility and gentry are in nothing so profuse as in their buildings and furniture, and in making collections of pictures, statues, hangings, and other ornaments: they are fond also of splendid equipages, and great trains of servants, and make a figure at least equal to their fortunes. They apprehend it derogates from their dignity to be born in the country, and therefore usually send their wives to some considerable city to lie-in, if they happen to be out of town. The marrying with plebeians, or the lower rank of people, also debases their quality to that degree, that they are render'd incapable of some posts of honour and profit by it: those therefore who have not fortunes equal to their quality, rather than marry an heiress to a wealthy merchant or tradesman, will chuse to go into a convent. There are academies, or societies of virtuosi in every town almost, who spend their time in improving the language of their country, which they admire above all others, and at their publick meetings entertain each other with rhetorical, moral, or philosophical discourses, for which the clemency of the air, and their temperance, abundantly qualify them. They are sententious in their writings, and much delighted with thoughts and expressions out of the common road. The lowest of the people are strangely taken with sounding words and lofty phrases, even above their capacity.

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As to their persons, they are of an agreeable stature, well proportion'd, and their features very engaging. Their complexions are not the best, but it is become a proverbial saying among the women, that if heaven has given them a good shape and features, they will take care to make themselves good complexions. Their hair is generally black, and those that have light hair, travellers tell us, take a great deal of pains to turn it yellow in some places, especially at Genoa. The Spanish or French mode prevails in their dress, as they happen to be affected to the one or the other nation; and black seems to be more worn than any other colour.

CHAP. II.

Their persons and habits.

## CHAP. II.

*Shews the several divisions and subdivisions of Italy, and treats particularly of Savoy.*

I Shall consider Italy under three grand divisions: I. Upper Italy, the most northern part of it, containing, 1. The principality of Piedmont, (to which I shall add Savoy, tho' it be on this side of the Alps.) 2. The duchy of Montferat. 3. The territories of Genoa. 4. The duchy of Milan. 5. The duchy of Parma. 6. The duchy of Modena. 7. The duchy of Mantua. And, 8. The territories of Venice.

Grand divisions of Italy. Upper Italy.

II. Middle Italy, containing the dominions of the Pope, and of the Great Duke of Tuscany, in which I comprehend the territories of Luca.

Middle Italy.

III. The Lower or Southern part of Italy, consisting of the kingdom of Naples.

Lower Italy.

## S A V O Y.

I Shall first enter upon the description of Savoy and Piedmont, and the rest of the King of Sardinia's dominions in Upper Italy, which extend in length from the lake of Geneva to the port of Nice in the Mediterranean, about an hundred and fourscore miles: the breadth being very unequal, in some places an hundred miles over, and in others scarce forty.

Savoy is bounded by the lake and territories of Geneva towards the north; by Piedmont, from which it is separated by the Alps, towards the east and south; and by Dauphiné and Lionois in France, towards the west. This province lying on the French side of the Alps, is usually reckon'd to be out of Italy, but being contiguous to Piedmont, and the rest of the King of Sardinia's dominions in Italy, it may not be amiss to describe it here.

Situation and extent.

S f

Savoy



**CHAP.** Savoy is divided into seven provinces; 1. The duchy of Savoy, properly so call'd. 2. The county of Geneva. 3. The duchy of Chablais. 4. The barony of Fossigny. 5. The county of Tarantaise. 6. The county of Maurienne. And, 7. The duchy of Aouste, or Aosta.

Savoy Proper.

1. The duchy of Savoy, properly so called, is bounded by the county of Geneva towards the north, by the Tarantaise and Maurienne on the east; by Dauphiné towards the south; and by Bugey and the river Rhone towards the west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Chamberry. 2. Montmelian. 3. Bourget. 4. Aix. 5. Haute-combe. 6. Yenne. 7. Les Eschelle. 8. Mions. And, 9. Conflans.

Chief towns.

Chamberry.

1. Chamberry, the capital, is situated on a plain, at the confluence of the two little rivers Laisse and Albans, about fifty miles south of Geneva, and twelve to the northward of Montmelian, antiently the residence of the Dukes of Savoy, and here the Parliament of the province still assembles; but it has lost much of its antient grandeur. 2. Montmelian, a little town, situate on the river Isere, twelve miles south-east of Chamberry, strongly fortified, and defended by a citadel built upon a rock, which made it look'd upon formerly as impregnable, but it was taken more than once in the late wars. The other towns do not require a particular description.

Montmelian.

County of Geneva.

2. The county of Geneva, bounded by Gex and Chablais on the north; by Fossigny on the east; by Savoy Proper on the south; and by La Bresse on the West. The chief towns are, 1. Annecy. 2. Alby. And, 3. La Roche.

Chief towns.

Annecy.

Annecy, the capital of the county, is situated at the north end of a lake of the same name, thirty miles north of Chamberry. It is a large neat town, and the residence of the Bishop of Geneva, since his expulsion from that city by the Protestants.

Duchy of Chablais.

3. The duchy of Chablais, bounded by the lake of Geneva on the north; by the Valais on the east; and by the territories of Geneva towards the west; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Thonon. 2. Ripaille. And, 3. Evian.

Chief towns.

Thonon.

Thonon is situated at the mouth of the river Drame, where it falls into the lake of Geneva, about eighteen miles to the northward of the city of Geneva; a pleasant well-built town, and inhabited by people of condition.

Ripaille.

Ripaille is a little distance from Thonon, and, according to Mr. ADDISON, deserves to be taken notice of for its convent of Carthusians, who have a large forest cut out into walks that are extremely thick and gloomy, and very suitable to the genius of the inhabitants. The vists are of great length, and terminate upon the lake of Geneva; On one side of the walks there is a

near prospect of the Alps, which are broken into so many steps and precipices, that they fill the mind with an agreeable kind of horror, and form one of the most irregular mis-shapen scenes in the world. The convent belong'd formerly to the Hermits of St. MAURICE, and is famous for the retreat of the Antipope who stiled himself FÆLIX the fifth. He had been Duke of Savoy, and after a glorious reign took upon him the habit of an hermit, and retired to this solitary spot of his dominions; where he had not been above half a year, when he was chosen Pope by the council of Basil. But his election being contested, he chose for the peace of the church to retire again to his hermitage, and leave his competitor in the quiet possession of the keys. But some say, he chose this charming solitude that he might spend his time in ease and luxury; from whence the Italians to this day use the proverb, *Andare a Ripaglia*; and the French, *Faire Ripaille*, to express a delightful kind of life.

4. The barony of Fossigny is bounded by Chablais on the north; by the Valais and the duchy of Aouste on the east; by the Tarantaise on the south; and by the county of Geneva on the west: The chief towns whereof are, 1. Bonneville. 2. Cluse. 3. Salanches. 4. Passy. And, 5. Toninga.

Bonneville is situate on a rising ground near the river Arve, about twenty miles south-east of Geneva; but I don't meet with any thing in this, or the other four towns, that require a particular description.

5. The county of Tarantaise is bounded by Fossigny on the north; by Aouste on the east; by the county of Maurienne on the south and west: The chief towns whereof are, 1. Monstier. 2. Brianconnet. And, 3. St. Maurice.

Monstier is situated in a valley on the river Isere, forty miles south-east of Chamberry, and is the See of an Archbishop, whose palace is the only publick building mention'd by travellers as worth the seeing.

6. The county of Maurienne is bounded by the Tarantaise on the north, and Dauphiné on the south, lying between the Alps and the river Isere, and consisting of one valley near fifty miles in length: The chief towns are, 1. St. John de Maurienne. 2. La Chambre. 3. St. Michael. 4. Trencignon. And, 5. Lanebourg.

St. John de Maurienne is situated in a pleasant valley on the river Arche, twenty miles south-west of Monstier, and is a populous well-built town, considering the country, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Vienne in Dauphiné.

7. The duchy of Aouste is bounded by the Valais on the north; by the Vercellois and the valleys of Sesia on the east; by Maurienne on the south;

CHAP. II. Savoy

Barony of Fossigny

Chief towns

Bonneville

County of Tarantaise

Chief towns

Monstier

County of Maurienne

Chief towns

St. John de Maurienne

The

of A



CHAP. II.  
 south; and by Savoy on the west: and is by some geographers placed in Savoy, and by others in Italy; and consists of eight large valleys, being about fifteen leagues in length from east to west, and ten in breadth from north to south. The chief towns are, 1. Aouste. 2. Morges. 3. La Tuille. 4. Avise. 5. Court Major. 6. St. Remi. 7. Donas. 8. Chatillon. And, 9. Bart.

The city of Aouste is situated in the middle of a valley of the same name, upon a little river, fifty miles north of Turin: it is the See of a Bishop, whose palace, with the ruins of a Roman amphitheatre, are all the publick buildings which travellers mention as worth the viewing.

The air of Savoy is much colder than that of Italy, being situated on the north side of the Alps, or rather upon them. The general distemper of the country, as in other mountainous places, is that of swell'd throats or wens, from which few of them are free, supposed to proceed from their drinking snow-water. Their chief rivers are the Isere, the Arche, and the Arve; and their lakes, those of Bourget and Annecy. The principal mountain is that of Mount Cenis, supposed to be the highest of all the Alps, which has a road over it, and divides Savoy from Piedmont. The antients call'd this hill, or chain of hills, *Alpes Cottiae*. A modern traveller relates, that the ascent is very troublesome, and in several places dangerous on account of the narrow passages on the brinks of high precipices, where if the beast the traveller rides happens to stumble, he falls half a mile at least before he reaches the bottom; but the mules which are used in crossing these hills are generally very sure-footed. On the top of this mountain is a plain about two leagues over, at the end whereof, on the entrance into Piedmont, is an inn and a little chapel, call'd the Transis, where they bury people that are frozen to death, or smother'd in the snow. The Romans stiled all nations who inhabited the northern side of the Alps, *Transalpini* and *Barbari*, and look'd upon them as a barbarous uncivilized people; and the present Italians, it seems, stile them *Tramontani*, and have but a mean opinion either of the Savoyards, or any other people on this side; insomuch that if a man be guilty of any egregious blunder, they immediately call him a *Tramontano*.

The nobility and gentry of Savoy are as complaisant and obliging as their neighbours of Italy, and not altogether so formal and precise. The common people are generally good-natured, honest, sober, and laborious, but exceeding poor; which does not proceed so much from the barrenness of the country, being more fruitful in many parts of it than Switzerland, but from the despotick power of the Prince and great Lords, whose vassals the peasants are, being not allow'd

a subsistence out of the lands they manure. So great is the scarcity of corn in some of their villages, that travellers relate, it is a rarity to meet with a piece of bread, and that they have been forced to content themselves with a glass of wine and a few chesnuts, the usual food of the natives, at their inns upon the great road. Their poverty therefore obliges many of the natives to go abroad: We find Savoyard chimney-sweepers, pedlars, and raree-show-men, in every part of Europe, who are used to live so frugally at home, that they often return to their own country with a good round sum of money. A modern traveller assures us, that he knew one of them that kept a shop at Turin, who had brought three hundred guineas out of England, which he had got by his raree-show. The country however produces wine, and some corn, apples, pears, and other fruits. They have also large herds of black cattle, goats, hogs, venison, and wild fowl in the woods and mountains, and plenty of fish in their lakes and rivers: Their hares and partridges, as well as bears and foxes, on the tops of the Alps, are frequently white, as they are in the north of Russia and Greenland. Here are large woods of fir-trees, which afford masts, pitch and tar for shipping, and they have some oak-timber: their woods also abound in walnuts and chesnuts, which make a great part of the food of the peasants, as well as of their hogs. Here are also some marble and stone quarries, and coal-pits, and in several places mineral waters, and hot baths, of which those at Aix near Chamberry are most resorted to. They have also several salt-pits, especially in the Tarantaise, and some salt-fountains, which furnish them with good white salt. In Fossigny there are allum mines, and the valley of Aouste affords a good sand for making crystal glasses.

## P I E D M O N T.

### CHAP. III.

*Contains a description of Piedmont.*

THE principality of Piedmont, so named from its lying at the foot of the Alps, is bounded by the valley of Aouste, and part of the duchy of Milan towards the north; by another part of Milan, and the Montferat on the east; by the territories of Geneva, and the county of Nice on the south; and by Dauphiné and Savoy on the west; extending an hundred miles in length from north to south, and about seventy miles in breadth from east to west, and is generally computed to be three hundred miles and upwards in circumference. It may be divided into eight parts, or provinces, *Situation and extent.*



CHAP. vines, viz. 1. Piedmont Proper. 2. The marquise of Suza. 3. The marquise of Saluzzes, or Saluzzo. 4. The county of Asti. 5. The lordship of Verceil. 6. The principality of Masserano. 7. The marquise of Ivrea. And, 8. The valleys of the Vaudois.

Piedmont Proper.

Chief towns.

Turin.

The Holy Handkerchief.

Piedmont Proper is bounded by the marquise of Suza on the north; by the Montferat towards the east; by the territories of Geneva, and the county of Nice on the south; and by the marquise of Saluzzo on the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Turin. 2. Brandis. 3. Chivas. 4. Montcalier. 5. Carignan. 6. Quieras, or Quierasco. 7. Mondovi. 8. Coni. 9. Fossano. 10. Savillano. 11. Pignerol. 12. Marsalia. And, 13. Rivoli. The principal whereof are,

1. Turin, the capital of this principality, and of the King of Sardinia's dominions in Italy; the *Augusta Taurinum*, or *Taurania*, of the ancients, situate in the latitude of forty-four degrees fifty minutes; nine degrees to the eastward of London, near the confluence of the rivers Doira and Po; from the last of which it is about three hundred paces distant. The town is of a square figure, about three miles in circumference; and admired for its spacious squares, piazzas, broad streets, lofty and magnificent buildings, and particularly the King's palace, which for the beauty of the several apartments, the richness of the furniture, the paintings, the cabinets of curiosities, and the library is scarce to be parallel'd. The palace of the Prince of Carignan, the cathedral, and the Jesuits chapel, are also much admired. The chapel of the Holy Handkerchief, lately built of black marble, is a pretty piece of architecture. This handkerchief, according to tradition, was presented to our Saviour by a compassionate virgin as he was carrying his cross to the place of crucifixion, who having wiped his face, return'd it back to her with his picture imprinted on the linnen in the most lively colours; but 'tis said, there are some other places which pretend to be in possession of this precious relique.

The fortifications of the place are as fine as the nature of the ground will permit, and the citadel a regular pentagon: nor were the French able to take either the one or the other after a most furious siege of ten weeks continuance in the year 1706; but had it not been relieved in a very critical hour by the arms of the allies commanded by the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, it could not have held out many days longer; for the enemy was master of the outworks, and the besieged had scarce powder left to salute their Prince when he made his triumphant entry into his capital city, which he found little better than a heap of rubbish, the French King having given particular orders not to leave a house standing that their bombs or red-hot bul-

lets could reach; but it is now for the most part rebuilt to great advantage. Nor did the Grand Monarch's resentment rest here: the plantations of olives, the vines, the groves, the walks, and all the fine avenues to this charming city, which stood in one of the pleasantest plains in Europe, were order'd to be destroy'd; a loss not so easily to be repair'd as the buildings, which the Duke afterwards endeavour'd to retaliate when he march'd into France to the siege of Thoulon.

Turin is the See of an Archbishop; and a University was erected here about the year 1405; besides which, there are academies for riding, dancing and martial exercises; and the court is said to be as polite as any in Europe: the people in general also are much in the favour of our modern travellers, who seem better pleased with their reception here than in many other cities of Italy. The natives have not that stiffness and insincerity, which they insinuate are inseparable from the Italians, who live more to the southward. And one convenience Mr. ADDISON mentions in this town, which is not to be met with in others, and that is, a rivulet on the upper side of the city, which is turn'd into the streets every night, and clears them of all manner of filth, serving also to lay the dust in summer, which otherwise in this populous place would be intolerable; but among all the conveniencies and beauties of Turin, their tatter'd paper windows are no small disgrace to it: Nothing sets off our buildings in this part of the world like our noble sash-windows of crown-glass; whereas in this, and the rest of the cities of Italy, they content themselves with paper lights, and these frequently torn and out of repair, which makes their most magnificent palaces have a scandalous aspect.

Without the town the Capuchins cloyster, which stands upon a lovely mount, and affords a prospect of the whole city and the neighbouring country, is much admired; as are the royal palace of La Venerie, about three miles out of town, and that of Valentin, situate on the banks of the Po, about a mile distant from the city. The barbarous ravages committed here, and in the rest of the Duke of Savoy's territories by the French in the two last wars, have justly created the utmost abhorrence and detestation of that nation among the common people.

Chivas, or Chivazzo, is a strong fortress, situate on the Po, about twelve miles to the northward of Turin, taken by the French in the year 1705, after a brave defence; but surrendered to the Duke of Savoy again the year following on the raising of the siege of Turin.

Mondovi is situated upon an eminence at the foot of the Apennine mountains, about forty miles to the southward of Turin, a large, beautiful and well-peopled city, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to



**H A P.** to the Archbishop of Turin. It is defended by a citadel, and esteem'd a place of strength, and the second city of Piedmont.

**III.** Coni lies about thirty miles to the southward of Turin, is reckon'd a strong place, and hath a citadel built without the town, upon a neighbouring hill.

**Pied-** Fossano, which derives its name from the multitude of fountains about it, is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Turin, and is defended by a castle. This place lies about fifteen miles north-east of Coni.

**mont.** Pignerol, situated on the river Chiese, about sixteen miles south-west of Turin, a strong fortress on the frontiers towards Dauphiné, and for a considerable time in the possession of the French King, who being obliged to restore it to the Duke of Savoy in the year 1696, demolish'd the fortifications; but the Duke being at liberty to fortify his frontier places by the treaty of Utrecht, has since put this and the rest in a posture of defence. The situation of the rest of the towns of Piedmont will be found in the map bound up with this volume, but do not seem to merit a particular description.

**marquise** The marquise of Susa lies at the foot of Mount Cenis, and is bounded by Dauphiné, a province of France on the west; and by Piedmont Proper on the east; being about forty miles in length from north to south, and ten in breadth; the only considerable town whereof is,

**Susa** Susa, situate on the river Doira, twenty miles north-west of Turin, a town of the utmost importance to the King of Sardinia, lying on a pass out of France into his country. The French demolish'd the citadel on their taking it in 1704; but being yielded to the Duke of Savoy at the treaty of Utrecht, he was left at liberty to repair the fortifications of this and his other frontier garisons.

**city.** The marquise of Salusses, or Saluzzo, is bounded by Piedmont Proper towards the north and east; by the counties of Nice and Tende on the south; and by Dauphiné and Barcelonette on the west; extending about thirty miles in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south, in which district rises the river Po, at the foot of mount Vesulo: The chief towns whereof are Saluzzo and Carmagnola.

**marquise** Saluzzo stands on an eminence at the foot of the Alps, about a mile from the banks of the Po, and twenty south-west of Turin. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Turin, though he pretends to depend immediately on the Pope. The cathedral is a magnificent structure, and there is an old castle, but of no great strength.

**Saluzzo** The county of Asti is bounded on the north, east and south by Montferat; and by Piedmont Proper on the west; extending about thirty miles

**CH A P.** in length from north to south, and about twenty miles in breadth: The chief towns whereof, are Asti, Verue and Ceve.

**III.** The city of Asti stands on the river Tanaro, about twenty-five miles to the eastward of Turin; 'tis a large populous place, well fortified, and defended by a citadel and castle, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Milan; and for the number and beauty of its palaces and public buildings is said to equal most towns in Lombardy.

**Pied-** Verue is a strong fortress, situate on a rock close to the river Po. It held out a siege of six months against all the efforts of France in the year 1705, nor did the Governour surrender 'till the place was become one heap of rubbish; but it is since re-edified, and the works repaired.

**Verue.** Ceve is the capital of a marquise, a small, but very pretty town, situate on the Tanaro, about seven miles south-east of Mondovi.

**Verue.** The lordship of Verceil is bounded by the duchy of Milan, and the valleys of Sesia on the north and east, and by Montferat on the south; extending in length about thirty miles from east to west; and twenty from north to south: the chief town whereof is Verceil.

**Verceil ba-** The city of Verceil, or Vercelli, is situate on the river Sesia, near the frontiers of Milan, fifteen miles to the northward of Casal, and near forty north-east of Turin. It is a large fortified town, and a Bishop's See, suffragan to Milan, and the cathedral a handsome Gothic structure. It was taken by the French in the year 1705, but quit- ted by them the next year, on the raising the siege of Turin, after they had demolish'd the fortifications.

**Verceil city-** The City of Bielle, the capital of a small territory, to which it communicates its name, stands on the river Cervo, fifteen miles to the westward of Verceil, of which I meet with nothing particular.

**Belle city** The principality of Masserano lies to the north- ward of Verceil; the chief town whereof is of the same name; sixteen miles north-west of Verceil, but I do not meet with any particular description of it.

**and country.** The marquise of Ivrea lies to the southward of the valley of Aoste; the chief town whereof is of the same name, situate on the river Doira, about twenty-five miles north-west of Verceil, a large populous place, but not admir'd for the elegance of its buildings: it is a Bishop's See, suffra- gan to Turin, and had the reputation of a strong town till the French took it in the year 1704, and demolish'd the fortifications.

**Ivrea mar-** The valleys of the Vaudois are five, viz. 1. Valley of Those of Pragelas, or Cluson. 2. Perouse. 3. St. Martin. 4. Angrogne. And, 5. Lucern. Bounded by Piedmont Proper on the east, west and



CHAP. and north, and by the marquisate of Saluzzo on the south. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Lucern. 2. St. Martin. And, 3. Perouse, or Permont. rusa.

**Lucerna.** The town of Lucern, or Lucerna, the capital of these valleys, stands about six miles to the southward of Pignerol, and communicates its name to all of them, being as often call'd the valleys of Lucern as of the Vaudois.

**St. Martin's.** St. Martin's is the chief town of another of these valleys, and lies to the northward of Proper Lucern.

**Perusa.** Perusa, the chief of a third fruitful valley, lies about four miles to the northward of Pignerol. The natives were call'd Waldenses and Vaudois, from one PETER WALDO, or VAUD, a merchant of Lyons, who about the year 1160, began to exclaim against the errors of the church of Rome, and having gain'd a multitude of proselytes to his opinions, was expelled the territories of France with his disciples, and settled in these valleys, where they remain'd in quiet for some years; but the late Princes of the house of Savoy have left no means unattempted to bring them over to the church of Rome, and indeed used them so rigorously, that many of them were forced to fly for refuge into Switzerland, where about four thousand of these people having taken arms, and form'd themselves into regiments, ventured to return into their country again in a hostile manner, being commanded by ARNAUD, one of their celebrated preachers, and TUREL, a Mason by trade, who forced their way into Savoy, defeating several detachments of the French and Savoyard troops; and their Prince, at the intercession of King WILLIAM, gave the rest of them liberty to return and enjoy the free exercise of their religion; till the Duke having made a separate treaty with France, in the year 1696, that crown insisted on his banishing them again, or compelling them to be reconciled to the church of Rome, which occasion'd a fresh persecution. This Prince however breaking with France in the year 1703, took the Vaudois again into his favour, and employ'd them in the defence of their country against France, in which they did him good service at first, but some of them afterwards put themselves under the protection of the French.

**Rivers.** The principal rivers of Piedmont are the Po, the Tanaro, the Stura and the Doire, or Duria.

**Mountains.** This country lies between the Alps on one side, and the Apennine hills on the other; but is not incumber'd with barren rocks and mountains, as its neighbours of Savoy and the State of Genoa are. On the contrary, there is not a more desirable climate, a pleasanter or more fruitful province in Italy, abounding in corn, wine, fruits, rice, cattle and fowls of all kinds, wild and tame; excellent cheese, silk, flax, hemp and minerals;

but the crop is sometimes destroy'd by storms of CHAP hail, which are called the Plague of Piedmont, IV. when it is almost ready for the sickle. In plentiful years they export great quantities of corn and rice, as well as cattle, silk, linnen cloth, wrought iron and paper; insomuch that no country of its dimensions yields so great a revenue to its Prince; what they want most is a large breed of horses, with which they are supplied from Germany.

I proceed next to the dominions of the King of Sardinia which lie to the southward of Piedmont; and these are, 1. The county of Nice. 2. The county of Tende. 3. The county of Boglio, or Bueil. 4. The principality of Oneglia. And, 5. The principality or valley of Barcelonetta. But this last was yielded to France by the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713.

#### CHAP. IV.

##### *Treats of the counties of Nice, Tende, &c.*

THE county of Nice is bounded by the mar-<sup>County of</sup> quisate of Saluzzo on the north; by the <sup>Nice.</sup> county of Tende and the territories of Genoa on <sup>Situation</sup> the east; by the Mediterranean on the south; and by the county of Boglio, or Bueil, and Provence on the west. The country produces plenty of oil and wine, and but little corn, being very mountainous. It is divided into four vicariats, which contain thirty towns and upwards, the chief whereof are Nice and Villa Franca.

The city of Nice, or Nizza, stands on the <sup>Nice city.</sup> Mediterranean shore, in a pleasant plain, at the foot of the Alps, ten miles to the northward of Antibes, and sixty to the southward of Pignerol, and is defended by a strong castle situate on a rock, which commands both the town and the harbour. The Prince's palace, the Jesuit's chapel, and the cathedral, are said to be pretty structures. The private houses are lofty, and the streets regular, but the place suffer'd very much in the late wars, being several times taken and retaken, and the fortifications were demolish'd by the French, when they found they should not be able to keep it; however, it was yielded to the King of Sardinia by the peace of Utrecht, who was left at liberty to repair the fortifications again by that treaty.

Villa Franca is situated on the same shore, a-<sup>Villa Franca city.</sup> bout five miles to the eastward of Nice. It seems to have a better harbour, and is defended by two forts. This town was also taken by the French in the late wars, but surrender'd to the King of Sardinia, the then Duke of Savoy, by the ensuing Peace.

The county of Tende is bounded by Piedmont <sup>County of</sup> <sup>Tende</sup> on <sup>towns</sup>



**H A P. IV.** on the north, by the territories of Genoa on the east, and by the county of Nice on the south and west; the chief town whereof is Tende, situate at the foot of the Apennine, about thirty miles to the northward of Villa Franca, and hath a castle for its defence.

**Piedmont.** The county of Broglio, or Bueil, sometimes reckon'd part of the county of Nice, is bounded by the valley of Barcelonette on the north, by the county of Nice towards the east, and by Provence in France on the south and west; the chief town whereof is Broglio, situate on the frontiers of Provence, about thirty miles to the northward of Nice.

**Oneglia** The principality of Oneglia lies on the Mediterranean, encompassed on three sides by the territories of Genoa, being about twenty-five miles in length, and eight in breadth; the chief town whereof is Oneglia, situate on the sea, about seventy miles south-east of Turin. 'Tis said to be a populous trading place, and the country about it to abound in oil and fruits.

**Barcelonette** The principality or valley of Barcelonette is bounded by the marquisate of Saluzzo on the north, by the county of Nice on the east, by Broglio on the south, and by Provence on the west; extending thirty miles in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south; the chief town whereof bears the name of the province, and stands about fifty miles north-west of Nice. This principality, as it was formerly dependent on Provence, the French King insisted should be restor'd, and confirm'd to him by the peace of Utrecht, which was accordingly granted him. And here it is very fit to give an abstract of that treaty, as far as it relates to the boundaries between France and the dominions of the King of Sardinia. By this treaty his most Christian Majesty yielded and transferr'd to his Royal Highness of Savoy (the present King of Sardinia) the valley of Pragelas, with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles, and the valleys of Oulx, Sezane, Bardonache, and Chateau-Dauphin, and all about the water, which comes from the Alps on the side of Piedmont, which his most Christian Majesty had possessed himself of during the war. Reciprocally his Royal Highness yielded to his most Christian Majesty the valley of Barcelonette and its dependencies; so that the summit of the Alps and the mountain, were to serve for boundaries between France, Piedmont, and the county of Nice, in such manner that the plains upon the said summits and the heights should be divided; and half the river flowing from the side of Dauphiné and Provence should belong to his most Christian Majesty, and those on the side of Piedmont and the county of Nice should belong to his Royal Highness of Savoy. And for the greater va-

lidity of the said cessions, they were ratified and reciprocally register'd in the courts of Parliament and Chambers of accounts of Paris and of Dauphiné; as also in the Senate and Chamber of accounts of Turin, and the Senate of Nice. I proceed now to describe the King of Sardinia's dominions which lie to the eastward of Piedmont; and these are the duchy of Montferat, the Alexandrin, the Vigevano, and the Lomelin in the Milanese.

## CH A P. V.

### *Treats of the duchy of Montferat, &c.*

**T**HE duchy of Montferat is bounded by the lordship of Verceil on the north, by the Alexandrin on the east; by the territories of Genoa on the south; and by the county of Asti on the west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Casal. 2. Ponteuora. 3. Lucedia. 4. Acqui. 5. Nice de la Paille. 6. Trino. 7. Albe or Alba.

1. Casal, the capital of Montferat, sometimes called St. Vas, situate on the banks of the Po, in a fine plain, thirty miles to the eastward of Turin, and fifteen to the southward of Verceil, a strong town, but frequently taken and re-taken in the late wars. It is a well-built populous city, and a Bishop's See, suffragan to the Archbishop of Milan.

2. Acqui, the *Aqua Statellia* of the Romans, which receives its name from its mineral waters, being much resorted to at present, as well as antiently on that account, and lies about twenty miles to the southward of Casal. It is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Milan.

3. Trino, situate near the Po, six miles to the westward of Casal, remarkable for little but the defeat of the Duke of Savoy by the French, in the year 1703.

4. Albe, the *Alba Pompeia* of the Romans, the capital of the district called the Albefan, situate on the Tanaro, twenty miles to the westward of Acqui.

The Alexandrin lies between the territories of Genoa and Milan on the south and east, and Montferat on the north-west; the chief towns whereof are Alexandria and Bosco.

Alexandria is situated ten miles south-east of Casal, and forty south-west of Milan, being divided in two parts by the river Tanaro, and is a Bishop's See, suffragan to the Archbishop of Milan.

The Vigevano lies between Novara on the north, Milan on the east, and the Lomelin on the south; the chief towns whereof are Vigevano and Mortara.

Vigevano is pleasantly situated on the river Tanaro.



**CHAP.** fin, twenty miles south-west of Milan, defended by a castle built upon a rock, and is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Milan.

**V. Piedmont.** The Lomelin lies to the southward of Vigevano, the chief towns whereof are Valencia, or Valenza, Lumello and Frescarolo.

The Lomelin.  
Valenza.

Valenza is situate near the Po, on the confines of Montferat, twelve miles to the eastward of Casal; a little fortified town, which travellers do not think worth a particular description.

**Sessia valleys.** The valleys of Sessia lie between the river of the same name, and the lake Major.

**Soil and produce of Montferat, &c.** The duchy of Montferat, the Alexandrin, the Vigevano, and Lomelin, are pleasant fruitful countries, water'd by the river Po, yielding corn, wine, and oil; and as they are contiguous to Piedmont, are a very valuable addition to the

**Transferr'd to the King of Sardinia.** King of Sardinia's dominions. Formerly the Montferat was divided between this Prince and the Duke of Mantua; but upon the death of that Duke without issue, anno 1708, the Emperor transferred the Duke of Mantua's part to his Sardinian Majesty. Afterwards the Alexandrin, and the rest of the territories in the Milanese above-mentioned, were granted to his Royal Highness, with the island of Sardinia, in lieu of Sicily, which he was obliged to quit to the Emperor; not that these are an equivalent, but the powers of Europe were pleas'd to have it so. And even in the Montferat the Emperor gave him a great deal of disturbance, by exempting several lordships from his jurisdiction, which occasion'd a misunderstanding between the courts of Vienna and Turin for a considerable time.

**Government of Savoy, Piedmont, Nice, &c.** The administration of the government in Savoy and Piedmont, the county of Nice, Montferat, and the rest of the dominions of the King of Sardinia, is committed to a Council of State, in which his Majesty presides; next him sit the Princes of the Blood, and below them six Counsellors of State, the principal Secretary, the Clerk of the Council, and other officers. There is also a Council of Finances, or Court of Exchequer for each province, consisting of two Presidents, a Comptroller, Secretary, and other requisite officers; and a chamber of accounts, consisting of three Presidents, three Chevaliers of accounts, sixteen Masters of accounts, a Treasurer-General, two Secretaries, a Comptroller, &c.

Justice is regularly administer'd in all cases where the government is not concern'd. There are three Senates to which appeals are made from inferiour tribunals; the first for Savoy, the second for Piedmont, and the third for Nice and its dependencies. The Senate of Savoy is held at Chambery, and consists of four Presidents, sixteen Senators, of whom the Abbot of Hautecombe is always one, the Advocate-General, the Attorney-

General, two Clerks of the Senate, and two Secretaries. The Senate of Piedmont sits at Turin, and consists of four Presidents, two Knights, eighteen other Senators, an Advocate-General, an Attorney-General, a Clerk, and other necessary officers. The Senate of Nice is held in the capital city, and is compos'd of two Presidents, six Counsellors, an Advocate, an Attorney-General, Clerk, &c.

As the King of Sardinia is absolute in his dominions, these Senates or Parliaments are subject to his controul; and though common matters are referr'd to them, yet where the government is concern'd, like the Parliaments of Paris and other cities of France, they serve only to record the decrees and edicts of the Prince.

## CHAP. VI.

*Contains an abstract of the history of Savoy and Piedmont, with an account of his present Sardinian Majesty's family, revenues, forces, titles, interests, and pretensions.*

**SAVOY** was antiently possessed by the Allobroges, the Centrones, Nantuates, Garocelli, and other barbarous people, as the Romans stiled them. **TERENTIUS VARRO** reduced part of them to the obedience of Rome, and **AUGUSTUS** the rest, forming them into a province. When the Empire was over-run by the northern nations, Savoy underwent the common fate, and was subject sometimes to one, and sometimes to another. The Burgundians incorporated it with the kingdom they establish'd in part of Gallia Celtica and Gallia Narbonensis. After the destruction of the Burgundian kingdom, it came into the hands of **BEROLD**, the son of **HUGH** Duke of Saxony, who going into Italy with his uncle the Emperor **OTTO III.**, about the year 999, had the government of this country conferred upon him, and at length acquir'd the sovereignty of it. But my business being chiefly with modern history, I shall only give the names of his immediate successors, unless I meet with something remarkable in their respective administrations.

**HUMBERT I.**, succeeded his father **BEROLD**, anno 1027.

**AMADEUS I.**, son of **HUMBERT**, 1048.

**ODO**, brother of **AMADEUS**, 1050.

**AMADEUS II.**, son of **ODO**, 1080.

**HUMBERT II.**, his son, 1095.

**AMADEUS III.**, his son, 1103.

**HUMBERT III.**, his son, 1149.

**THOMAS**, his son, 1186.

**AMADEUS IV.**, his son, 1233.

**BONIFACE**, his son, 1253.

**PETER**, the seventh son of Count **THOMAS**, in prejudice of the sons of his eldest brother, succeeded, anno 1263.

**PHILIP**,



AP. PHILIP, his brother, the eighth son of Count THOMAS, succeeded, 1276.  
 VI. AMADEUS V, son of THOMAS, succeeded in prejudice of his elder brother PHILIP's children, 1284.

EDWARD, his son, 1323.

AIMON, his brother, 1329.

AMADEUS VI, his son, 1343.

AMADEUS VII, his son, 1383.

of Sa- AMADEUS VIII, his son, made a Duke by succeeds the Emperor SIGISMUND; and LEWIS of Savoy, Piedmont. Prince of Piedmont, dying without issue, he succeeded to his dominions, 1391.

LEWIS, his son, succeeded on his father's resignation, who retir'd into the priory of Ripailles, on the lake of Geneva, where being chosen Pope by the name of FELIX V, and govern'd nine years, for the peace of the church he resign'd the popedom to his competitor, and retir'd again to the monastery of Ripailles, 1434.

AMADEUS IX, his son, 1465.

PHILIBERT I, his son, 1477.

CHARLES I, his brother, succeeded his aunt, Queen CHARLOTTE, in the kingdom of Cyprus, 1482.

CHARLES-JOHN-AMADEUS, his son, 1490.

PHILIP II, son to LEWIS, 1496.

PHILIBERT II, his son, 1497.

CHARLES III, son to PHILIP II, 1504.

EMANUEL-PHILIBERT, his son, 1553.

CHARLES-EMANUEL, his son, 1580.

VICTOR-AMADEUS I, his son, 1630.

FRANCIS-HYACINTHUS, his son, 1637.

CHARLES-EMANUEL II, his brother, 1638.

VICTOR-AMADEUS II, his son, the present Sovereign of Savoy, Piedmont, &c. succeeded his father CHARLES-EMANUEL, on the 12th of June, 1675, during his minority. He was born on the 14th of May, 1666, and married ANNE-MARY of Valois, daughter to PHILIP Duke of Orleans, and HENRIETTA daughter of CHARLES I, King of England, anno 1684, by whom he had issue MARY-ADELAIDE, mother to the present French King, and MARY-LOUISA-GABRIELLA, married to PHILIP V, the present King of Spain; who is since dead, as well as the rest of the King of Sardinia's children, except CHARLES-EMANUEL-VICTOR, the present Prince of Piedmont, who married the Princess Palatine of Sultzbach, sister to the Prince of Sultzbach, heir to the Elector Palatine, in the year 1722, who the same year being brought to bed of a Prince, died in child-bed; nor did her son survive her much above two years: so that the King of Sardinia's dominions in Italy, are in danger of going to another branch of his family, viz. that of Carignan, if the Prince of Piedmont has no male issue. The Salique Law, it seems, is in force here, neither the females, or their issue, can in-

VOL. II.

CHAP. VI. Piedmont. herit the dominions of Savoy or Piedmont. Of the branch of Carignan there are several males still living, besides the present Prince of that name. The celebrated Prince EUGENE is of this house, but there are several before him in the succession.

The Duke of Savoy enter'd into the grand alliance in the year 1690, and the Confederates sent him a good body of troops, and large remittances of money, to enable him to make head against the French: but he was generally unfortunate in this war; and particularly in the year 1693, when the French obtain'd a compleat victory, and Duke SCHOMBERG, General of the English auxiliaries, was mortally wounded in the field of battle. His Royal Highness made a separate peace with France in the year 1696, in consideration of their restoring all the towns they had taken from him during the war, except Pignerol, and their paying him four millions of livres, (400,000 l.) It was also agreed that the Duke of Burgundy should marry his daughter, as hath been intimated already. On the other hand, the Duke agreed to banish all the French Refugees in his territories, and prohibit the Vaudois from conversing with his other subjects.

Upon the death of CHARLES II, King of Spain, he join'd the French, and in concert with them endeavour'd to prevent the Germans, under Prince EUGENE, penetrating into Italy. But after the Germans had pass'd the Alps, and got footing in that country, he began to listen to the proposals that were made him by the allies; and of this LEWIS XIV having receiv'd some intimation, order'd his Generals to make his troops prisoners: whereupon the Duke arrested the Ambassadors of France and Spain, with all the French at Turin, and a regiment of horse of the same nation, that lay in the neighbourhood. About which time his Royal Highness receiv'd the following short letter from the most Christian King, viz.

“ Monsieur,  
 “ SINCE religion, honour, alliance, treaties,  
 “ and your own hand, are of no force between  
 “ you and me, I have sent my cousin, the Duke  
 “ of Vendosme, to explain my mind to you, and  
 “ he will give you four and twenty hours to con-  
 “ sider what you have to do.”

The Duke, notwithstanding he had married one daughter to the heir of the crown of France, and another to the King of Spain, remain'd unmov'd in his resolution of adhering to the allies. Whether they offer'd him better terms than France, or whether he observ'd that they were an over-match for LEWIS XIV, and that this conduct would turn to his advantage in the end, whatever he might suffer for the present, he bravely



CHAP. VI. bravely resolved to venture all, though he had at that time no forces able to make head against France. Prince EUGENE indeed, who commanded the Emperor's army in Lombardy, sent him from time to time such small detachments as he could spare, and these serv'd to form a flying camp, and harra'ss the French army, while they laid siege to his towns, but could not prevent the taking them one after another. Vercell, Suza, and Ivrea, were forced to surrender in the year 1704; and Verue, after a six months siege, in the year 1705, underwent the same fate: but all his fortresses were so well defended, that the French lost the flower of their troops before them, and he gain'd time thereby till the Confederates could march to his assistance; for the French laying siege to Turin on the 3d of June, 1706, Prince EUGENE join'd the Duke of Savoy with the body of the Imperial army on the 28th of August following, and on the seventh of September they attack'd the enemy before Turin with their united forces, and gain'd a compleat victory. The same day the Duke enter'd his capital city in triumph, which was reduced to the last extremity, having endur'd a siege of three months, and spent all their powder. In this engagement the Duke of Orleans and the Marshal MARSIN, who commanded the French, were both wounded, and MARSIN died of his wounds three days after. The allies took an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, fifty mortars, and seven thousand prisoners, with all the enemies tents, ammunition, and baggage, and made a prodigious slaughter amongst them; whereupon not only the towns in Savoy and Piedmont which the French had taken were immediately reduced to the obedience of their Sovereign the Duke of Savoy, but the Imperialists made themselves masters of the Milanese, and drove the French entirely out of Lombardy. The following year, 1707, Count TAUN, the Imperial General, march'd with a detachment of fifteen thousand men into the kingdom of Naples, in reducing whereof he met with but little opposition. The Duke of Savoy and Prince EUGENE at the same time march'd into France with forty thousand men, and in conjunction with the confederate fleet, commanded by Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, laid siege to Thoulon; but having lain before that city about a month, the taking of it was found impracticable, and the Duke march'd back again into Italy, the French being in no condition to oppose his return; or if they were, did not think fit to hazard a battle in their own country, where a defeat might have been fatal to them. The Duke, by way of retaliation for the havock the French had been guilty of in Piedmont, destroy'd all the olive-trees about Thoulon, and in the country through which he march'd. And this was the last considerable enterprize his

Battle of  
Turin.

Siege of  
Thoulon.

Royal Highness was concern'd in during the war; CHA there happening to be a misunderstanding between VI the Emperor and him, concerning some fiefs in Pie the Montferat: however, at the peace concluded mon in the year 1713, the services the Duke of Savoy had perform'd, and the hazards he had run in the confederate cause, induced the high allies to confer on him the kingdom of Sicily; to which the King of Spain consented, on condition of his Sicilian Majesty's entering into a strict alliance with him.

In the month of August 1717, the King of Spain commanded the Marquis de Lede to make a descent on the island of Sardinia with six or seven thousand men, and made himself master of the island, notwithstanding it was yielded to the Emperor by the treaty of Utrecht. The following year, 1718, the same General invaded Sicily with seventeen or eighteen thousand men, and most of the towns open'd their gates to him, and submitted to King PHILIP. Whereupon the Emperor, Great Britain, and France, enter'd into an alliance, which, upon the States General coming into it, obtain'd the name of the Quadruple Alliance, whereby they engag'd to see the peace of Utrecht performed in all its articles, except such as they should consent to alter: and in one of the said articles it was stipulated, That whereas the cession of Sicily by the treaty of Utrecht to the house of Savoy was solely made for rendering that peace more solid and lasting, and not on the account of any right the King of Sicily had thereto, which had not produced the desir'd effect; the Princes who made the said treaty of Utrecht therefore, for the repose of Italy, had thought it lawful for them, even without the consent of the parties concern'd, to abrogate that article of the said treaty which regarded the kingdom of Sicily, and to require that the King of Sicily should restore to his Imperial Majesty the said island and kingdom, with all its dependencies. In return whereof his Imperial Majesty should yield to the said King of Sicily the island and kingdom of Sardinia, in the same manner he possess'd Sicily: on condition nevertheless, that the reversion of the said kingdom of Sardinia should be reserv'd to the crown of Spain, whenever the house of Savoy should fail of heirs male. His Imperial Majesty also confirm'd to the King of Sardinia all the cessions made to him of the Montferat, and of the provinces, towns, and places transfer'd to him in the Milanese; and acknowledg'd the right of the said King of Sicily to succeed to the crown of Spain, on failure of male issue of King PHILIP and his posterity; provided that no Prince of the house of Savoy, who should succeed to the kingdom of Spain, should possess at the same time any part of the continent of Italy. To which alliance the King of Sicily acceded, and agreed to take upon

The Spaniards invaded Sicily.

Sardinia given to Sicily.



A P. upon him the title of King of Sardinia, instead of King of Sicily.

VI. The King of Spain also being over-power'd by the Imperialists and their allies, agreed to evacuate the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, to acknowledge the Emperor's title to one, and the King of Sardinia's to the other; and, in short, to accede to the quadruple alliance: though it is highly probable, that neither his Sardinian or Catholick Majesty were perfectly satisfied with the terms of it. His Sardinian Majesty's dominions having enjoy'd a profound peace ever since the year 1720, that Prince has applied himself to correct such abuses as had crept into the administration during the late wars, and to encourage trade and manufactures. He has also order'd the laws to be review'd, which were grown too voluminous, and reduc'd them to a narrower compass, and abridg'd and shortned the proceedings in courts of justice, to the great satisfaction of his subjects.

King's His present titles are VICTOR-AMADEUS, by the grace of God King of Sardinia, Duke of Savoy, Chablais, Aouste, Genevois, and Montferat; Prince of Piedmont, Achaia, Morea, and Oneglia; Marquis of Salusses and Suza; Earl of Asti, Geneva, Nice, Tende, and Romont; Baron of Vaud; Lord of Verceil, Friburg, Marro, Piella, Novella; Prince and perpetual Vicar of the holy Roman Empire in Italy, and King of Cyprus, &c.

As the King of Sardinia is a member of the Empire, he has a session in their Diets amongst the Princes of the Circle of the Upper Rhine, and contributes his quota to a war against the Turks; but I don't find he is subject to the laws and constitutions of the Empire in other respects, unless it be that he receives the investiture of such territories as he enjoys in the Montferat and Milanese from the Emperor.

venues. The ordinary revenues of this Prince are usually computed at five hundred thousand pounds sterling per ann. but this seems to be no more than an uncertain guess: however, as he is possessed of several rich and fertile provinces, they must be very considerable; and as he is absolute in his dominions, he can augment them at his pleasure. What he has to consider is, that he does not too much oppress his subjects by laying on them duties greater than they can bear, and thereby discourage them from cultivating and improving their lands to the best advantage, which would in the end redound to his own loss. And as he is surrounded by Princes more potent than himself, he must take care also not to give his people too great provocations, lest they should be induced to change their masters, as we find some of the Vaudois did in the last war, putting themselves under the protection of the French.

He is always obliged to have a good body of

troops in time of peace to garrison his frontier towns against France and the Milanese; but he does not seem to be govern'd by the German principle, of keeping up twice as many forces as he can maintain. It is with reluctance that he is ever drawn into a war either by France or the Empire; and when he finds it unavoidable, and that he must declare for the one party or the other, he takes care to make an advantageous bargain: to have such sums advanced, and pensions annually paid him, that he has little occasion to burthen his subjects with extraordinary taxes. In all that long and terrible war he was engaged in for thirty years, till the peace of Utrecht, I question whether he paid ten thousand men with his own money; and though his country suffer'd very much, he was at last amply rewarded by an addition of several fine countries to his former territories, and placed in the rank of Kings. The taking Sicily from him again by the same powers who had confer'd that kingdom on him, without any provocation on his part, must be a very great mortification; but as it is, he has been no great sufferer by his adherence to the allies: had he been bias'd indeed by considerations of blood or natural affection, it might have been expected that he should have declar'd for France and Spain, his two grandsons being heirs to those two kingdoms; but kindred or friendship seldom determine Princes or States in forming their alliances. He might be apprehensive, that if France and Spain had success in the war, as their territories lay contiguous to his own, they would put what terms they pleased upon him, and he must become a vassal to Lewis le Grand. Whereas by taking part with the Confederates, he might enlarge his dominions, and make a greater figure in Europe than any of his ancestors had done; and the success has shewn the wisdom of his choice. And here give me to leave to observe, that no Prince has discover'd a greater reach in politicks than the King of Sardinia, in defending his small territories for so many years against the most powerful and ambitious Prince in Europe, who lay contiguous to him, and attack'd him with the utmost fury. In the first war, though he had lost the best part of his country, he had the address to get every place restor'd him, except Pignerol, by a treaty to marry one daughter to the heir of France, and another to the King of Spain, and to procure large sums of money from France to reimburse the charges of the war. In the second war, tho' he join'd the French, and admitted their troops into his country, when he chang'd hands, and came over to the Confederates, he so contrived matters, that the French had not an opportunity of surprizing any of his towns, but every one of them defended themselves to the last extremity, and gave his new allies an opportunity of relieving him.



CHAP. him. To say what his interest would be in case  
 VI. of a rupture between the allies of Vienna and  
 Pied- Hanover, would be presumption in me; but if  
 mont. we may judge at his future conduct by the past,  
 we may conclude he will not be in haste to de-  
 declare for either; and when he does, the powers  
 that offer him the greatest advantages will have  
 him. Should he take the Vienna side, no doubt  
 but the maritime powers will soon deprive him of  
 his kingdom of Sardinia; but this is a loss which  
 the Imperialists can easily make him amends for,  
 by enlarging his Italian territories, and may per-  
 haps erect him another kingdom in Lombardy, if  
 they should stand very much in need of him.

The republics of Geneva and Genoa are as  
 much inferior in strength to his Sardinian Majesty,  
 and as apprehensive of his designs against them, as  
 he is of France or the Emperor; and were they  
 not protected by their respective allies, would be  
 in danger of falling under his power. Nor does  
 he want a pretence to attack Geneva, if he should  
 meet with a favourable opportunity, his ancestors  
 having been Sovereigns of that city, as they were  
 also of the neighbouring country of Vaud, which  
 the Switzers made themselves masters of, and still  
 keep by a strong hand. He is not yet indeed in a  
 condition to recover either. But none of these  
 States would willingly see his Sardinian Majesty  
 more powerful than he is, being well assur'd he  
 would revive his antiquated claims on their respec-  
 tive countries, if he knew how to support them  
 by his arms.

## G E N O A.

### CHAP. VII.

*Treats of the territories and coast of Genoa, the  
 antient Liguria.*

Situation  
 and extent.

THIS country is properly called, *The coast of  
 Genoa*; extending along the Mediterranean  
 Sea from the river Var to the Magra, an hundred  
 and fifty miles in length, and not being above  
 twenty in breadth, and in some places scarce ten.  
 It is bounded on the land side by the Alps and A-  
 pennine hills, which separate the Genoese from  
 the county of Nice, Piedmont, Montferat, the  
 Milanese, and Parma on the west, north, and  
 north-east; it is bounded by the duchy of Florence  
 towards the east; and by the Mediterranean, or  
 the Riviere de Genoa on the south.

The air.

The country lying thus open to the south sun,  
 and the rocks and mountains covering it from the  
 northern winds, the air is much warmer than in  
 the neighbouring country of Piedmont, and in  
 summer it is excessive hot. The tops of the moun-

Mountains.

tains are perfectly bare, having neither wood nor CH  
 herbage upon them; but the bottom and south VI  
 side of the mountains are well planted with vines, Co  
 olives, mulberries, and other fruit-trees, and in  
 some places with palm-trees, the last of which are  
 rarely found in other parts of Italy; but the soil  
 yields scarce any corn, nor have they great plenty  
 of fish in their seas; or rather, as some relate,  
 these seas are so tempestuous, that the fish are not  
 easily taken here. Some travellers indeed assure  
 us, that they have seen large shoals of fish upon  
 this coast in fine weather, which may easily be  
 reconcil'd with the former accounts; for let there  
 be ever so great a plenty of fish in a calm, they  
 always disappear in stormy weather, which this  
 coast is very subject to.

The Genoese, as Mr. ADDISON observes, are Ma  
 generally esteemed a cunning industrious people, the Gen  
 and more enur'd to hardship than the rest of the  
 Italians, which was the character of their ances-  
 tors, the antient Ligurians. As the barrenness of  
 the country continues, no wonder, says my au-  
 thor, that their manners are the same; for no-  
 thing makes men's wits sharper than want. But  
 there may be this further reason given for their  
 sagacity and dexterity in business, namely, that  
 all their nobility and gentry apply themselves to  
 trade, and are better acquainted with the myste-  
 ries of over-reaching and cozening those they deal  
 with, than the gentry of other countries. It is  
 very rare to find a tradesman above the little arts  
 of tricking and deceiving his customers, either  
 in the price or goodness of what he sells; and those  
 that have been bred up in such practices are sel-  
 dom observed to have that spirit and generosity  
 which is so natural to gentlemen. Let an over-  
 grown tradesman come and settle in the country,  
 you shall see him practising all the little arts in  
 the neighbourhood he lives in he was used to in  
 his shop, as often as he meets with an opportu-  
 nity: if he is guilty of a charitable or benevolent  
 act, it is usually by his last will and testament,  
 which is not to take place till after he is dead,  
 and this by way of composition with heaven  
 perhaps for the extortion and knavery of his  
 youth.

The quality in Genoa are usually clothed in Hab  
 black, and wear no swords; but throw a cloak  
 over them when they go out, notwithstanding  
 the heat of the country. As for the poorer sort  
 of people, such as labourers, husbandmen, &c.  
 they scarce wear any clothes at all, nor have oc-  
 casion for any, the weather is so warm. The  
 people of a middle rank follow some the Spanish  
 and others the French modes, according as they  
 are affected. The womens petticoats, who are  
 pleased with the Spanish fashions, are stuffed out  
 with fardingals; while the men wear broad hats,  
 long-waisted doublets with hanging sleeves, and  
 strait



A P. strait breeches, buckling themselves up with broad leathern belts.

II. The chief towns are, 1. Genoa, the capital. 2. Gavi. 3. Coghereto. 4. Varragio. 5. Noli. 6. Albenga. 7. St. Lorenzo. 8. Taggia. 9. St. Remo. 10. Vintimiglia. 11. Oneglia. 12. Final. 13. Sarzana. 14. Lerice. 15. Spezza. 16. Porto Venere. 17. Monterosso. 18. Sestri. 19. Lavagne. 20. Rapallo. 21. Porto Fino. 22. Brugnato. 23. Torriglia. 24. Vergagny. And, 25. Chivari.

city. The city of Genoa lies upon the sea, embracing the harbour in form of a crescent, in forty-four degrees thirty minutes north latitude; part of it is on a flat, close to the shore, the other part rises gradually with the hill. The houses are lofty, and beautifully painted on the outside, and afford one of the finest prospects in the world to those who approach it from the sea. The harbour is large and deep, but lies open to the south-west, the most troublesome wind that blows in these seas. They have built a mole, which secures their galleys and small vessels from storms as well as enemies, but the larger lie exposed to both: nor could they protect the town it self from a bombardment, when the French fleet came before it in the year 1684, the heart of the town was almost destroy'd; but it is since rebuilt to great advantage: nor did the finest palaces which stood towards the outside of the town receive any great damage. The Genoese have since built another mole and several forts, which they have provided with long guns to secure them against the like misfortune; but whether it will answer their expectations or not, I find is much question'd. Most of the streets are very narrow, and the houses built six or seven stories high, which occasions the lower rooms to be dark, but defends them from the scorching heat of the sun. The buildings are of brick or stone, the walls generally plaister'd over and painted, and the roofs flat. The new street, according to Mr. ADDISON, is a double range of palaces from one end to the other, built with an excellent fancy, and fit for the greatest Princes to inhabit. They are richly adorn'd with marble, and the fronts of four or five of them intirely of that kind of stone; but these are all the marble houses in Genoa, though, according to the accounts of many travellers, one would be inclin'd to think the whole town was built with it. Five or six of the streets are of a great breadth, and the houses very magnificent; as they are also in the suburb of St. Pietro D'Arena. There are a great many beautiful palaces standing along the sea-shore, which makes the town appear much larger than it is to those who sail by it; but the circumference of the city is not above six miles. It is surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, and at a little distance there is a second wall,

which takes in the hills that command the place. CHAP. VII. The streets being too narrow for coaches to pass, chairs and litters are chiefly used by the quality instead of them. Genoa.

There are in the place about thirty parish-churches, twenty colleges, and as many convents and religious houses; the steeples and towers whereof are no small ornament to the city, and may be seen at a great distance at sea. But what seems peculiar to this town is their gardens of flowers and greens on the roofs of their houses, and in their balconies, where the foundations will bear them. The principal publick buildings are, 1. The cathedral, dedicated to St. LAURENCE, a large edifice, but not so beautiful as many other Italian churches. The things most remarkable on the inside are the marble pillars which support the roof, and a marble statue of St. JOHN the Evangelist. The ashes of St. JOHN the Baptist are said to be preserv'd in this church in a silver vessel, which stands upon four porphyry pillars. They shew also a large dish made of one single emerald, which, according to tradition, was presented to SOLOMON by the Queen of Sheba, and is the same which our Saviour eat the paschal lamb out of. The church of the Annunciation is the finest in Genoa, built at the sole charge of the family of LOMELLINE: the roof is gloriously gilded, the pillars that support it are of marble, and the walls cover'd with the most exquisite paintings; the altars are magnificent, and adorn'd with fine pictures done by RUBENS, and other great masters. The churches of St. CYR, St. MATTHEW, and St. MARY of Carignan are also well worth viewing.

The Duke of DORIA's palace has the best appearance on the outside of any in Genoa: it takes up all the ground from the sea-shore to the top of the hill; in the lower part of it is a magnificent gallery, paved with black and white marble, and supported by pillars of the same stone, being an hundred and twenty paces long, and stands in full view of the port. Beyond this is a fine garden, adorn'd with fountains and statues, amongst which one of them represents ANDREW DORIA, the head of the family, under the figure of NEPTUNE, much larger than the life. As the palace rises higher upon the ascent of the hill, the apartments are still more magnificent; nor can any thing be richer than the furniture; the very bedsteads are of silver, and nothing is to be seen but tables of jasper, alabaster, agate, or silver; amongst which there is one of silver, said to weigh twenty-four thousand crowns. One room, Mr. ADDISON observes, is hung with tapestry, in which are wrought the figures of the great persons that family has produced; nor can any house in Europe show a longer line of heroes, who have preferred the good of their country to all other views. There is another statue erected to the memory of



CHAP. of ANDREW DORIA at the entrance of the Doge's  
 VII. palace, with the title of, *The Deliverer of his*  
 Genoa. country. But to return to the palace of DORIA;  
 it is filled with statues, busts, bas-reliefs, and the  
 most exquisite paintings; the hall through which we  
 enter is built in form of a portico, and cover'd  
 with pictures drawn by the best hands. Beyond  
 this part of the palace is a beautiful summer-house  
 in the middle of a fine garden, which reaches to  
 the top of the hill, adorn'd with grotto's, foun-  
 tains, and statues; and among other curiosities  
 there is a tomb and epitaph of a dog, that had a  
 legacy of five hundred pounds per annum left him  
 for his maintenance.

The palaces of Durazzo, Palavicino, Spinola, Baldi, Grimaldi, Lomellini, and Turfis also are deservedly admired. But Mr. ADDISON seems to prefer the Villa Imperiale, a mile out of town, to any of them. The Doge's palace is a large building, where are chambers for the great and little Council, and for the colleges, as also lodgings for the Doge, and some of the Senators and their families; but this is much inferior to the private palaces of the nobility, both in point of architecture and materials. It is not to be conceiv'd, says a French writer, how many beauties may be discover'd with the single cast of an eye in the new street of Genoa: all is enchanting! all astonishing! When we have viewed one of these palaces, we are apt to think that nothing can excel it, and yet the beauty of the next will make us forget what we just before so much admir'd. The Jesuits church may also well be rank'd among the Genoese palaces, if we regard the materials, the architecture, or the painting with which it is adorn'd. Mr. ADDISON complains that there are but few antiquities to be met with in this city: he saw no other than the rostrum of an old Roman ship, which is made of iron, and ends in a boar's head: this was found in the harbour of Genoa as they were cleaning it. In the arsenal, where 'tis pretended there are arms for forty thousand men, they shew several pieces of armour, which, according to tradition, were worn by certain Genoese ladies in a croisade against the Turks, in which they distinguish'd themselves by their bravery.

This city has been the See of an Archbishop ever since the year 1132, and though it be not an university, here is an academy of wits, who spend their time in composing orations, poems, and other ingenious studies: for as the Italians are perfectly ignorant in the art of drinking and smoking away the best part of their day, the principal amusement of the quality in some countries to the northward of them; it is necessary they should introduce some amusements in the room of those elegant entertainments. When a foreigner arrives at Genoa, I perceive, his bag-

gage is strictly search'd, and he is severely treated if the custom-house officers find any foreign coin. A dagger, or a sharp-pointed knife also is seized as an unlawful weapon, and incurs a forfeiture; but fire-arms are only taken away, and secur'd till the traveller leaves the town, and they require a fee for taking care of them. It is the same in other towns of Italy; so that a person pays more than the price of his pistols before he has pass'd through many of them.

VERIYARD relates, that the day he arrived at Genoa, as he pass'd through one of the great streets, he observed a woman mounted on a stage hung round with spheres, globes, schemes, and mathematical instruments: she was tall of stature, of a swarthy complexion, and a fierce masculine countenance, and was haranguing the croud, magnifying her skill in judicial astrology, and telling of fortunes, with a thousand ridiculous gestures and odd grimaces; after which she invited the people to attend at her chamber, where they might have an account of their whole lives, past and to come, at a reasonable rate: and as a proof of her art, she whisper'd several of the mob through a kind of speaking-trumpet twelve feet long, applying the small end of it to the ear of the person she spoke to, so that none of the standers-by could hear what she said. Among others, she pitch'd upon our traveller to make an experiment upon; and having applied the machine to his ear, she told him he was troubled with an itch of rambling, that he had gone through many dangers to gratify his curiosity, and been five years out of his own country; which a little surpriz'd him, every tittle of it being literally true: and as he was but just come into the town, and had conversed with none of the inhabitants, he seem'd to suspect she had receiv'd her intelligence from the devil. But as to his being a traveller, she might easily collect this from his garb, and the time he had been abroad, was probably a meer guess; people are so willing upon one lucky guess to ascribe every thing to some supernatural power, and to make allowances where the pretended conjurer happens to be mistaken, that 'tis no difficult matter for the professors of this science to establish a reputation wherever they come. I proceed now to describe the situation of the rest of the towns of any consequence upon the Genoese coast; viz.

2. Cogere to, a little port-town, fifteen miles south-west of Genoa, which would scarce have been worth mentioning, but that it is said to be the place where the famous COLUMBUS, who discover'd America, was born; though some make him a native of the city of Genoa.

3. Savona, at the bottom of a bay, about thirty miles south-west of Genoa, one of the largest towns in the Genoese territories, to which

CHAP. VII. Genoa

Cogere to

Savona



A P. the King of Sardinia sometimes sets up a claim. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Milan, and remarkable for the birth of three Popes, viz. GREGORY VII, JULIUS II, and SIXTUS IV.

4. Noli, situate on the same coast, ten miles south-west of Savona, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to the Archbishop of Genoa; an independent state 'till the fifteenth century, when it was incorporated with the republick of Genoa.

5. Final, about five miles south-west of Noli, and forty from Genoa, the capital of a marquisate, bounded by two mountains on the east and west, by the duchy of Montferat on the north, and by the sea of Genoa towards the south; govern'd by its own Lords 'till about the year 1600, when ANDREAS SFORZA, the last Marquis, sold it to the Spaniards, who yielded it to the Imperialists when they evacuated the rest of the Spanish territories in Italy, in the year 1707, and was by the Imperialists sold to the republick of Genoa, who are now in possession of it. The town is defended by a castle and two forts, and may be reckon'd a tolerable harbour on a coast where none are good.

6. Albenga, situate on the same coast, about twenty miles to the southward of Final, at the mouth of a small river, formerly esteemed a considerable city, and a pretty good harbour, and is still the See of a Bishop suffragan to Genoa.

7. Oneglia, the capital of a territory of the same name, about sixty miles south-west of Genoa, and forty to the westward of Nice, belonging to the King of Sardinia, and already described with the rest of that Prince's territories.

8. St. Remo, fifteen miles to the westward of Oneglia, pleasantly situated, partly in a plain by the sea-side, and partly on the ascent of a hill, the country about it abounding in oranges, lemons, and other delicious fruits, which has occasion'd it to be call'd the paradise of Italy. Mr. ADDISON being driven into this harbour by contrary winds, observ'd that there were several plantations of palm-trees in the neighbouring fields, which are not found in any other part of Italy.

9. Vintimiglia, a port-town, situate at the mouth of the river Rota, thirty miles and upwards to the westward of Oneglia, remarkable for little but its antient castle, and its being a Bishop's See, suffragan to Milan.

10. Monaco, the capital of a little principality, belonging to the family of Grimaldi, about ten miles long and three broad. The town lies about ten miles to the westward of Ventimiglia, and eight to the eastward of Nice, and is supposed to be the *Herculis Monæci Portus* of the antients. It is fortified and defended by a castle, and has a harbour belonging to it. The Spaniards were in possession of it 'till the year 1641, when the Prince expell'd them, and receiv'd a French garrison,

under whose protection it has been almost ever since. The Prince is a Peer of France.

The towns situate to the eastward of Genoa, are, 1. Rapallo, which lies on a little bay of the same name, sixteen miles south-east of Genoa, famous for the excellent oil produced in the country about it.

2. Lavagne, situate at the mouth of a river of the same name, twenty-five miles south-east of Genoa.

3. Borgheto, the capital of a marquisate, a little to the eastward of Lavagne, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Genoa.

4. Sarzana, situate about sixty miles south-east of Genoa, about three miles from the mouth of the river Magra, the eastern boundary of the state of Genoa, a large populous town, with a pretty good trade, and the See of a Bishop suffragan to Rome.

And, 5. Porto Venere, about seven miles to the southward of Sarzana, upon the gulph of Spezza, esteemed a good harbour, and defended by a fort.

The legislative authority in the republick of Genoa is lodg'd in the Great Council or Senate. The administration of the government is committed to the Doge or Duke, with the following councils, 1. The council called the Signiory. 2. The council called the college. 3. An assembly stiled the Council. And, 4. An assembly composed of the Signiory and College united in one.

The Great Council or Senate consists of the Signiory and College, and four hundred noblemen and principal citizens, annually elected out of the freemen, who must be twenty-five years of age, and who have been registred citizens four years at least, and have not been of this council before; three hundred of whom, with the members of the Signiory and College, make a Quorum. Four parts in five of this Senate must agree to the enacting new laws, and levying of taxes; and they have also some of the principal offices in their disposal.

The Signiory consists of the Duke and twelve other members, who have been free twelve years, and hold their places two years, but are not capable of being elected again under five years after their quitting them. By these audience is given to Ambassadors, dispatches to and from foreign courts sent and received, letters-patent granted, and orders issued for the payment of the publick money: And where the matter is of difficulty, and they cannot agree, they call the College to their assistance, and sometimes the Council also, and the matter is determin'd by plurality of voices.

The College is composed of eight members stiled procurators, together with all such as have enjoy'd the office of Dukes, the latter being Procurators



CHAP. for life, but the former chosen once in two years.

VII. These manage the revenue, farm out the lands of Genoa. the state, buy and sell for the republick, and in case any dispute arise, call the Signiory to their assistance.

The assembly called the Council, consists of the Signiory, the College, and one hundred members more, chosen out of the Great Council or Senate. These are the last resort in civil causes, and receive all appeals from inferiour judicatories, and assist the Signiory and College in difficult points, as hath been observ'd already.

The Signiory and College united, have a power of granting pardons in ordinary cases, but in parricide, high-treason, and other enormous crimes, they are obliged to call the Council to their assistance. The Signiory and College also treat of war and peace, and forming alliances; and in all their councils, matters are determin'd by ballot. Besides the five councils above-mentioned, there is another assembly of five persons, whose office it is to see the laws put in execution.

The Doge is obliged to reside in the palace the two years he is in office, with two of the Signiory, and their families. He must be an inhabitant of the city, fifty years of age, no bastard, and one that hath an estate to support his dignity. He proposes all matters to be debated in the Senate and Council, which are of a publick concern; and after he has serv'd two years retires to his own house, where he remains in private for eight days 'till his administration is examin'd, and either approv'd or condemn'd. In the first case he is made Procurator during life; but in the other, proceeded against as a criminal.

When the Doge is elected, they place a crown of gold upon his head, and a scepter in his hand, on account of the island and kingdom of Corsica, of which they are Sovereigns; but this is but a shadow of royalty, the authority being lodg'd in the Senate: He hath however his guards, and his habit is not inferiour to that of other crown'd heads, his temporary Majesty being cloath'd in robes of crimson velvet, and complimented with the title of His Serenity. The Senators are stiled Their Excellencies, and the Nobility Illustrious; as indeed every man is in Italy, who makes any thing of a figure. The nobility derive their titles from such lands or signiories as they possess in Milan or Naples, or have purchas'd them of the King of Spain or the Emperor, who now possesses the Spanish territories in Italy. And though the antient and modern nobility enjoy the same privileges, yet those families which are of an hundred or two years standing, mightily despise those who are lately made, as is usual in other countries. This republick has suffer'd very much by permitting her subjects to purchase honours and estates of foreign Princes; for this has in a manner ren-

der'd the most considerable families amongst them subjects to another jurisdiction. While the Spaniard was possessed of Milan and Naples, they were obliged to be govern'd by Spanish councils, as they are now by the Imperialists; which has sometimes drawn upon them the resentment of the French, who have bombarded their capital city and other towns upon the coast, and given a great shock to their trade. As to their naval strength, it is dwindled to nothing: Their fleet which formerly obtain'd so many glorious victories over the Venetians, Turks, Spaniards, &c. and settled so many colonies in Asia, is now reduc'd to six galleys; and when they would have made an addition to them of four more, the French King order'd them to desist at their peril. Their forces at land in time of peace may be about four or five thousand men, and in case of a war they might raise twenty thousand, and find taxes sufficient to maintain them, for many of their subjects are still very rich. The ordinary revenue indeed is not computed to amount to two hundred thousand pounds per annum, but upon an extraordinary occasion the great men must submit to be tax'd in proportion to their wealth; though as they compose the legislature, no doubt they will avoid charging their own estates 'till there is an absolute necessity for it. As for what they possess in the Emperor's territories in Naples and Milan, they are usually tax'd higher than the natives, and these duties add nothing to the publick revenue of their own state; and whatever extortions are practis'd upon them abroad, they have no remedy for them. It has always been the maxim of the Spaniards, as I suppose it is now of the Imperialists, not to suffer the Genoese to sell their estates in Naples, &c. to any but their own countrymen, that the great men of Genoa may always be dependant on those powers. There is a bank at Genoa, whose fund is part of the publick duties, which are appropriated to pay off the debts of the republick; from whence it is natural to think the projectors of our sinking fund took the hint.

The crown of Spain remains still vastly indebted to this republick for the money borrow'd by PHILIP II, towards fitting out the Invincible Armada against England, and other sums taken up since; for which that kingdom pays them part of the interest sometimes, and probably they never expect the principal, especially since the Spaniards have so little to do in Italy at this day. One piece of œconomy the Genoese are justly commended for, considering the barrenness of their country; and that is, the keeping always two or three years provision of corn, wine and oil before-hand in their store-houses, for the use of the publick. In plentiful years, when these things are cheap, they buy up enough to serve the city three or four years; and if there happens to be a bad year, they live



A P. live upon the old store. The necessaries of life by this means are never at an extravagant price, the state contenting itself with a very moderate profit. All retailers of corn and wine, bakers, vintners, &c. are obliged to take them of the publick, and have a certain gain allow'd them, which they may not exceed upon the severest penalties. The wine-cellars are fix'd in several quarters of the town as conveniently as may be, and every cellar has its intendant or officer, who is answerable to the state for his conduct. The Genoese boast that these wines are never adulterated, and that here only pure natural wine is drunk; for should the officers or their servants be concern'd in the mixing them, they wou'd infallibly be sent to the galleys. The chief manufactures in Genoa, are silks, taffeta's, velvets, brocades, and other rich stuffs, which they export to other countries, together with wine, oil, citrons, lemons, anchovies, dry'd sweet-meats, parmesan cheese, and several kinds of drugs used in phylick and painting; but their trade seems to be very much up'n the decline.

From history we learn, that this country, the antient Liguria, with the rest of Italy, fell under the dominion of the Romans; and that MAGO, the brother of HANNIBAL, having taken and destroyed their capital city of Genoa, the Romans sent LUCRETIVS to rebuild it, during the consulate of CN. SERVILIUS SCIPIO and C. SERVILIUS NEPOS. Upon the fall of the Roman empire it became subject to the Lombards; after which, they erected governments of their own, but were so tumultuous and unsteady in their choice, that no state has ever suffer'd greater or more frequent revolutions. Sometimes the people chose them a head on whom they conferr'd the sovereignty; soon after, the nobility deposed him, and assum'd the government themselves. To-day they put themselves under the protection of some neighbouring Prince; and not many days after renounc'd his authority. They were successively subject to the Archbishop of Milan, the French, the Marquis of Montferat, the Duke of Milan, and again to the French: And in the intervals of these foreign governments they chose Counts, Consuls and Captains of their own. At length ANDREW DORIA, about the year 1518, settled their republick in the form we find it at present; of which event a late writer gives the following relation:

The Genoese putting themselves sometimes under the protection of the Spaniards, and sometimes under that of the French, according as they could procure the most advantageous terms from the one or the other, as hath been hinted already; the above-mention'd ANDREAS DORIA, a native of this republick, who was one of the greatest Admirals and Generals of his time, and had serv'd

alternately in the French and Spanish armies, had the address to play one of these powers against the other so successfully, that he intirely disengaged his country from a dependance on either of them, and then erected a free state according to the above-said model, notwithstanding the Genoese offer'd to make him their hereditary Prince, without putting any limitations upon him; and so jealous was he of their losing their liberty again, that he procur'd an act of state, that neither he nor any of his descendants, nor any other family that should grow rich and powerful in the commonwealth, should be admitted to any office or share in the government, lest they should usurp the sovereign power. But all his caution was very near being eluded even in his life-time; for about the year 1547, a popular citizen named FIESCO, had obtain'd such an influence over the people by his benevolences to the poor and necessitous, and a pretended zeal for the publick good, that he carried all before him: He prevail'd with the citizens to imprison the principal Senators under pretence of male-administration; and created an ill opinion in the people also of their once-admired Prince DORIA, the only person he apprehended able to frustrate his designs; and afterwards found but little difficulty in making himself master of the capital city. But going the same day as it were in triumph to take possession of the fleet of the republick, which lay at anchor in the harbour, and walking over a plank from one vessel to another, he dropp'd into the sea loaded with his armour, and sunk downright; whereupon his party being in confusion, the aged Prince DORIA took advantage of it, set upon the rebels, and dispersed them; and by this means became a second time the founder of their commonwealth. FIESCO's body being afterwards found, the Senate decreed that it shou'd be carried several leagues to sea, and with ignominious ceremonies thrown into it; that his estate shou'd be confiscated, his palace demolish'd, and no house ever be built in the place where it stood, that the ruins might remain a monument of his treachery, as they do to this day: While, on the contrary, the fine marble statues of Prince DORIA, and of his nephew who was kill'd in opposing the usurper, stand on each side of the stairs as we ascend the senate-house, in memory of their virtue. The nobility of Genoa, the same author observes, converse freely with foreigners as well as with their fellow-citizens; while the Venetian nobility are reserv'd, wearing a distinguishing habit, and it seems dangerous entering into too free a conversation with them. But to return to the Genoese: After this second deliverance by Prince ANDREW DORIA, they caus'd a register to be made of all their free citizens; and found five hundred twenty-four antient families



CHAP. VII. of noble extraction, and four hundred eighty-seven other families of considerable citizens; and these two classes only were denominated free citizens; in whom and their descendants, taking up their freedoms and registering themselves, not being infamous, or having exercis'd any mechanical trade within three years before their election, the government is lodg'd. The rest of the inhabitants, either of the city or in the territories belonging to the republick, are stiled unfree, and have no share of the government. Out of the former only the members of the Senate and of all the other Councils are elected. But it is provided, That if any free citizen shall, through infamy, or his exercising any mechanical employment, be disabled to exercise any office or place in the administration; yet his legitimate male issue, being men of reputation, and not exercising any mean trade, shall be restored to the privileges of their ancestors. It is also provided, That the buying and selling as merchants, or the going to sea and negotiating such kind of business, without keeping open shop, shall not disqualify a freeman. And the Signiory, the College and Council in conjunction, have a power of electing annually in January out of the citizens that are not free, any number not exceeding ten, to be register'd and added to the number of free citizens. The inhabitants who are not free are eligible also to many beneficial offices.

## M I L A N.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Contains a description of the duchy of Milan.*

Situation  
and extent  
of the duchy  
of Milan.

Rivers and  
lakes.

The air.

Soil.

THE duchy of Milan is bounded by Switzerland and the country of the Grisons on the north; by the territories of Venice and the duchies of Mantua and Parma towards the east; by the Apennine mountains, which separate it from the territories of Genoa on the south; and by Montferat and the King of Sardinia's other dominions on the west: being about eighty miles in length from north to south, and sixty in breadth from east to west, and three hundred miles in circumference. It is extremely well water'd with rivers and lakes: the chief rivers are the Po, the Tesin, the Adda, and the Sessia; the lakes are those of Maggiore, Lugano and Como. The air and climate are very desirable, and the whole country almost one fruitful plain, adorn'd with a great variety of fine towns, palaces and convents. This country, says Dr. BURNET, is equal to the loveliest spots in England or France, hath all the sweetness of Holland and Flanders,

but with a warmer sun and better air. The neighbourhood of the mountains causes a freshness of air here, that makes it the most desirable place to live in that can be found.

This duchy is divided into thirteen parts, viz. 1. The Milanese Proper. 2. The Pavese. 3. The Lodofan. 4. The Cremonese. 5. The Comasco. 6. The county of Anghiera. 7. The valleys of Sessia. 8. The Novarese. 9. The Vigevanois. 10. The Lomelline. 11. The Alexandrin. 12. The Tortonese. And, 13. The territory of Bobbio.

Milanese Proper is bounded by Comasco on the north, by the Lodofan on the east, by the Pavese on the south, and by the Novarese on the west; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Milan, the capital of the duchy. 2. Marignano. 3. Agnadel. And, 4. Cassano.

1. Milan, stiled *The Great*; and that very justly, if we consider its dimensions, the multitude of its inhabitants, the magnificence of its temples and palaces, or its manufactures and commerce. It is situated in the latitude of forty-five degrees twenty-five minutes; nine degrees thirty minutes to the eastward of London, about two hundred and fifty miles north-west of Rome, and eighty-five to the eastward of Turin. It stands upon the little river Olana, and has the advantage of two navigable canals, by which it hath a communication with the rivers Adda and Tesin. The city is of a round form, and encompassed by a wall, in which there are ten gates, being about ten miles in circumference, too large to admit of a regular fortification; but the citadel, which is a large hexagon and commands the place, is look'd upon as one of the strongest fortresses in Italy. The streets of the town are broad and clean, the squares spacious, the houses lofty, but the contrivance of them, or their beauty, not so much admired as those in some other Italian cities. It contains two hundred and thirty churches, of which eighty are parochial, and eleven collegiate. There are also forty convents of men, and fifty of women, with some other fraternities, and the suburbs are very large. The vastness of the town, the nobleness of the buildings, and above all, the surprizing riches of the churches and convents, says Dr. BURNET, are signs of great wealth. It is supposed to contain three hundred thousand souls, amongst whom are great numbers of nobility and gentry, as well as merchants. Their principal manufactures are those of silk-brocade, and other rich stuffs: their steel and iron-ware, and fine crystal-works, are also much admired, especially the last; and their artificers of every kind are such exquisite artists, that they have engrossed the trade of this part of Italy. The nobility here affect to make a grand appearance, as is evident from their clothes, their coaches, and numerous retinues.



P. retainues of servants; and the women go abroad and enjoy more freedom here than in many other towns in Italy.

The publick buildings most taken notice of, are, 1. The cathedral, a vast Gothick structure, about five hundred feet in length, and two hundred in breadth: the pavements, the walls, inside and out, with the roof, according to Dr. BURNET, are all marble. The roof is supported by an hundred and sixty white marble pillars, standing in four rows, each of them three fathoms round, and valued at ten thousand crowns a pillar: tho' this church is so full of statues, says the same reverend writer, that one would be inclin'd to think every saint hath its statue here; it is said there are several thousands still wanting to finish the design. Those of St. BARTHOLOMEW flea'd alive, and ADAM and EVE, are admirable pieces. Here are two noble brazen pulpits in the church, each of them running round a large pillar like a gallery, and supported by huge figures of the same metal. The choir is wainscoted and carv'd in so extraordinary a manner, says my author, that I never saw passion so well expressed in wood. It contains sixty stalls, and they have almost all the histories of the gospel represented in them. Just under the cupola lies St. CARLO's body, (CHARLES BORROMEO once Archbishop of this See) in a great crystal case of an immense price. The plate and other presents made to this saint are of a prodigious value; some services for the altar are all of gold, very massive, and set with jewels; others are so finely wrought, that the fashion is thought equal to the value of the metal; and indeed the riches of the churches of Milan, says my author, strike one with amazement.

The church of St. AMBROSE is in great esteem on account of the corps of that saint, which is interr'd here; and his denying the Emperor THEODOSIUS entrance into the same church, for having barbarously massacred seven thousand of the inhabitants of Thessalonica. Here is also shewn a brazen serpent upon a high marble pillar, said to be the same that MOSES erected in the desert, tho' scripture assures us, it was beaten to powder some thousand years ago.

The other buildings best worth viewing are the palace of the Archbishop, the Viceroy's, and that of the Marquis of Homodeo's; the seminary also is a fine building, erected by CHARLES BORROMEO; and the college of the Jesuits, the town-house, and the great hospital deserve our attention. The last is a magnificent structure, wherein are entertain'd four thousand infirm people, having a revenue of seventy thousand crowns per annum, and upwards. The closet of Signior MANFIEDO SBTALA, being a vast collection of natural and

artificial rarities, is also said to be well worth the viewing. As for the Ambrosian library, so much admired by some, Mr. ADDISON observes, that they have laid out more money in pictures than in books, according to the Italian genius. About two miles from Milan, as the same writer relates, stands a building that would have been a masterpiece in its kind, had the architect design'd it for an artificial echo. Here he discharg'd a pistol, and the sound was return'd six and fifty times, tho' the air was very thick and foggy. The first repetitions follow very thick, but are heard more distinctly in proportion as they decay. There are two parallel walls which beat the sound back on each other, till the undulation is quite worn out. Other travellers relate, that they have heard the echo repeated in this place an hundred times. At Milan, as in several other cities of Italy, the natives are inclin'd to imitate the French in their mien and garb; but there is a kind of awkwardness in the Italians, which easily discovers the airs they give themselves not to be natural.

The civil government of Milan is lodg'd in the senate, consisting of prelates, doctors of law, and gentlemen of the country, who are however subject to the controul of the Emperor's Vicar-General, who is at present the celebrated Prince EUGENE of Savoy, to whom the Viceroy's of Naples and Sicily, and the Governours of all the rest of the Italian territories subject to the Emperor are accountable. The Vicar-General also appoints the president of the senate, magistrates, commissaries, officers of the treasury, &c. The government of the town and citadel of Milan are independent of each other. The several cities, districts, and chatellanies of Milan are govern'd in civil matters by their respective magistrates. In each city there are twelve Seniors or Aldermen, who are chosen out of the common council, consisting generally of sixty members, and the governours of the several places are appointed by the Vicar-General, and accountable to him, as are all the generals and military officers. The city of Milan is an Archbishop's See, and according to tradition, their first prelate was St. BARNABAS, colleague to St. PAUL. Here, as in other towns, is an academy, or club of Wits, who stile themselves *Nascoisti*, that is, hidden, or secret. At their publick meetings they entertain each other with rhetorical, moral, or philosophical discourses, and sometimes with politicks; for travellers relate, that there is no place where the common people inquire into state-affairs, and entertain one another with political remarks more than in this country. They always had an aversion to the French, but the barbarous and insolent treatment they met with from them in the last war, has confirm'd them in their aversion to that nation; this



**CHAP.** this induced them so readily to submit to the **VIII.** Austrian dominion after the victory of Turin in Milan. the year 1706.

**The Pavese.** The second subdivision of the Milanese, is the Pavese, which lies to the southward of Milanese Proper; the soil whereof affords such plenty of corn, wine, and the most delicious fruits, that it is called the garden of the Milanese: The chief towns whereof are Pavia, Certosa, and Voghera.

**The city of Pavia.** The city of Pavia is situated in a plain on the banks of the river Tesin, four miles north of the Po, and twenty to the southward of Milan, and was the capital of the kingdom of the Lombards, till that monarchy was destroy'd by the Emperor **CHARLEMAIN**, who took **DIDIER** their last King prisoner in this city. The streets are straight and large; but the buildings generally inferiour to the other towns of Italy. There are some buildings indeed very well worth viewing, particularly two colleges of their university, which consists of seven in all; the one was founded by Pope **PIUS V**, and the other by Cardinal **BORROMEO**. The church of **St. PETER**, with the monastery adjoining to it, are noble structures; in the last of which the corps of **St. AUSTIN** is said to be interr'd in a tomb of white marble, and is visited to this day with abundance of devotion. The church of the Dominicans also is well worth a traveller's curiosity, as well for the beauty of its architecture, as for its rich moveables and admirable paintings. In the square before the cathedral is a brazen statue on horse-back of **MARCUS ANTONIUS**, which the people call **CHARLES V**, and some learned men have taken for **CONSTANTINE** the Great. The cathedral it self is a heavy old Gothick building, and has little to recommend it. The church and convent of the Carthusians are beautiful structures; the choir of the church particularly is exceeding fine, all the walls are lined with marble, and adorn'd with pillars of the same stone of different colours, and the figures about the high altar are incomparable. As to the convent, some travellers affirm, that there is nothing equal to it, if we regard either the grandeur or conveniencies, the court being surrounded with a portico a mile in circumference, sustain'd by an infinite number of pillars, under which are the cells of the Monks. But notwithstanding there are some churches and religious houses that deserve our attention here, the place is at this day very much impoverish'd and run to ruin, nor are its fortifications of any great consequence. It is still however the See of a Bishop, one of the richest in Italy, and depends immediately on the Pope.

**The Lodetan.** The third subdivision of Milan is the Lodetan, which abounds in rich pasture and large herds of cattle, and is famous for its cheese. The chief towns whereof are Lodi, and Lodi Vecchio.

**CHAP.** The city of Lodi stands on a hill near the banks of the river Adda, twenty miles south-east of Milan, being a large well-built town, and a **VIII.** Milan Bishop's See; but travellers do not give us a particular description of it.

**The city of Lodi.** The Cremonese is a small province to the eastward of the Lodetan, from which it is separated by the river Adda, and abounds in corn, wine, flax, and fruits. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Cremona. 2. Casal Maggiore. And, 3. Soncino.

**The city of Cremona.** The city of Cremona stands in a plain on the north side of the Po, a canal cut from this river to the Oglio running through the city, and is about forty-five miles south-east of Milan. It is a large well-built town, five miles in circumference, the streets wide and straight, and the squares spacious; but neither populous nor rich. It is defended by a castle and other fortifications, and being in possession of the French in the year 1702, Prince **EUGENE** of Savoy, the Imperial General, enter'd the place by a subterraneous passage, and surpriz'd Marshal **VILLEROY**, who commanded the French garrison, in his bed; but the Prince was forced to retire with his prisoner, some Irish regiments in garrison making a brave defence, and the detachment which should have supported the Germans, missing their way, and not coming up in time. This Town however, with the rest of Milan, was evacuated by the French in the year 1707, and the Imperialists have been in possession of it ever since. The cathedral, the Bishop's palace and the town-house, are said to be handsome structures; and there are several fine hospitals well endow'd. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Milan, and hath an university very little frequented at present.

**The Comasco.** Comasco, the fifth subdivision of the Milanese, lies north of Milanese proper; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Como. 2. Lecco. 3. Bellamo. And, 4. Fort de Fuentes.

**The city of Como.** Como is situated at the south end of the lake to which it communicates its name, about twenty-five miles to the northward of Milan; 'tis a populous town, and a place of some strength, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Milan. Here **PLINY** the younger was born. The neighbouring lake is about thirty miles in length and three in breadth; the river Adda runs through it.

**The town of Anghiera.** The sixth subdivision of the Milanese is Anghiera, situate on each side of the south part of the lake Maggiore; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Anghiera. 2. Arona. 3. Orta. 4. Palanza. 5. Canobio. 6. Ugonia. And, 7. Domo d'Ossella.

**The town of Anghiera.** The town of Anghiera stands on the east side of the lake Maggiore, about thirty miles north-west of Milan; but I meet with no particular description of this, or of any of the rest of the towns in this district.



**CHAP. VIII.** The eighth subdivision of the Milanese are the valleys of Sessia, which lie to the westward of Milan. Anghiera: but these having been yielded to his Sardinian Majesty by the Emperor, have been mention'd already.

*The valleys of Sessia.* The little province of the Novarese is bounded by the district of Anghiera on the north; by the Milanese Proper on the east; and by the King of Sardinia's territories on the south and west: the chief town whereof is,

*The city of Novara.* Novara, about thirty miles to the eastward of Milan, a fortified town, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Milan.

*Vigevano.* The Vigevano, or Vigevanasco, situate on the river Tesin, having been granted to his Sardinian Majesty by the Emperor, has been already described.

*The Lomelline.* The Lomelline, or Laumelline, to the southward of Vigevano, having been granted also to the King of Sardinia by his Imperial Majesty, hath been already described.

*The Alexandrin.* The Alexandrin also, which lies to the southward of the Po, having been yielded to his Sardinian Majesty, hath been treated of already.

*The Tortonese.* The Tortonese lies to the eastward of the Alexandrin, the chief town whereof is Tortona, about twelve miles east of Alexandria, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Milan.

*Town and territory of Bobbio.* The district of Bobbio lies between the Pavese on the north; and the Apennine hills, which separate it from the territories of Genoa, on the south; the chief towns whereof is Bobbio, situate in a pleasant plain, about thirty miles south-east of Tortona, being a Bishop's See, suffragan to Genoa.

The duchy of Milan, the north part of the ancient Liguria, was inhabited by the Insuhres when it fell under the dominion of the Romans. Upon the decline of the Roman Empire it was possess'd by the Goths, who were expelled by the Longobardi, or Lombards, a people of Germany, about the year 572. Milan constituted the best part of the kingdom of Lombardy, which continued about two hundred years, when DIDIER the last King being taken prisoner, and the monarchy destroy'd by CHARLEMAIN, the Emperors of Germany afterwards appointed the governours of the Milanese, who at length assumed the sovereignty of this country, stiling themselves Lords of Milan. JOHN GALEAS was first honour'd with the title of Duke, about the year 1395, and being succeeded by his two sons, who died without any legitimate issue, several Princes laid claim to the Duchy, particularly the Emperor FREDERICK IV, ALPHONSUS King of Naples, LEWIS Duke of Savoy, CHARLES Duke of Orleans, and the Republick of Venice: whereupon the Milanoise for some time took the government into their own hands; but about the year 1468,

**CHAP. VIII.** submitted themselves to FRANCIS SFORZA, one of the greatest Generals of his time, who had married the base daughter of their last Duke. LEWIS XII, King of France, son to the Duke of Orleans, and great grandson of Duke JOHN GALEAS, reviving his pretensions to the Milanese, march'd an army thither, and reduced it to his obedience in less than a month; obliging the Duke, surnam'd LEWIS the Black, to fly for refuge into Germany. His subjects growing weary of the French insolence, soon after recall'd him; but being betray'd by a mercenary Swiss soldier in his service, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, and died in captivity. MAXIMILIAN the son of Duke LEWIS, assisted by the Swiss, defeated the French in his turn, and drove them out of the country. But FRANCIS I, reinforcing his troops, obtain'd a signal victory over the Milanoise and Swiss, obliging MAXIMILIAN to quit the government, and accept a pension of thirty thousand ducats per annum. FRANCIS SFORZA, the son of MAXIMILIAN, being assisted by the Emperor and the Pope, was restored to his duchy about the year 1521; and at the treaty of Cambray, anno 1529, the French King relinquisht his claim to the Milanese. Upon the death of FRANCIS SFORZA II, anno 1536, the Emperor CHARLES V granted the investiture of the duchy to his own son PHILIP II, King of Spain; whose successors enjoy'd it till the year 1706, when the French and Spaniards evacuated the Milanese, and the rest of the Spanish dominions in Italy; which by the following treaty of peace in the year 1714, were yielded to the Emperor, who still remains sovereign of them.

The constant revenues of the duchy of Milan are computed at three hundred thousand pounds per annum, and the compliment of forces for this duchy are about thirty thousand men; though there are scarce half so many in actual service, the officers putting great part of the pay in their pockets which is assign'd for that service; at least this was the case while they were under the dominion of Spain; possibly the present Vicar-General, Prince EUGENE, may have put things upon a better foot.

## M A N T U A.

### CHAP. IX.

*Contains a description of the duchy of Mantua.*

**THE** duchy of Mantua is bounded by the Bre- Situation  
scian and Veronese, part of the territories of and extent  
Venice, on the north; by another part of the  
Venetian dominions and the Ferrarese on the east;  
by the duchies of Modena and Mirandola on the  
south;



CHAP. south; and by the Cremonese in the duchy of  
IX. Milan towards the west; being divided into, 1.  
Mantua. The duchy of Mantua Proper. 2. The duchy of  
Subdivision. Guastalla. 3. The County of Novellara. 4. The  
duchy of Sabionetta. 5. The principality of Bo-  
zolo. 6. The principality of Castiglione de la  
Stivere. And, 7. The principality of Solferino.

But not finding their exact boundaries, I shall  
content my self with a general description of the  
whole duchy; which is about fifty miles in  
length, but of a very unequal breadth, in some  
places upwards of thirty miles, and in others not  
Chief towns. seven miles over. The chief towns are, 1. Man-  
tua. 2. Borgoforte. 3. Governolo. 4. Ostiglia.  
5. Gonzaga. 6. Goito. 7. Luzara. 8. Via-  
dana. 9. Guastalla. 10. Novellara. 11. Sabio-  
netta. 12. Bozolo. 13. Castiglione delle Sti-  
vere. And, 14. Solferino.

Mantua  
city.

The city of Mantua stands in the middle of  
a lake, or as some call it, a morass, formed by  
the river Mincio, about fourscore miles to the  
eastward of Milan, and as many south-west  
of Venice, the situation rendering it very un-  
healthful in the hot season. It is join'd to the  
continent by a cause-way three hundred paces  
long on the side of Cremona, and by two others  
five or six hundred paces long towards the north,  
with forts and draw-bridges for their defence. It  
is between four and five miles in circumference,  
and supposed to contain fifty thousand inhabitants.  
The walls and fortifications are but indifferent,  
the lake being its best defence; the streets are  
large, and the squares spacious. There are about  
eighteen parish-churches in it, and forty convents:  
the cathedral, the Jesuits church, that of St. BAR-  
NABAS, the town-house, the theatre and the du-  
cal palace, are the principal publick buildings;  
but I don't find any of them much admired by  
travellers: indeed one writer acquaints us, that  
several of the streets have piazza's with marble  
pillars, and that the palaces of the nobility and  
persons of quality are very numerous; but I pre-  
sume they have nothing extraordinary in their  
structure, others having pass'd over them in si-  
lence. The town however is a place of good  
trade, their silk manufacture particularly has a  
great reputation all over Europe; it is from this  
city those glorious Italian silks, call'd Mantua's,  
take their name, which our countrymen find more  
difficulty in imitating than any other. The late  
Duke had several palaces, or pleasure-houses, as  
they are call'd, in the neighbouring country, of  
which the principal were Marmerola and La Fa-  
vorita. TASSO the poet was born in Mantua,  
and the celebrated VIRGIL at the village of An-

Trade.

des, within two or three miles of it. It is in the CHA  
cathedral of this city the Catholicks pretend to IX.  
have preserv'd two or three drops of our Saviour's Mantu  
blood. This bishoprick is immediately subject to  
the Holy See, and acknowledges no other su-  
perior.

Luzara, fifteen miles south of Mantua, is not Luzara.  
remarkable for any thing but a great battle fought  
near it, between the Imperialists on one side, and  
the French and Spaniards on the other, in the  
year 1702, when both sides claim'd the victory.

The town of Guastalla is the capital of a Guastalla.  
duchy of the same name, and lies about twenty  
miles south of Mantua.

Sabionetta also is the capital of a duchy, and Sabionetta.  
lies about twenty miles south-west of Mantua;  
but does not require a particular description, any  
more than the other towns above-mention'd.

The duchy of Mantua generally follow'd the History of  
fortune of the rest of Lombardy, till about the Mantua.  
eleventh century, when the leading men of the  
country erected a government of their own, and  
became independent of any foreign power. Some  
time after they lost their liberty again, and were  
subject to several tyrants, as they are stiled, till  
LEWIS DE GONZAGA, from whom the late  
Duke deriv'd his pedigree, depos'd the last tyrant  
in the year 1328, and obtain'd the sovereignty of  
the Mantuan, as Vicar of the Empire. His succes-  
sors enjoy'd the titles of lords of Mantua till the  
year 1435, when the Emperor honour'd them  
with the title of Marquiss; and CHARLES V,  
afterwards conferr'd that of Duke on FREDE-  
RICK II. The duchy continued in this branch  
till the year 1627, when VINCENT II dying  
without issue, his cousin CHARLES GONZAGA,  
Duke of Nevers in France, by the assistance of  
LEWIS XIII obtain'd the sovereignty of his duchy.  
His grandson FERDINAND-CHARLES IV, the  
last Duke, adhering to the French King in the  
late war, was proscrib'd by the Emperor, who  
seiz'd the duchy as a forfeited fee; and the Duke  
dying in the year 1708 without issue, his Imperial  
Majesty still keeps possession of it. The country  
of Mantua abounds in corn, fruits, flax, silk, and  
excellent pasture, but has little good wine. The  
annual revenue of the late Duke is computed to  
amount to three hundred thousand crowns and up-  
wards, besides what he drew from the Montfe-  
rat. The other branches of the family of GON-  
ZAGA are the Princes of Guastalla, Bozolo,  
Castiglione, and the Earl of Novellara; but these  
seem at present contented with the Emperor's  
government, and have not yet thought fit to lay  
claim to the duchy of Mantua.



## M O D E N A.

## C H A P. X.

*Contains a description of the duchies of Modena, Mirandola, Reggio, and other small states dependant on Modena.*

though it stands in a country abounding in corn, wine, rich pastures, cattle, and all manner of delicious fruits. But notwithstanding the people are not generally rich, with Mr. ADDISON's leave, they cannot be very miserable in the midst of so much plenty; especially in so warm a climate, where the poor have little or no occasion, either for clothes or firing, the want of which occasions the greatest hardships the poor endure in these northern countries. But our travellers of the Whig strain, out of an unaccountable prejudice to Monarchy and the Popish religion, unanimously cry out of the miseries and oppressions the subjects of the Italian Princes undergo; and yet none of them pretend to tell us wherein that misery consists, unless it be that there are not so many overgrown tradesmen as there are in other countries; which I am apt to think is not to the disadvantage of the inferior rank of people, who suffer less by monopolies where trade is more equally divided. Modena is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Bologna, and the residence of the Duke.

Frignano is the capital of a little country of the same name, situate at the foot of a mountain on the river Panaro, twenty miles south of Modena.

Mirandola, the capital of a duchy of the same name, is pleasantly situated in a fruitful country, twenty miles to the northward of Modena, formerly under the dominion of its own Prince, of the family of PIC, but purchased of the Emperor by the Duke of Modena, with Concordia, about the year 1711. The revenues of the duchy of Mirandola were computed to amount to two thousand pounds per annum.

Reggio is the capital of a duchy, and stands about fifteen miles north-east of Modena; a populous trading town, better built than Modena, and subject to the same Prince. The natives admire their churches and publick buildings, which would make a good appearance in any other part of the world, but it seems are not comparable to many others in Italy. Reggio is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Bologna.

Corregio is the capital of a principality of the same name, and stands about ten miles north-east of Reggio, but is not considerable enough to require a particular description.

Carpi also is the capital of a principality, situate in a fine plain, on a canal filled by the river Secchia, ten miles north-west of Modena, defended by a citadel and other works, and esteem'd a place of some strength, taken by the Germans in the year 1702, after they had obtain'd a victory over the French near this place; subject at present to the Duke of Modena.

Modena became a Roman colony soon after the establishment of that State, but was destroy'd by MARCUS ANTONIUS. The Lombards rebuilt the

CHAP.  
X.  
Modena.

UNDER the name of the Modenese, I comprehend the duchy of Modena, the duchy of Mirandola, the duchy of Reggio, the marquissate of Scandiano, the principality of Corregio, and the principality of Carpi; bounded by the Mantuan towards the north; by the Bolognese on the east, by the Apennine hills, which separate it from Tuscany, towards the south; and by the Parmesan on the west; extending about sixty miles in length from north to south, and fifty in breadth from east to west: the chief towns whereof are,  
1. Modena. 2. Bostia. 3. Final de Modena. 4. Frignano. 5. Carfagnano. 6. Mirandola. 7. Concordia. 8. Reggio. 9. Rubiera. 10. Bersello. 11. Scandiano. 12. Corregio. 13. Carpi. 14. Sassuolo. 15. St. Martin de Este.

The city of Modena stands upon a canal, in a pleasant fruitful plain, about forty miles to the southward of Mantua, and twenty north-west of Bologna, built out of the ruins of the antient Mutina, which stood near this place. It is surrounded by a wall and some antique fortifications of no great strength; the buildings are not fine, considering they are in Italy, the streets generally narrow and dark, with little low Piazza's before the houses, which are no great ornament to the place: the cathedral and the Duke's palace are the only things mention'd by travellers as worth the viewing. The soil about Modena, says Mr. ADDISON, is very rich, and well cultivated, and the Prince's palace magnificent. The subject might live in great plenty here, if the taxes and impositions were not so exorbitant; but the Court is too splendid for the small territories which lie about it. One cannot but be amazed to see such a profusion of wealth laid out in coaches, trappings, tables, cabinets, and such precious toys, in which few Princes in Europe can equal these petty sovereigns; though at the same time they neglect to make bridges over their rivers for the convenience of travellers, who are forc'd to pay unreasonable exactions at every ferry upon the least rising of the waters. It happens very unfortunately, adds the same author, that these little Italian Princes will still be endeavouring, at their subjects cost, to equal the pomp and grandeur of the greatest monarchs, as well as to outvie those of their own rank. The town of Modena is neither large nor populous, nor has it any great trade,

Division.

Chief towns.

Modena  
city.

Mirandola.

Reggio.

Corregio.

Carpi.

History of  
Modena.



**CHAP. X.** the city, and made it a part of their kingdom. It was afterwards a free State, under the protection of the Empire, till it became annexed to the marquisate of Ferrara. It has been since possessed alternately by the Pope and by the family of D'ESTE, being at this day subject to the latter. The present Duke is REGINAULD, Duke of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola; Prince of Carpi and Corregio; Lord of Frignano, Carfagnano, Corregio, &c. born in 1655, and made Cardinal Deacon in 1686: after his brother's death however he threw off the purple, and about the year 1696 married CHARLOTTE, the daughter of JOHN-FREDERICK Duke of Hanover, by whom he had BENEDICTA-ERNESTINA-MARY, born anno 1697, and married to Prince ANTHONY of Parma in the year 1715. 2. FRANCIS-MARY, hereditary Prince of Modena, born in 1698, who married the second daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, by whom he hath had two sons. 3. AMELIA-JOSEPHA, born anno 1699. And, 4. JOHN-FREDERICK-ERNEST, born anno 1700. The Duke is absolute in his dominions, and appoints the Governours of the several towns and fortresses, and Podestà's or Judges in criminal and civil affairs, determining all appeals however himself. His revenues are computed to amount to an hundred thousand pounds per annum; but his forces not being sufficient to defend his country against the neighbouring powers, he relies chiefly upon his alliance with the Emperor, whose party he espoused in the late war: and though his country was ravaged by the French, and great part of it taken from him on that account, it was afterwards recover'd by the Emperor, and restor'd him with advantage. And in the year 1726, his Imperial Majesty granted the Duke of Modena a principality in Hungary, in consideration of his Highness's resigning his pretensions to Commachio, which the Emperor a little before yielded to the Pope.

MARY-ELEANOR-BEATRIX, Sister of the Duke of Modena, was married to JAMES Duke of York (afterwards King of England) anno 1673, to which match some are apt to ascribe that Prince's misfortunes: but however this be, it appears from hence that the Chevalier de St. George is nephew to the Duke of Modena, and first cousin to the duchess of Parma his daughter, to whom the Chevalier lately made that visit which the British court so much resented, as to command the Duke of Parma's Minister out of the kingdom.

## P A R M A.

Situation and extent.

THE duchy of Parma, (in which I include the Plaisantin, or duchy of Piacenza, the States

of Bassetto and Landi, being all subject to the same Prince) is bounded by the Cremonese and Lodofan on the north; by the duchy of Reggio towards the east; by the territories of Genoa and Modena on the south; and by the Pavese and Bobbion on the west: extending sixty miles in length, and thirty in breadth. The chief towns are, 1. Parma. 2. Castel Guelpho. 3. Fornovo. 4. Corneglio. 5. Piacenza. 6. Nibiano. 7. Borgo St. Domino. 8. Florenzola. 9. Corte Maggiore. 10. Busseto. 11. Borgo de Val de Taro. 12. Bardi. And, 13. Compagno.

The city of Parma, the capital, is pleasantly situated on a river of the same name, which divides it in two parts, having a communication with each other by three bridges; the form of it is almost round, and the walls about three miles in circumference: it is defended by a citadel and other fortifications, and esteem'd a place of some strength: the streets are wide and strait, and the buildings regular, but low, having no piazza's before them, as at Modena. It stands about sixty miles north-east of Genoa, and thirty north-west of Modena. The publick buildings best worth the viewing are, the Cathedral, a magnificent pile, surrounded on the out-side by several ranges of pillars, and the cupola exquisitely painted by the celebrated CORREGIO. The church of St. JOHN is a beautiful piece of architecture, and adorn'd with the paintings of the same CORREGIO and PARMEGIANA. In the church of the Capuchins is the tomb of that famous General ALEXANDER FARNESE. The Duke's palace, that part of it which is lately built, is an elegant structure, but most admir'd for the theatre and fine gallery. The theatre, Mr. ADDISON observ'd, was the most spacious in Europe, and so admirably contrived, that from the depth of the stage the lowest sound may be heard distinctly to the furthest part of the audience; and let the voice be rais'd never so high, there is nothing like an echo to cause the least confusion. There are no boxes in it, only benches rising gradually as in an amphitheatre, and the pit between the benches and the stage is sometimes fill'd with water three foot deep, into which are brought little gilded boats, that with the lights and glasses that surround it form a very agreeable scene. The gallery is hung with a numerous collection of pictures, done by the most celebrated hands, and on the side of it is a large room adorn'd with inlaid tables, cabinets, works of amber and crystal, and other pieces admired for their value and contrivance; adjoining to this is another large room furnish'd with antient inscriptions, idols, busts, medals, and other antiquities. Amongst the medals the scarcest is that of PESCENIUS NIGER, (coin'd at Antioch, where that Emperor trifled away his time, till he lost his life and empire) on the



CHAP. X. the reverse a *Dea Salus*. There are also two of OTHO, two of MESSALINA and POPPÆA, two of PERTINAX, and another of GORDIANUS AFRICANUS. The gardens of the palace also are admired for the grotto's, fountains, cascades, fine walks, statues, and other embellishments. The University here was founded in the year 1509, in which there is a large college appropriated to the nobility, where all manner of exercises are taught as well as the sciences. The academy of wits here stile themselves *Innominati*, or *Anonymous*, and spend their time as the members of other Italian academies usually do. Parma is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Bologna, and a place of good trade, especially in cheese, which they send to every country in Europe.

Piacenza, or Plaifance, is situated about thirty miles north-west of Parma, in a fruitful plain, water'd with rivulets, about half a mile from the Po, being rather larger than Parma, and defended by a wall, a citadel, and other fortifications. The Duke of Parma has a palace here. The streets and squares are spacious, and the buildings regular, but they seem to be excelled by so many other places of Italy, that travellers have not thought them worth a particular description. A fountain erected by AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and an equestrian statue of ALEXANDER I, Duke of Parma and Piacenza, however are mention'd by every traveller as worth the viewing. Piacenza is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Bologna, and has a University but of no great fame. The trade of this place consists chiefly in their cheese, as at Parma: these cities being surrounded with the richest pasture-grounds in Italy.

Busseto is the capital of a country, of the same name, about sixteen miles to the north-east of Piacenza, taken notice of for little but its desirable situation.

Borgo di Val di Taro is a small city, on the river Taro, capital of the State of Landi, purchased by the Duke of Parma in 1682, of the family of LANDI.

Borgo St. Domino, the antient *Julia Fidentia*, about sixteen miles south-east of Piacenza, situate in the State of Busseto, is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Bologna, but does not require a particular description.

The duchies of Parma and Piacenza are allow'd to be blessed with a fine air and fruitful soil. They abound also in cattle of all kinds, and the wool of their sheep is not inferiour to any in Italy. Their excellent cheese has been taken notice of already, and they have plenty of the best oil, wine, rice, corn, and fruits; truffles, a delicious root without stems or plants, also are found here, and they have some mines of copper and silver. The Tuscans inhabited this country antiently, and the Romans sent a colony hither a-

bove an hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. Upon the declension of the Roman Empire it fell under the power of the barbarous nations that invaded Italy, and afterwards became a free State. It was successively subject to the western Emperors, the Pope, the Venetians, Milanoise, and French. Pope JULIUS II reduced it again under the power of the See of Rome. Pope PAUL III created his natural son PETER LEWIS FARNESE Duke of Parma and Piacenza, about the year 1545; but the Emperor disputed his title, till his son OCTAVIO FARNESE married MARGARET of Austria, the Emperor's natural daughter, which confirm'd this duchy in the Farnesian family, though the Emperor still looks upon it as a fief of the Empire, and revertible to him on failure of male issue. The Pope on the contrary claims it as a fee of the holy See, and actually receives ten thousand crowns per annum of this Prince.

And here it is necessary to be a little more particular in treating of the family of FARNESE than of any Italian Prince, in order to the clearing up a considerable piece of modern history. It seems ODOUARDO, or EDWARD FARNESE, Duke of Parma, in the year 1690 married DOROTHY-SOPHIA of Newburgh, sister to the Elector Palatine, and the Empress-mother, and to the Queen Dowager of Spain, and afterwards died in the year 1693; having had issue by his Princess a son named ALEXANDER, who died soon after his birth, and a daughter named ELIZABETH, born in the year 1692, and married to PHILIP V, the present King of Spain, anno 1714. Prince FRANCIS FARNESE succeeded his brother ODOUARDO or EDWARD in the duchy of Parma, and in 1695 married his widow the Princess DOROTHY-SOPHIA, mother to the present Queen of Spain, at which every body was amazed on account of the proximity of blood, Prince EDWARD his eldest brother having had children by her; but the Pope granted a dispensation, which remov'd all scruples.

In the year 1718, the Emperor, the Kings of Great Britain and France, and the States General, enter'd into an alliance, which from the number of the parties, obtain'd the name of the quadruple alliance, wherein it was stipulated, that for preventing a war in Italy, in case the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Duke of Parma and Placentia, or their successors, should die without heirs male, the states and duchies possessed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Duke of Parma being fiefs of the Empire, should go to the first-born son of the said Queen of Spain, and his male issue lawfully begotten; and in default of such issue, to the second, and other younger sons of the said Queen in like manner: provided that none of the aforesaid duchies or dominions should ever be possessed

CHAP. X.  
Parma.

The family of Farnese.

The present Queen of Spain.

The reversion of the duchies of Parma and Tuscany settled on her son by the quadruple alliance.



CHAP. X. by a Prince who at the same time held the kingdom of Spain; nor any King of Spain be guardian to the Prince who should succeed to the said duchies and dominions. And for the securing the said succession to the son of the Queen of Spain, it was farther agreed, that garrisons of Swiss troops should immediately be put into the towns of Parma and Placentia, Leghorn and Porto Ferrajo in the isle of Elba, to be paid by the contracting powers: (but this last part of the agreement was never put in execution.)

The Duke of Tuscany died in the year 1723, and was succeeded by his son JOHN GASTON DE MEDICIS the present Duke, who was born May 24, 1671, and married to ANNE-MARIA-FRANCES, daughter of JULIUS-FRANCIS, Duke of SAX-LAWENBURG, and widow of PHILIP-WILLIAM Count Palatine of the Rhine, by whom he has no children, nor is ever like to have any; and being the last heir male of the family of MEDICIS, is to be succeeded in that duchy by Don CARLOS, eldest son of the present Queen of Spain, according to the abovesaid treaty: but more of this in the description of Tuscany.

By another treaty, anno 1725, between the Emperor and King of Spain, the said duchies of Parma and Tuscany are confirm'd to the eldest son of the said Queen of Spain, and his male descendants, on failure of heirs male of the said two houses of Parma and Tuscany; but the Duke of Parma dying on the 25th of February 1726-7, and being succeeded by his brother ANTHONY FARNESE, who the same year married AMELIA-JOSEPHA, the third daughter of the Duke of Modena, if there be any male issue of this marriage, the settlement upon the eldest son of the Queen of Spain cannot take effect as to Parma.

The annual revenue of this duchy is computed at an hundred thousand pounds; but this Prince also owes his security more to the jealousies his neighbours entertain of each other, than to the forces he can raise.

## T U S C A N Y.

### CHAP. XI.

*Contains a description of the duchy of Tuscany, or Florence, and the republick of Luca.*

Situation and extent.

THE duchy of Tuscany, or Florence, is bounded by the territories of the Pope on the north, east, and south-east; by the Tuscan sea on the south-west; and by the territories of Genoa and Modena on the north-west: extending an hundred miles in length, and about as many in breadth, being pretty near square. As great part

of this country is taken up by the Apennine mountains, and that the barrenest part of them, it cannot be said in general to be either fruitful or pleasant; the air also is so exceeding sharp on these hills, that they are generally destitute of towns and inhabitants; but then there are some valleys, and those large ones, that are the very reverse, and when view'd from the neighbouring hills appear a perfect paradise; where the air is not only more agreeable, but ripens the fruits of the earth sooner, and brings them to a much greater perfection than on the north side of the Apennine. There is a plain particularly, which runs quite cross the country from east to west, namely, from Arezzo to Pisa; extending fourscore miles in length, and water'd by the river Arno; which abounds in corn, wine, oil, oranges, citrons, figs, and all manner of delicious fruits; and as for mulberry trees, the food of their silk-worms, and chesnuts, no country is better stock'd with them. There are also several little hills between the valleys and the barren Apennines, where they enjoy a happy medium, being neither subject to the cold blasts of the one, or the scorching heats of the other, and that are well cover'd with trees and herbage, which make them very delightful retirements in the summer. The chief rivers are the Arno and Ombrò, which rising in the Apennine mountains, run to the south-west, and fall into the Tuscan sea, the one near Pisa, and the other over against the island of Elba. This country is usually divided into three parts, viz. the Pisan, the Florentin, or Florenza, and the Siennese.

The Pisan is bounded by the Florentin and the republick of Luca on the north and east; by the Siennese on the south-east; and the Tuscan sea on the south-west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Pisa. 2. Leghorn. And, 3. Volterra.

The city of Pisa stands in a fruitful plain on the river Arno, but in an unhealthful air; thirty-six miles to the westward of Florence; fifty north-west of Sienna, and about six from the Tuscan sea. It is the largest town in Tuscany next to Florence; and defended by a good wall, a citadel, and other fortifications; being divided almost into two equal parts by the river Arno, which is of a good breadth here: there are three handsome bridges, by which they have an easy communication, one of them being built with marble. The sides of the river, lined with a sloping wall, form a mighty commodious quay, where ships of burthen formerly unladed their merchandize; but the mouth of the river being now choak'd up, it is only navigable for smaller vessels. The streets are broad and strait, paved with large stones; the houses well built, the squares spacious, and the publick buildings magnificent; of which the domo or cathedral, dedicated to St. MARY, is esteem'd the

CHAP. XI.  
Tuscan  
Air and

Produce.

Rivers.

Division.

The Pisan

Pisa city.



CHAP. XI. the chief, very advantageously situated in the middle of a large piazza, and built out of a great heap of wrought marble, such as pillars, pedestals, capitals, cornishes, and architraves, part of the spoils which the Pisans took in their eastern expeditions, when the republick was in a flourishing condition. The roof is supported by seventy-six tall marble pillars of different colours, and finely gilt. The choir is painted by the greatest masters, and the floor inlaid with marble. The brazen doors are exquisitely wrought, containing the annunciation, incarnation, nativity, life, and passion of our Saviour, and consequently could never have belong'd to SOLOMON's temple, according to the tradition of the place. In the same area with the domo stands the baptistery, a round fabrick supported by stately pillars; and near it the burying-place, called the *Campo Santo*, the earth which covers it having been brought from the Holy Land; and this is surrounded with a cloyster, adorn'd with admirable paintings. Adjoining to it is the leaning tower, in form of a cylinder, built with marble, and beautified with pillars on the outside an hundred and eighty-eight feet in height, which, some travellers relate, was built on purpose leaning to shew the skill of the architect; others, that it only deceives the sight, and is really upright: but Mr. MISSON assures us, the foundation is sunk, which occasions its bending forward, as he discover'd by a line and plummet let down from the top.

The palace of the Knights of St. STEPHEN, an order instituted by COSMUS DE MEDICIS in memory of a victory obtain'd over the Turks that day, with the church adjoining to it, adorn'd with the trophies taken from the infidels, are worth the viewing. And here is a famous aqueduct mention'd by travellers, consisting of five thousand arches, that conveys the best water in Italy to this city, which is drank by the Great Duke and Court of Florence.

Pisa is an archbishoprick and university, and was once the metropolis of a flourishing republick, maintaining powerful fleets upon the Mediterranean, and disputing the sovereignty of those seas with the Genoese and Venetians. They made a conquest also of the islands of Sardinia and the Balears, reduced the city of Carthage, and were of great service to the Christian Princes in their wars against the Infidels in the Holy Land: but being subdued by the Florentines, and the seat of the government removed, their river became unnavigable for large vessels; their trade lost, and carried to Leghorn; the town is almost deserted; the buildings decay'd: nor does it seem to be in the power of the Great Duke to restore it to its former happy state, tho' this has been attempted by sometimes making it the residence of the Court,

and granting extraordinary privileges to the citizens. CHAP. XI.

Leghorn, *Livorno*, is situated in a low ground on the Tuscan sea, sixteen miles to the southward of Pisa, being one of the best harbours in Italy, and surrounded with a wall and other fortifications for its defence. The town is not large, but the buildings are regular, and painted on the outside; the streets broad and straight, and the great square one of the largest and most beautiful in Tuscany. Leghorn was an inconsiderable village, till Duke FERDINAND I. enlarged and beautified it; and granted such privileges to the place, as invited foreign merchants from all countries hither. Mr. ADDISON observes however, that they are at a constant expence in cleansing the harbour, and keeping it from being choak'd up; which is done by the help of engines, that are always at work, and employ many of the Great Duke's slaves, and with the soil and sand taken out of the harbour, they fill and dry up the marshy ground about the place, whereby it is become more healthful than formerly. It is not to be conceived what great profits the Duke reaps from this single town, notwithstanding it has the reputation of being a free port; and may very well be reckon'd so, if compar'd with some others. 'Tis true, foreigners pay little or no duties directly, but out of every thing they purchase there goes a large gabel or tax to the government. The very ice-merchant here pays above a thousand pounds per annum to the government for his privilege of selling it; and the tobacco-merchant ten thousand. The ground also is sold at a prodigious high rate by the Great Duke, on which new houses are erected every day. All merchandize which is sent up into the country, of which there are great quantities, are clogg'd with impositions as soon as they leave Leghorn. And all the wines, oils, and silks, which come from the fruitful valleys above-mentioned, must make their way through a variety of duties before they reach the port; and though this must enhance the price of them to the foreign merchant, yet the labouring oar lies altogether on the natives. Here is none of the trouble of entring their goods either upon importation or exportation, which is the plague and vexation of other ports, and sometimes a great hindrance to the voyage. The canal, which runs from the sea to the Arno, affords a mighty convenient carriage for all goods imported or exported: and because the great Duke reaps such advantages from this free port, several Princes and States of Italy have been upon the same project; particularly the Pope, who was about to enlarge the harbour of Civita Vecchia, and grant it the same privileges, but was diverted from this project by the management of the Great Duke.



CHAP. The Genese are attempting the same thing, but  
 XI. their road is too dangerous to invite foreign mer-  
 Tuscany. chants from Leghorn thither; and they will not  
 make any of their other ports free, for fear of  
 drawing the trade from their capital. After what  
 has been observed already of Leghorn, the reader  
 will naturally conclude it to be a place of good  
 trade, and very populous in proportion to the ex-  
 tent, as it really is; particularly the Jews, who  
 never fail to frequent such towns, are computed  
 to amount to no less than ten thousand; and, as  
 the English factors complain, have in a manner  
 engross'd the trade of our country. Besides the  
 trade we have directly with Leghorn, the ships of  
 England, France, and Holland, touch here fre-  
 quently in their voyage to or from Turkey, bar-  
 tering the goods of one country for another; and  
 in this port there are frequently small barks laden  
 with wine from Languedoc, Sardinia, and Cor-  
 fica, which sell their liquor on board by retale,  
 making taverns of their vessels, because they are  
 not allowed to land it without paying custom.

The marble statue of FERDINAND I, on the  
 quay, with four brazen figures at his feet, repre-  
 senting so many Turkish slaves, who endeavour'd  
 to run away with a galley, and were executed in  
 this place, are reckon'd an extraordinary piece of  
 workmanship. The galley-slaves here are used with  
 much more humanity than in other places, of  
 which there are two sorts; the one called *For-  
 zatti*, who are either Turks or Moors, who are  
 taken at sea, or natives condemn'd to the galleys  
 for their crimes: the other are called *Bona Voglia*,  
 a rascally sort of people, who make themselves  
 slaves for money, and have their liberty when the  
 time bargain'd for is expir'd. The Turks and  
 Moors are allow'd to go abroad with a single iron  
 on their leg, and some without any, because they  
 are easily known, and it is difficult for them to e-  
 scape; but those who are condemn'd for any crimi-  
 nal matter go coupled together with a long chain,  
 and have always a guard following them; and for  
 the greater security, they sometimes chain a Turk  
 and a Christian together. Great part of these  
 slaves, when the galleys are laid up, follow their  
 respective trades and business, and those who have  
 none, sell wine and other provisions; insomuch,  
 that there have been found Turkish slaves here  
 worth a thousand crowns a man, who would not  
 have their liberty if it was offer'd them; for, it  
 seems, they have little mosques allowed them to  
 worship God in their own way, and if they have  
 any money to present their Captain, he will ex-  
 cuse their going to sea, and provide others in their  
 room.

Volterra  
 city.

Volterra is an ancient city, built upon a hill  
 near the river Cecinna, situate in a fruitful coun-  
 try, in which are several fine stone-quarries, and  
 springs of mineral waters. It is the See of a Bi-

shop, suffragan to Rome, but travellers have not CH  
 thought it worth a particular description. About XI  
 sixteen miles to the westward of this city are the Tusca  
*Aquæ Volaterranæ*, now called, *Il Bagno al Morbo*,  
 which are small lakes of a prodigious depth, from  
 which, 'tis said, the water perpetually bubbles up like  
 a copper of boiling liquor, and sends forth such sul-  
 phureous steams, that they kill the birds which  
 fly over them, and are so excessive hot, that they  
 boil a piece of flesh sooner than water heated by  
 culinary fires.

The Florentin, or duchy of Florence, properly The Fl  
 so called, is bounded by the Bolognois and Ro- rentin.  
 mania towards the north; the duchy of Urbino and  
 Ancona towards the east; by the Siennese on the  
 south; and by the Pisan and the republick of Luca  
 towards the west. The chief towns whereof are, Chief to  
 1. Florence. 2. Fiesoli. 3. Pratolino. 4. San  
 Martino. 5. Scarperia. 6. Fiorenzola. 7. Pie-  
 tra Mala. 8. Pistoia. 9. Prato. 10. Poggio  
 Imperiale. 11. Empoli. 12. St. Miniato al To-  
 desca. 13. Barbarino. 14. Colle. 15. Pongio-  
 bond. 16. Monte Pulciano. 17. Marciano.  
 18. Cortona. 19. Arezzo. 20. Burgo San Se-  
 pulchro. 21. Val Ombrosa. And, 22. Ancisa.

The city of Florence lies in a fruitful valley on Floren  
 the river Arno, in forty-three degrees forty mi- city.  
 nutes north latitude, thirty-six miles to the east-  
 ward of Pisa, and about as many to the north-  
 ward of Sienna, and an hundred and twenty north  
 of Rome; in a most desirable situation, encom-  
 pass'd with beautiful hills on three sides, full of  
 villages, country-seats, gardens, groves, and woods  
 of olives rising gradually till they join the highest  
 mountains of the Apennine. And towards the  
 west lies that rich valley water'd by the river Ar-  
 no, which extends as far as Pisa, abounding in  
 corn, wine, and oil, and all manner of delicious  
 fruits. The town is of a round form, about six  
 miles in circumference, encompass'd with walls  
 and other fortifications, and defended by three  
 citadels. The river Arno divides it in two parts,  
 which have a communication by four bridges, of  
 which two, the old and the new, are admir'd for  
 their structure. The streets are streight and well  
 paved, in imitation of the old Roman high-ways,  
 with great flat stones, larger than our common  
 pavement-stones, but much thicker, which are  
 so hollowed in their joinings, that the horses find  
 fastening for their feet. There are a great many  
 statues and fountains in the streets, and we meet  
 with agreeable objects which way soever we turn  
 our eyes. Their private buildings are tall and  
 fair, their palaces numerous and exquisitely con-  
 triv'd, their churches but little inferiour to those  
 of Rome, and there are no less than seventeen  
 spacious squares; insomuch that this city has ob-  
 tain'd the title of *Florence the Fair*, which all  
 travellers agree it well deserves. In two things  
 only



CHAP. only they think it defective; the first, that they  
 XI. have no glass in their windows, but their finest  
 Tuscan. palaces are often disgraced with tatter'd paper;  
 and in the second place, the streets and courts  
 in their palaces are too narrow for the loftiness  
 of their buildings: which are objections made to  
 many other towns of Italy; and the only an-  
 swer we meet with is, that neither glass nor  
 wide streets are convenient in so warm a cli-  
 mate: as it is, one side of the street always casts  
 a shade upon the other; and by their paper win-  
 dows they avoid the scorching heat of the sun,  
 whose rays would be contracted and heighten'd  
 by the crown glass used here, as by a burning-  
 glass.

As Tuscan pillars and rustick work owe their  
 original to this country, says Mr. ADDISON, the  
 architect always takes care to give them a place  
 in the great edifices that are raised in Tuscany;  
 though the Dorick, the Ionick, and Corinthian  
 orders are not excluded. The Duke's new pa-  
 lace, called the palace of Pitti, according to the  
 same gentleman, is a noble pile, built after this  
 manner, which makes it look extremely solid and  
 majestick. [This architecture *a la maniera rustica*,  
 as the Italians call it, is where great rough stones  
 are set jutting out beyond the plain superficies;  
 which has been imitated by several English noble-  
 men, particularly by the present Duke of New-  
 castle in the pillars before his house in Great Lin-  
 colns-Inn-Fields.] This palace is in the form of a  
 Roman H, with double rooms on all sides. From  
 the street there is an easy ascent to it, on which  
 front is a range of two and twenty large windows  
 in each story, with fine stone pillars on the sides  
 of them; but the smallness of the court in the  
 middle of the palace is by some travellers esteem'd  
 an unpardonable fault: for though the height of  
 the building to the cornice of the third order is an  
 hundred and twenty-two feet, the court is but an  
 hundred and sixty feet long, and an hundred and  
 forty broad; insomuch that there is no part of it  
 where we can stand to view the building, without  
 lifting up one's head in a very troublesome man-  
 ner. From the back court we ascend to a large  
 plot of ground, encompass'd with a semicircle of  
 stone-seats six rows deep, in form of an amphi-  
 theatre, on which people sit to see the sports that  
 are still exhibited to them. The gardens are beau-  
 tified with a multitude of pleasant walks, foun-  
 tains, grotto's, and statues of an inestimable value.  
 The furniture of the Grand Duke's apartments is  
 rich beyond expression, and the paintings exqui-  
 site. In one room we see described the history of  
 SELEUCUS, giving his beloved wife STRATO-  
 NICE to his only son SELEUCUS, who languish'd  
 for her. In another, a collection of pictures, all  
 originals, done by the best hands, as TITIAN's,  
 RAPHAEL's, MICHAEL ANGELO's, &c. one of

the best of which is RAPHAEL's, drawn by his  
 own hand. But it would be endless to enume-  
 rate all the beauties of these apartments; I shall  
 only observe further, that upon setting open the  
 doors, you see through sixteen large rooms at  
 once, all upon a floor. Let us pass on from hence  
 through the long close gallery, which runs from  
 the new palace to the old, over the river and over  
 the tops of the houses, with many turnings and  
 windings for the space of half a mile: being ar-  
 rived at the old palace, the first thing shewn to  
 travellers is that famous gallery, so replenish'd  
 with statues and pictures by the best hands, that  
 it is the admiration of all that see it; on the left  
 is one continued window, and on the other a set  
 of pictures of the Medicean family. Under the  
 window, and also under the pictures on each side,  
 are a range of marble statues of the Roman Em-  
 perors and other antient heroes: above the win-  
 dow is another range of pictures of the most fa-  
 mous men for learning; and on the right side  
 over the pictures already mention'd, are those of  
 the most celebrated Generals and military men.  
 The number of the statues are near an hundred:  
 among the busts of the Emperors and Empreses  
 that are most scarce, and some of them almost  
 singular in their kind, Mr. ADDISON observes,  
 are those of CALIGULA, OTHO, NERVA,  
 ÆLIUS VERUS, PERTINAX, GETA, DIDIUS  
 JULIANUS, ALBINUS, and AGRIPPA, ex-  
 tremely well wrought, and, what is very uncom-  
 mon, in alabaster. He places AGRIPPA among  
 the Emperors, because he is generally ranged so  
 in sets of medals; as he does some of the other  
 sex of an inferiour rank among the Empreses, be-  
 cause they are usually found in their company,  
 viz. DOMITIA, AGRIPPINA wife of GERMA-  
 NICUS, ANTONIA MATIDIA, PLOTINA, MAL-  
 LIA, and SCANTILLA. Among the busts of  
 such Emperors as are common, the following  
 ought to be taken notice of for the excellence of  
 the sculpture, viz. those of AUGUSTUS, VES-  
 PASIAN, ADRIAN, MARCUS AURELIUS,  
 LUCIUS VERUS, SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CA-  
 RACALLA, and GETA. In the same gallery  
 there is a beautiful bust of ALEXANDER the  
 Great, casting up his face to heaven with a noble  
 air of grief or discontent, whereby my author  
 conceives the sculptor intended to express the con-  
 queror's concern for want of new worlds. There  
 is also in porphyry the head of a Faun, and of  
 the god PAN; and among the entire figures, a  
 vestal virgin with the fire burning before her, and  
 her hair full grown and gather'd under her veil;  
 which my author thinks may determine that no-  
 table controversy among antiquaries, whether the  
 vestals after the first tonsure suffer'd their hair to  
 grow again. There is in the same gallery the  
 Gladiator, the NARCISSUS, the OUPHOBIA, and  
 PSYCHE,

The Great  
 Duke's gal-  
 lery.



CHAP. PSYCHE, and FLORA; and one of MORPHEUS,

XI. lying with his head upon a pillow of touch-stone; Tuscany. which god is usually represented by ancient statues under the figure of a boy asleep, with a bundle of poppies in his hand. The same gentleman observes, that he scarce ever saw any figure of sleep, which was not of black marble, having probably some relation to night, the proper season for rest. But to return to the gallery: Those that shew it desire you to take particular notice of a brazen one, cloathed in an antique dress, supposed to be SCIPIO's; of LEDA receiving JUPITER's embraces, expressing pleasure mixed with shame; the antique BACCHUS, with a copy of it by MICHAEL ANGELO; the JULIA, daughter of AUGUSTUS; the VENUS, the DIANA, the APOLLO, and the Peasant striking a boar. Among the pictures of celebrated Generals are those of HANNIBAL, the terror of Rome, of SCIPIO, who took Carthage, of PYRRHUS, of ALEXANDER FARNESE, who never lost a battle, &c. And among the men of learning, PETRARCH, ARIOSTO, MACHIAVEL, GUICCIARDIN, PAULO JOVIO, BOCCACIO, MICHAEL ANGELO, RAPHAEL URBIN, GALILEO, &c.

After the traveller has surveyed the gallery, he is led into seven or eight chambers of curiosities which stand on the side of it. In the first is a cabinet of antiquities, consisting chiefly of idols, talismans, sepulchral lamps, hieroglyphicks, medals, stones, and minerals. The second has nothing but paintings. The third, called the chamber of the mathematicks, has a globe and sphere each of them seven feet in diameter. The fourth is hung with an excellent collection of pictures; and in it is an ebony cabinet, containing many curiosities in amber, ivory, and precious stones; a great rough emerald, rooted in its rock; and the ground-plot of Leghorn, describ'd on a table of lapis lazuli. In the fifth chamber are pictures of several Generals and other men of figure in the last age, particularly OLIVER CROMWELL and General MONK. The sixth contains the pictures of the most famous painters, drawn by themselves. But the most valuable things are in an octogonal room, twenty foot in diameter, cover'd with an arched dome, lined with mother of pearl, the floor inlaid with marble of various colours, and the sides hung with pictures, done by the greatest masters. Here is kept the great diamond, weighing an hundred and thirty-nine carats and an half, of a very fine form, but the water a little upon the citron colour. Here also is the head of JULIUS CÆSAR, of one entire turquoise stone of the old rock, as big as a hen's egg; a cabinet full of vessels of agate, lapis lazuli, cornelian, and crystal of the rock; a large table of inlaid work, compos'd of oriental jasper, chalcedony, rubies,

topazes, and other precious stones admirably wrought; six Grecian statues of extraordinary beauty; the two wrestlers; the Roman slave, whetting his knife, and listening to CATILINE's conspiracy; a FAUNUS; a sleeping CUPID; and lastly, the celebrated VENUS of MEDICIS, which, as Mr. ADDISON observes, seems much less than the life, being perfectly naked, and in company with others of a larger make; but is however five feet high, as big as the ordinary size of a woman, as is evident from the measure he took of her wrist: for from the size of any one part, says my author, it is easy to guess at all the rest, in a figure of such nice proportions. The softness of the flesh, the delicacy of the shape, the air and posture, and correctness of design in this statue, is inexpressible: thus far Mr. ADDISON. Another traveller informs us, that this is the most charming body, and the finest piece of workmanship in the world: the head is turn'd a little towards the left shoulder, and she holds her right hand before her breast at some distance, the other hand she holds before what all the sex conceal; and bowing down a little, advances her right knee, as if she would hide herself better if she could: that decent bashfulness, which is so becoming an ornament in the fair, is imprinted on her face, accompanied with that sweetness, beauty, delicacy, and bloom of youth, which are beyond description. This figure of VENUS, says Mr. ADDISON, puts me in mind of a speech she makes in one of the Greek Epigrams, which he thus renders into English:

ANCHISES, PARIS, and ADONIS too,  
Have seen me naked and expos'd to view:  
All these I frankly own without denying?  
But where has this PRAXITELES been prying?

I proceed now to the description of the sacred buildings; of which the domo or cathedral, called Santa Maria Florida, is one of the most magnificent in Europe, being cover'd on the outside, as well as paved with marble of various colours. The architecture is *a la rustica*, and admirable in its kind: the pillars which support the church are so slender, and stand at such a distance, that one has a view of the whole church at once, which is four hundred and eighty feet long, and three hundred and eighty feet high to the top of the cross, cover'd with a cupola, the design of BRUNELLESCHI, being the first of the kind, and the pattern of St. PETER's in Rome, and of all other cupola's of a later date. The painting of it, which represents the resurrection, is much admired by some; but criticks find fault with it, because the rising bodies are cloathed, and of different ages. The statues of God the father, of a dead Christ, and an Angel supporting him, on the same altar, done



CHAP. XI. Tuscany. done by **BANDINELLO**, are admirable pieces, as are the **ADAM** and **EVE** behind the altar. The choir is round, and perpendicularly under the cupola, being of the same dimensions. The steeple, or square tower where the bells hang, is a little distance from the church: it is an hundred and eighty foot high, and overlaid with square pieces of white, red, and black marble, and adorn'd with statues. The baptistery stands before the dome, and is of an octogonal figure, cover'd with marble, as the church is; the three brazen gates, containing pieces of sacred history in bas-relief, one of which is so exquisitely wrought, that **MICHAEL ANGELO** used to say it would serve for one of the gates of paradise. The body of the baptistery was antiently an heathen temple dedicated to **MARS**.

The collegiate church of **St. LAURENCE**, the design of **BRUNELLESCHI**, is an admirable structure, adorn'd with excellent statues, paintings, and other rich ornaments; but our countryman **Dr. BURNET**, it seems, was much scandalized, that some of the statues appear'd with nudities, which he had never observed in any other church. The chapel of **St. LAURENCE** adjoining to it, the mausolæum of the Medicean family, is universally allow'd to be the finest edifice of the kind in the world. It is of an octogonal figure, [**Misson** says a hexagon] vaulted on the top in form of a cupola, the walls incrust'd and cover'd with porphyry, jasper, agate, touch-stone, lapis lazuli, oriental alabaster, and other rich materials, that can be equall'd by nothing but the workmanship, which sets it beyond all parallel. Round the chapel are the tombs of the Great Dukes, composed of porphyry, oriental granite, and the most precious kinds of marble; on each tomb is a great pillar of jasper, enriched with various sorts of jewels, and on each pillar a ducal crown, which is still a great deal richer. In the middle of each face of the octogon rises a double pilaster of jasper, with a double chapiter of brass gilt, the base being of the same metal. On the pedestal of each pilaster are several emblematical figures, composed of precious stones, join'd together with all the art imaginable: over the tombs are the statues of the Great Dukes at full length, all of brass gilt, and placed in niches round the chapel. In a word, says a late traveller, on which side soever we cast our eyes we were amazed; if we look'd down, we saw the pavement of the choicest marble; if we view'd the walls, our eyes were even dazzled with the piercing lustre of the precious stones; if we look'd up, we were ravish'd with the beauty of the roof, vaulted with lapis lazuli, the brightest blue, and intermix'd with stars and veins of gold, which represented the face of heaven very naturally. This work has been already above an hundred years begun, wherein a great many millions ster-

ling have been expended, and still it remains unfinished. The great altar, whose riches and workmanship is equal to such a chapel, is not yet set up, as I can learn, but kept still in the Great Duke's jewel-office. The crystal pillars of this altar, according to one that saw it, are a full ell long, and finely wrought, having chapiters of pure gold; the pictures composed of inlaid precious stones, which form the antependium of the altar: the neat contexture of others of different colours and lustre, with the variety of rich cameo's, which are set here and there, render the beauty of it inexpressible. And among the statues design'd to adorn this chapel, says **Dr. BURNET**, there is one of the virgin, made by **MICHAEL ANGELO**, which represents her grief at the passion of her blessed son, that hath the most life in it of all the statues I ever saw. But the famous library, which belongs to the convent of **St. LAURENCE**, we are to believe, took up more of our author's time than all the other curiosities in Florence; for here is a collection of many manuscripts, most of them Greek, which were gather'd together by Pope **CLEMENT VII**, and given to his country: there are but few printed books mixed with them, and those so rare, that they are almost as valuable as the manuscripts; and here also he saw some of **VIRGIL**'s poems in old capitals. **Mr. ADDISON** viewed the same, and observes that they want the *Ille ego qui quondam*, &c. and the two and twenty lines in the second *Æneid*, beginning at *Jamque adeo super unus eram*, which he always thought left out with a great deal of judgment by **TUCCA** and **VARIUS**, as it contradicts a part of the sixth *Æneid*, and represents the hero in a passion not becoming his character.

The churches of the **Annunciata**, **St. MARK**'s, the **Holy-Cross**, and **St. MARIA Novella**, are all buildings of exquisite beauty and immense riches; but the curiosities of Florence have already had their share in a work of this nature, and forbids my enlarging further upon them: I shall only observe in general, that the town is supposed to contain eight thousand houses, which at seven to a house makes the number of inhabitants to amount to fifty-six thousand; an hundred and fifty collegiate and parochial churches, ninety monasteries and nunneries, two and twenty hospitals, of which that for orphans maintains nine hundred persons; eighteen halls belonging to merchants and tradesmen, and an hundred and sixty publick statues, besides what are found in palaces.

The principal trade of this city, besides wine, Trade. oil, fruits, and other produce of the country, consists in wrought silks, gold and silver stuffs, and some say they have a woollen manufacture: (but this last must be inconsiderable.) The nobility and

CHAP. XI. Tuscany.



CHAP. and gentry do not think it beneath them to apply  
 XI. themselves to trade; and the Great Duke himself  
 Tuscany. is said to be one of the most considerable mer-  
 chants in Europe: Nay, the gentry sell their own  
 wines by retail out of doors, tho' not in their  
 houses, and even hang out a broken flask for a  
 sign at their court-gates. Their customers come  
 no further than the cellar-window however,  
 where they take and return the flasks to the but-  
 ler, without disturbing the house; at the same  
 time they look upon it as a great disparagement  
 to educate their children in the profession of phy-  
 sick: so various are the notions of honour in dif-  
 ferent countries, physick being esteem'd with us  
 one of the most creditable professions, and on the  
 contrary, a retale trade of liquors the most igno-  
 minious.

Diversions.

The women, we are told by most travellers, are  
 in no part of Italy more confin'd than they are at  
 Florence; and yet LASSEL assure us, the quality  
 invite one another to play at cards on winters  
 evenings at their houses, whither the married la-  
 dies come richly dress'd, and are attended by an  
 equal number of cavaliers; that they find the  
 rooms all open, and well lighted with candles,  
 where the ladies and gentlemen sit down at the  
 same tables promiscuously, having wine and o-  
 ther liquors prepar'd for them, and usually in a  
 great room below; at the entrance of the palace  
 is a long table, where gamesters resort who play  
 deep, the rest coming purely for diversion. In  
 the time of the carnival, masquerading, and all  
 manner of liberties are taken, so that methinks  
 the restraint of the married women in Italy is not  
 so terrible as it is usually represented; (as to vir-  
 gins indeed, they are sent to nunneries for edu-  
 cation at eight or ten years of age, and seldom  
 come out till they are married.) There are also  
 frequently balls at court, opera's and plays, where  
 the ladies are not excluded; but what many of  
 our travellers are offended at, is, that the women  
 are not seen commonly in the streets, or ever  
 ride in coaches with the gentlemen: and 'tis true,  
 a woman would not be look'd upon much better  
 than a prostitute, that should suffer herself to be  
 placed among fellows in a coach, tho' with us it is  
 esteem'd no reflection upon their modesty. Ano-  
 ther diversion at Florence, as I have hinted alrea-  
 dy, is the combat of wild beasts, which the court  
 exhibits to the people, as those of lions, leopards,  
 tygers, wild boars, bears and wolves, which are  
 let out of their dens into a spacious court sur-  
 rounded by high walls, above which the spectators  
 sit on benches gradually rising as in a theatre; and  
 when the sport is over, they drive the fierce ani-  
 mals back into their dens by a terrible wooden ma-  
 chine, made in the form of a great green dragon,  
 which a person within rolls upon wheels, holding  
 two lighted torches through the eyes to terrify

the creatures, who seldom dare stand the shock of CHA  
 this monstrous engine. Another of their sports XI.  
 is horse-racing without riders in the long street, Tuscan  
 which from hence is called the *Curso*. They throw  
 a broad piece of leather over each horse, in which  
 they fasten sharp-pointed irons like the rowels of a  
 spur, that strike against the horse's sides as he  
 moves; and four or five of them starting at the  
 same time, they run with all the speed they can  
 make to the end of the course. But besides these  
 races, on the 24th of June annually, the antient  
 Roman races are imitated in the *piazza di Santa*  
*Maria novella*, with magnificent open chariots  
 drawn by a pair of horses each, at which the  
 Great Duke assists. There being two fine marble  
 obelisks erected in the square, they drive four  
 times round them with all the speed imaginable,  
 and sometimes overturn each other; and he that  
 performs the course soonest, gains the victory.  
 The reward is usually a fine piece of brocade. In  
 this square also during the carnival is perform'd  
 another diversion, call'd the *Calcio*, which our  
 travellers resemble to foot-ball, only it is per-  
 form'd by persons of quality: the two parties each  
 of them chuse their Prince, who keeps his court  
 like a real sovereign, and is always one of the  
 first rank, who is able to make a figure. The  
 two parties magnificently dress'd, but with marks  
 of distinction, with each of them their Prince at  
 their head, are ranged in order of battle between  
 the barriers, when the ball being thrown into the  
 middle, they use their utmost endeavours to re-  
 ceive it at the first rebound, and after a great  
 deal of struggling, they that kick it beyond the  
 barrier of the opposite party, gain the prize.

In the square call'd *Loggia de Pisani*, on the  
 23d of June annually (where is erected the statue of  
 JUDITH in brass, and the rape of the Sabines is re-  
 presented) the Grand Duke comes in his robes of  
 state, attended by all his court, to receive the  
 homage of his officers and vassals under his juris-  
 diction, each of them passing before his throne on  
 horseback with their heads uncover'd, and bow-  
 ing their bodies, make some present, as a tribute  
 or mark of their submission.

2. The city of Fiesoli, to which Florence owes Fiesoli cl  
 its original, is situated on a hill, three miles to the  
 northward of it, and was one of the twelve great  
 cities of the Etrurians, and the residence of their  
 augurs; but is remarkable for little at present  
 but the cathedral; being still the See of a Bishop,  
 suffragan to Florence.

3. Pratolino, two miles north of Fiesoli, con- Pratolino  
 siderable for a palace of the Great Duke's situ-  
 ated here. It is a majestick square structure, en-  
 compass'd with mountains, and the gardens suit-  
 able to the magnificence of the palace. The foun-  
 tains, cascades, and grotto's, all admirable in their  
 kind; and what are most taken notice of by tra-  
 vellers,



CHAP. vellers, are certain statues playing upon musical in-  
 struments, others working at a forge, water-or-  
 gans, birds chirping, frogs croaking, statues walk-  
 ing, and all put in motion by water. As for the  
 conceal'd spouts, or fountains as they are call'd,  
 with which they take the liberty of half drown-  
 ing the common people who come to see the  
 gardens, they scarce deserve the mentioning: we  
 find some of our quality imitating them in this  
 piece of ill-nature.

4. Fiorenzola, is a large town, situate in a  
 valley, about thirty miles to the northward of  
 Florence, considerable on account of its trade.

5. Pietra Mala, twenty-five miles north of  
 Florence; is a village much talk'd of by travel-  
 lers on account of a light which is seen in the  
 fields near it, like a globe of pure fire, almost  
 every evening.

6. Pistoia, stands twenty miles north-west of  
 Florence, and as many south-east of Luca, and  
 is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Florence, a very  
 poor town at present, tho' situate in the richest  
 part of Tuscany. It was antiently a flourishing  
 commonwealth, and submitted to the Great Duke  
 upon the taking of Pisa.

7. Poggio Imperiale, is considerable for another  
 of the Great Duke's palaces, about a mile from  
 Florence, adorn'd with a collection of some of the  
 finest pictures in Italy. The gardens also are  
 very artificially disposed, and furnish'd with ex-  
 otick as well as domestick plants. Among the sta-  
 tues, that of ADONIS, done by MICHAEL AN-  
 GELO, is most admired.

8. Empoli, eighteen miles south-west of Flo-  
 rence, the See of a bishop.

9. St. Miniato al Todefco also is a Bishop's  
 See, but considerable for little else.

10. Colle, situate on a mountain, twenty-five  
 miles south of Florence, is only mention'd as a  
 Bishop's See.

11. Pongibond, or Poggio Bonzi, two and  
 twenty miles south of Florence, is a town of some  
 trade.

12. Monte Pulciano is the See of a Bishop, suf-  
 fragan to Rome, and lies twenty seven miles  
 south-east of Sienna

13. Cortona, fifty miles south-east of Florence,  
 is pleasantly situated on a mountain, planted with  
 vines and fruit-trees, said to be more antient than  
 Rome, and is at present the See of a Bishop, suf-  
 fragan to Florence.

14. Arezzo, is situated on a hill, about forty  
 miles to the eastward of Florence, a well-built  
 town, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Flo-  
 rence, but thinly inhabited at present.

15. Borgo San Sepulchro, lies near the Tiber,  
 forty-five miles to the eastward of Florence, and  
 is the See of a Bishop, but no otherwise consi-  
 derable

VOL. II.

The Siennese, or duchy of Sienna, is bounded CHAP.  
 by Florence Proper towards the north; by the XI.  
 territories of the Pope on the south and east; and Tuscany.  
 by the Tuscan sea on the south-west, being about  
 sixty miles in length, and as many in breadth. The Siennese.  
 The chief towns are, 1. Sienna. 2. Massa. 3.  
 Castiglione. 4. Buriano. 5. Grossetto. 6. Monte  
 Alcino. 7. Pienza. 8. Sanquirico. 9. Savona.  
 10. Radicofani. And, 11. Chiusi.

The city of Sienna stands in a healthful air, Sienna city.  
 thirty-six miles to the southward of Florence,  
 pleasantly situated on an eminence in an ex-  
 ceeding fruitful country, being about four miles  
 in circumference, and of a triangular figure, en-  
 compass'd with a ruinous wall, and commanded  
 by a citadel, intended more to awe the natives  
 than for its defence: in it are still remaining fe-  
 veral square towers, the most of them are fallen  
 to decay, which were built heretofore, as 'tis said,  
 to commemorate the great actions of particular  
 citizens when it was a republick. The streets  
 are neatly paved with bricks, the great square in  
 the middle of the city is surrounded with a piazza,  
 where they run races annually on the 2d of July.  
 Fourteen horses are brought from as many pa-  
 rishes by riders richly dress'd in different colours,  
 with the arms of the parish each of them be-  
 long to on their respective habits: the horses splen-  
 didly accoutred, and their very hoofs gilt. When  
 they are all ready, they start at the sound of  
 several instruments, and having run four times  
 about the square, the horse that comes first in  
 gains the prize, which consists of a rich brocade,  
 to which every parish contributes: they run also  
 with machines in the form of triumphal chariots  
 drawn each by a pair of horses, and driven by  
 persons of quality with incredible swiftness, as at  
 Florence, where the honour of the victory is pas-  
 sionately contended for with no small hazard to  
 the drivers, who are sometimes overturn'd by their  
 competitors, and come off with broken limbs.  
 The town is thinly peopled, vineyards and gar-  
 dens lie here and there interspersed within the  
 walls. The publick buildings are magnificent,  
 and the private houses have many of them an air  
 of grandeur, but every thing seems to be upon  
 the decline.

The domo, or cathedral, however, is still one  
 of the proudest structures in Italy of the Gothick  
 architecture: the walls are covered within and  
 without with marble of different colours; the roof  
 is azure intermix'd with stars of gold; the heads  
 of an hundred and seventy Popes in alabaster a-  
 dorn the walls; the frontispiece is finely carv'd  
 and set thick with excellent statues; the floor is  
 inlaid with marble of various colours, forming  
 lights and shades, and composing all together a  
 kind of Mosaick work, representing the history  
 of ABRAHAM sacrificing his son, the passage of  
 the

Y y



**CHAP.** the Israelites through the Read-Sa, MOSES striking the rock, and many other parts of sacred history. This beautiful pavement is covered with a boarded floor, part of which is removed to satisfy the curiosity of strangers when they come to view it. The principal statues are those of Pope ALEXANDER III, PIUS II, and ALEXANDER VII, who were natives of this city. The painting of the library belonging to this church, representing the great actions of PIUS II, is much admired by the most judicious travellers, which remains as fresh and lively as at first, though done near three hundred years ago. The other curiosities usually shewn to foreigners, are, the great hospital, the house of PIUS II, the pillar with a brazen wolf upon it, supposed, erroneously, to be the arms of the city; probably first set up by the Romans, who erected such pillars in many of their colonies, perhaps in memory of the wolf, which, according to tradition, suckled ROMULUS and REMUS, the founders of their city; which is not however more incredible than some later traditions concerning St. CATHERINE, the Saint of the town: they still shew several places here made famous by her devotions; as the room where she received the five wounds, now converted into a chapel; the apartment where she lived in the church of the Dominicans; here they have preserved her head and one of her fingers, but her body, it seems, is removed to the church of the Dominicans at Rome. They relate, that she was not only visited by our Saviour in person at Sienna, but formally married to him; and that the blessed Virgin, St. PETER, St. JOHN and St. DOMINICK were at the wedding: but the great use her friends make of her, is, a revelation which they pretend she receiv'd, that the Virgin was conceiv'd in sin as well as other mortals; which was introduced in opposition to a contrary revelation of St. BRIDGET's, confirming the immaculate conception. Thus do these bigotted people make sport for those who are atheistically inclin'd, and by their counterfeit visions and revelations, render those that are real, suspected. Sienna is an Archbishop's See and University, where young gentlemen are instructed in all manly exercises, as well as the sciences. Here also is an academy of Wits, as in other Italian cities. The purity of their language is much commended, being equal in that respect to Florence, and their pronunciation as good as at Rome; which, with the other advantages of the place above mention'd, in point of air and situation, make it frequently the residence of foreigners who intend to learn Italian. The magistracy of this city consists of a Governour and Senate composed of twelve of the principal inhabitants; the sovereignty being lodg'd in the Great Duke, under whose dominion they have been ever since the year 1555; before

which time they were a flourishing republick, CHA and often disputed with the Florentines for Em- XI.  
pire. Tuscan

2. Massa, situated on the side of a hill near the coast of Tuscany, about thirty-five miles to the westward of Sienna, to whom its Bishop is suffragan. Massa.

3. Grossetto, a small town, about forty miles south-west of Sienna, near a bay of the Tuscan Sea, defended by a castle, whose Bishop also is suffragan to Sienna. Grossetto.

4. Monte Alcino, famous for its wine, lies twenty miles south-west of Sienna, and is the See of a Bishop. Monte Alcino.

5. Pienza, twenty-five miles south-east of Sienna, which has the honour of being a bishoprick. Pienza.

6. Savona, a Bishop's See, fifty miles south of Sienna. Savona.

7. Chiufi, a Bishop's See, thirty-six miles south of Sienna; but travellers have not thought any of them deserve a particular description. Chiufi.

8. Radicofani, a little town, defended by a castle upon a hill, formerly look'd upon as impregnable, lies upon the Pope's frontiers, about forty miles from Sienna in the road to Rome. Radicofani.

9. Castiglione, a small town, situate on the frontiers of the Pope's territories, on a lake to which it communicates its name, forty-five miles south-east of Sienna. Castiglione.

This country which now goes under the name of Tuscany, was antiently call'd by the several names of Umbria, Tyrrhenia and Etruria, and divided into twelve small principalities, each of them govern'd by their respective sovereigns, till it fell under the dominion of the Romans with the rest of Italy, and afterwards follow'd the fortune of that Empire, being over-run and pillaged by the Goths and other northern people: Florence, the capital city, particularly was destroy'd by those barbarians, and rebuilt by CHARLES the Great about two hundred and fifty years after. It remain'd under the power of the Emperors of the west for some time; but during the struggles for dominion between them and the Pope of Rome, the principal cities of Italy, such as Florence, Pisa and Sienna, withdrew themselves from the subjection of both, and erected such governments in their respective territories as they saw fit, seldom remaining long under any one form, but altering their several constitutions as the people or the nobility prevail'd, till some of the most popular noblemen in Florence assumed the government of that city, and reduced it to the form of a monarchy. These were frequently deposed by other aspiring citizens, but at length the house of Medicis had the good fortune to fix the government in their family, and now remain Sovereigns of the greatest part of Tuscany, having reduced the republicks of Pisa and Sienna under their dominion. It was



**CHAP. XI.** **Tuscany.** **THE GRAND DUKE.** **JOHN DE MEDICIS**, who by flattering the populace, and pretending to defend them against the oppressions of the nobility, about the year 1410, first procured the sovereign power to be put into his hands; but his descendants did not become absolute as they are at present till many years after; this was obtain'd by slow degrees, and by the most refined policy. Pope **PIUS V**, first conferr'd the title of Great Duke on **COSMO DE MEDICIS**, in the year 1570, crowning him with his own hands at Rome; and the Pontiffs have ever since look'd upon these Princes as their vassals; while the Emperor on the other hand claims Tuscany as a fee of the Empire, with a power of disposing of it whenever male issue shall be wanting of the Medicean family; which was the occasion of the treaties above-mention'd in the description of Parma, for the preventing a war in Italy. The Pope seem'd highly to resent this proceeding of the powers of Europe, in taking upon them to dispose of the territories of Tuscany, exclaiming against it at the courts of Vienna, Madrid, &c. But they still seem determin'd that Don **CARLOS**, son of the Queen of Spain, shall succeed if he dies without issue. The present Grand Duke is **JOHN GASTON DE MEDICIS**, the son of **COSMO III**, and **MARGARETA LOUISA**, daughter of **GASTON JOHN BAPTIST** Duke of Orleans. He succeeded his father in the year 1723, having been married to **ANNE MARY FRANCES** of Sax-Lawenburg, widow to **PHILIP WILLIAM** Count Palatine of the Rhine, by whom he has had no issue, and probably despairs of having any now: however, as there are some branches of the family of **MEDICIS** left in Naples, particularly the Princes of **OTTAJONO** and **SARNE**, whom the Great Duke has acknowledged to be of the same blood, neither the Florentines or the Pope will contentedly acquiesce in the determination of the Empire and Spain for the succession of Don **CARLOS**; nor will France and England, who were parties to the quadruple alliance, probably insist on this disposition, since the misunderstanding which hath happen'd between the allies of Hanover and Vienna, unless this matter be farther confirm'd at the congress of Soissons.

The Great Duke, as hath been intimated already, is arbitrary in his dominions, nor hath he so much as a privy council, in whose name proclamations and other acts of state are issued, as is practis'd in the courts of other monarchs, but all things of this nature are executed as the sole effect of his will and pleasure. The Florentines indeed retain the shadow of their ancient government, having a senate composed of forty of the nobility and great officers, who serve to record the decrees of the Prince. There are also a great variety of courts of Justice, a council call'd the

**CHAP. XI.** **Tuscany.** **ROTA**, who determine appeals from them, with many other councils which superintend the treasure, forces, publick buildings, &c. Governours and other officers are appointed by the Great Duke throughout his territories, and preferr'd and displaced as he sees fit. His annual revenues are computed to amount to five hundred thousand pounds, arising from the tenths of the yearly value of every house, the tenth of all lands and houses that are sold, the ground-rents of the houses in Leghorn and other places, where he sells the land to the builders; eight *per cent.* on the portions of all women who are married; two *per cent.* on law-suits; five shillings for every heifer that is sold; an excise upon bread, tobacco, eggs, and almost all manner of provisions; besides which, these Princes have a prodigious treasure in bank, with part of which they traffick as merchants: and were they only to lay up the surplus of their expences, which do not amount to half their income, it is not to be conceiv'd what immense sums they must have heap'd together since this family have had the government in their hands, there being no Court in Europe which lives so frugally as this, keeping the servants at board-wages, and being at a set rate with their cooks, bakers, &c. They are only extravagant in their buildings, furniture, gardens, collections of antiquities, and other curiosities of art and nature, which are the amusements of the Italian nobility in general.

As to their forces, this Prince has only some galleys at sea, and two or three troops of guards; but 'tis said he has some thousands of militia enroll'd, who are suffer'd to live at their respective dwellings, and follow their trades; I don't find they have been brought into actual service of late years. The Italian Princes chuse to employ Swiss and other mercenaries in their service, rather than national troops; and of these few Princes are able to maintain more, whose dominions are of so small an extent as the Duke of Tuscany's. But the genius of these petty Sovereigns does not seem to lie this way at present; in which they differ pretty much from their ancestors, who carried their arms into every part of the habitable world: as they do from the Germans, who still impoverish themselves and their subjects by keeping three times as many forces on foot as they can maintain. I shall only add, that besides the territories of the Duke of Tuscany already mentioned, he is possess'd of part of the island of Elba, the marquisate of Scanzano, the Citta del Sole in Romania, and some other small places, which will be described in treating of the countries where they are situated. I proceed now to the description of the rest of Tuscany which belongs to other Princes and States, namely, 1. The territories possess'd by the republick of Luca.



CHAP. 2. The State delli Presidii, possess'd by the Spaniards. XI. 3. The principality of Piombino. 4. The Tuscany, domain of the house of Cibo. And lastly, the marquise De Fos di Novo.

The territories of Luca.

Situation and extent.

Chief towns.

Luca city.

Government.

The territories of the republic of Luca are bounded by Modena on the north; Pistoia on the east, the Pisan on the south; and by the Tuscan Sea and republic of Genoa towards the west; being about five and twenty miles in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Luca. 2. Via Reggio. 3. Coreglia. And, 4. Castiglione.

The city of Luca is situated in the middle of a fruitful plain, about fifteen miles over, near the river Secchia, ten miles to the northward of Pisa, and twelve miles to the eastward of the Tuscan Sea, being of an oblong form, three miles in circumference, and encompass'd with a wall, defended by eleven bastions, and other fortifications. The walls are very wide, and faced with brick, and so well planted with trees, that they cover the whole town, except the steeple of the cathedral, which only can be seen as we approach the place. The streets are moderately wide and straight, the squares large, the private houses equal to those of other Italian cities; and among their public buildings is the cathedral dedicated to St. MARTIN, a large handsome fabric, most remarkable for a crucifix of our Blessed Saviour, according to tradition, begun by NICODEMUS, and finish'd by a divine hand. This crucifix is of cedar, and as others are usually naked, this is richly clothed, with a crown upon its head, adorn'd with precious stones. In the church of St. FREIDAN is a tomb, which they call'd St. RICHARD's, a quondam King of England, but our histories do not furnish us with an account of any King of England of that name who died in Italy. The palace of the republic might make a noble figure in another country, but there are so many finer in Italy, that it is not thought worth a particular description. This republic is of about three hundred years standing. The legislative authority is lodg'd in the senate composed of about two hundred and twenty noblemen, as they are call'd, or thereabouts, but these are generally noblemen without titles, or any honours to distinguish them from gentlemen, and most of these apply themselves to trade and merchandize: which inclines me to think that we have many citizens of London who much better deserve the character of noblemen than those who go under that denomination in some Italian republics. This senate is divided in two equal parts, who sit alternately every six months. The executive power is lodg'd in the Gonfalonier, or standard-bearer, the chief officer of the state, and a council consisting of nine members,

called the Signoria, who with the Gonfalonier are changed every two months, and incapable of serving in the same posts for six years afterwards, to prevent their having any ambitious views. The Signoria while they are in office live in the palace, where their expences are borne by the state, but this is all the reward they receive from the state for their trouble. The Gonfalonier is no more in effect than President of the Council, unless it be that he wears a robe of crimson velvet, and has the title of His Excellence, and a guard of sixty Switzers. All elections of officers are made by balloting in the senate, of which the Signoria compose a part. They have a Podesta, or Judge of criminal matters, and four other judges for civil causes, from whence the parties may appeal to the Gonfalonier and Signoria, who are the last resort.

The revenues of this republic are computed at about thirty thousand pounds per annum, and 'tis said, they can raise ten or twelve thousand men upon occasion; but their greatest security from their more potent neighbours is in the Emperor's protection, especially now he is master of the best part of Italy. They keep guard constantly at their gates as in time of war, and admit no travellers but at one particular port, taking their arms from them before they enter the city, not so much as suffering any man to wear a sword in their streets. This city is the See of a Bishop, subject immediately to the Pope, who officiates in the vestments of an Archbishop, and the canons in the choir are habited like Cardinals. Here are as many ecclesiasticks in proportion, as in any other town of Italy, unless Jesuits; and 'tis said, they will not admit any of this order amongst them.

The diligence of the people of this place has given it the name of *Luca the industrious*: their manufactures consist chiefly in silk, and gold and silver stuffs. The olives and oil produced in their territories are very much esteem'd: they have also plenty of wine, but not corn sufficient for their subsistence; the common people eat chesnuts frequently instead of bread, as they do in many other parts of Italy. Of the rest of the towns of this republic I meet with no particular description, unless it be, that Viareggio is a little port which preserves their communication with the Tuscan sea, and lies about ten or twelve miles to the westward of the city of Luca.

The state delli Presidii, subject to the Spaniard, is extended about thirty miles along the coast of Tuscany, having the Siennese on the east, and is about fifteen miles broad. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Orbitello. 2. Porto Hercole. 3. Porto Sancti Stephani. 4. Talamone Vecchio. And, 5. Talamene.

Orbitello is situated on the Tuscan shore, at the

CH A  
XI.  
Tuscar

Viareggio.

The Spani  
towns on th  
coast of  
Tuscany.

Orbitello.



CHAP. XI. the foot of mount Argenatro, thirty miles north-west of Civita Vecchia, and about as many to the eastward of the island of Elba, and fifty to the southward of Sienna; a well-fortified town, and belong'd to the republick of Sienna, till that state was brought under the dominion of the Florentines; for about the same time the Spaniards made themselves masters of Orbitello, Porto Hercole, and the other towns in this district, putting garrisons into all of them, which occasion'd the adjoining country to be call'd Il Stato delli Presidii, or the country of garrisons.

Porto Hercole. Porto Hercole is a large town and harbour on the Tuscan sea, six miles to the southward of Orbitello, defended by a strong castle. The other places do not require a particular description.

Piombino. The principality of Piombino lies along the coast of the Tuscan Sea, between the Siennese and the Pisan, being about twenty miles long, and ten broad: the chief town whereof is Piombino, about thirty-five miles south-east of Leghorn, a strong fortress and harbour, subject to the Spaniard.

The Domain of Cibo. The Domain of the house of Cibo lies between the territories of Genoa on the west; and Val de Main on the east, being ten miles in length, and about as much in breadth; formerly govern'd by its own Prince, but now subject to Tuscany. The chief towns are, 1. Massa. And, 2. Carara.

Massa city. Massa is situated on the little river Lavenza, about four miles from the Tuscan Sea, and twenty north-west of Luca; a little well-built town, formerly the residence of the Prince.

Carara. Carara is situated five miles north-west of Massa, near which is dug that fine white marble, esteem'd the best in Europe; but I meet with no farther description of the town.

Forde Novo town and territory. The marquissate De Fos di Novo is a small territory north-west of Massa, belonging to the family of MALESPINA, the only considerable town being of the same name, and situate about eight miles to the northward of Carara.

CHAP. XII. rare on the south; and the duchy of Milan on the west; being about an hundred and eighty miles in length from east to west, and an hundred in breadth towards the east end, but scarce half so broad on the west part of it, and of a very irregular figure, which makes it necessary to refer my reader to the map of Italy in this volume, for the form of it. As the territories of Venice in Italy are a part of the antient Lombardy, I have already observed, there cannot be a happier climate or a better air, if we except the coasts. The only sea which belongs to it is the Adriatick, now generally known by the name of the Gulph of Venice, that city lying at the bottom of it. The tide flows regularly twice in four and twenty hours, and ebbs as often, rising about four feet at high water, and is governed by the moon as with us: Nor are they at all apprehensive of the sea's abandoning their shores, if we may credit Mr. ADDISON, who enquired particularly after this matter at Venice; tho' Dr. BURNET and some other travellers insinuate, that Venice is in danger of being join'd to the continent in another age. Of all the seas about Italy, there are none that abound in fish like this gulph. The chief rivers are the Po, the Piava, the Adige, the Sila, the Livenza, the Tagliamento and the Brenta, all which fall into the Adriatick. This country is also well water'd with lakes, of which the principal are the lake de Garda, being about thirty-five miles long, and twelve broad; and the Iseo, fifteen miles in length, and three in breadth.

The country is generally level, and as fruitful as any in Italy, abounding in excellent arable and pasture, vineyards and plantations of mulberries. The road between Verona and Padua is extremely pleasant, being planted thick with white mulberry-trees in squares, which do not only furnish food for great quantities of silk-worms with their leaves, and feed their swine and poultry with their fruit, but serve as so many stays for the vines, which hang all along like garlands from tree to tree; and within the several squares are fields of corn, which in these hot countries ripens much better in the shade of the mulberry-trees, than if it were exposed to the sun: On the other hand, it is too cold for their oranges and citrons in the winter, when they are forced to cover them; whereas to the southward of the Apennine they have no occasion to use such precautions. There is also plenty of cattle of all kinds in the Venetian territories, which travellers observe are either grey or white, but that their hogs are usually black, and their flesh much better than in France or England; which is supposed to proceed from their food, living much upon truffles, (a delicious root) the husks of the press'd grapes, chestnuts, mulberries, &c. The sheep of the Paduan

## V E N I C E.

### CHAP. XII.

*Treats of the situation and extent of the territories of the republick of Venice in Italy, of the air and climate, seas, rivers, soil and produce.*

Situation and extent. THE Venetian dominions in Italy, are bounded by the country of the Grisons, Trent and Tyrol towards the north; by Carniola and the gulph of Venice on the east; by Mantua and Fer-



**CHAP. XII.** Paduan afford a good sort of wool, little inferiour to that of England; and there is no where a greater plenty of fish and fowl, and all manner of game, than in the territories of Venice; and yet travellers complain much of their ill diet, which I presume proceeds from the manner of ordering and dressing it: but this is different in almost every country, and seldom approv'd by strangers. No wonder also if at inns upon the road they do not study the palate of their guests any more than in other countries; but in all great towns people may have their food dress'd after their own way: therefore when travellers complain so much of bad diet, where there is plenty of every thing that a man can desire to eat or drink, they are not to be much regarded. Husbandmen and poor people eat a coarse sort of bread in Italy, as they do in most countries of Europe; but people of condition may have fine flower, and cooks to order it as they see fit, if the manner of making bread and baking it here be not suitable to their palates, as Dr. BURNET seems to complain very sensibly; tho' 'tis possible he might have seen as bad in his own country.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Contains a description of the provinces and chief towns subject to the Venetians in Italy.*

The Venetian provinces in Italy.

THE territories of the Venetians in Italy are usually divided into thirteen provinces, viz. 1. The Dogado, or duchy of Venice Proper. 2. The Padouano. 3. The Polefino de Rovigo. 4. The Veronese. 5. The Brescian. 6. The Bergamasco. 7. The Cremasco. 8. The Vicentin. 9. The Trevisana. 10. The Feltrino. 11. The Bellunese. 12. The Cadorino. And, 13. Part of Friuli.

The duchy of Venice Proper.

The Dogado, or duchy of Venice, properly so called, contains almost all the Venetian sea-coast in Italy, with the islands, lakes, and marshes, of Venice, extending in length from the mouth of the Adige in the south, to the province of Friuli in the north, about fourscore miles in length, but is not in any place above eight or ten miles in breadth, being bounded by the Adriatick on the east, and the Padouan and Trevisin on the west: the chief places whereof are, 1. The city of Venice. 2. Murano. 3. Torcello. 4. Caorle. 5. Grado. 6. Malamocco. 7. Chioggia. 8. Brondolo. 9. Loredò. 10. Fusine. 11. Marghera. And, 12. Mestre.

The chief towns and islands.

Venice city. Situation.

Venice, the capital city of this State, is situated in 45 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, in the Lagunes, as they are called, five miles from the continent. These Lagunes are supposed to have been originally marshy grounds, which the sea encroach'd upon, leaving here and there some little

The Lagunes.

islands, or spots of ground uncover'd, on which the fishermen of Padua built their huts, and first inhabited them; and that in the fifth century, when the Goths and Vandals over-run Italy, several considerable families of Padua, Aquileia, and other neighbouring cities, observing the advantageous situation of these islands, that they could neither be approach'd by sea or land by an enemy, retired hither with their effects, and laid the foundation of this great city. But my design being to describe the situation, and not to enter upon the history of Venice in this place, I shall only observe further, that the water of these Lagunes is so very shallow, that it will not admit of vessels but in certain channels, which are mark'd out with stakes, and which the government are at great charges in keeping clear by mills and other engines. On the side towards the Adriatick there is a long bank of earth, called the Lido, extending forty or fifty miles in length, which breaks the fury of the sea, and makes these waters calmer in blowing weather than they would otherwise be: nor are there more than two or three passages by which the city can be approach'd that way; and these so difficult, that if the buoys and other sea-marks were removed, their own pilots would find a difficulty in entering them. But were it otherwise, the islands which command those streights might easily be put into such a posture of defence, as to bid defiance to the greatest naval powers. And in fact it appears, that no enemy has ever been able to bring a fleet of men of war before the city since it was founded, and those who have endeavour'd to have perish'd in the attempt. They have this farther advantage against a land-army, that their waters are never frozen hard enough in winter to bear a considerable weight; so that if any place in Europe may be stiled impregnable, it is this: and if we should suppose an enemy strong enough to block them up by sea and land, it would be difficult to starve them, there being shoals of fish continually passing through their very streets. Nor is Venice more admired for its strength than beauty: To see one of the finest towns of the universe rising out of the waters, its magnificent palaces and lofty towers appearing in full view on which side soever you approach it; no trees, or even walls, to interrupt the sight, but the houses on the outside of the town wash'd with the flood at least four feet deep, affords a most delightful and amazing prospect. As for the city's standing upon seventy-two islands, which is the receiv'd opinion, whether there were at first that number of small islands confederated together for their common defence, which might give occasion to this surmise, or whatever other foundation it might have, it is evident that at present there are not less than two hundred islands in Venice, if every part of the town is esteem'd such which is divided

CHAP. XIII. Venice



CHAP. XIII. Venice. divided from the rest by canals. The town is of an irregular figure, rather long than broad, and divided in two parts by the grand canal, which runs the whole length of it in the form of an S. The circumference is by some said to be five, and by others about eight miles, and both of them possibly in the right; for it may be eight miles if we take in all the windings of the buildings, though I am satisfied it is but five if we leave them out. The number of the people is no less controverted than the dimensions of the place; some making them 130,000, and others 300,000; the first seem to come nearest the truth.

build and  
the Rialto.  
the piazza  
St. Mark.  
the Broglio. The canals are so numerous, that one may go to almost any part of the city by water, as well as by land; and there are no less than four hundred and fifty bridges; all of them built of stone, by which the several parts of the town have an easy communication. The principal bridge, call'd the Rialto, lies over the middle of the grand canal, and is composed of one arch, which makes one third of a circle, there being ninety feet from one extremity of the arch to the other, and consequently the arch is near twenty-four feet in height. It is very solidly built of large square stones, being a coarse sort of white marble, and has rails on each side: there are two rows of shops in the middle, which divide it into three streets, the broadest in the middle, and the other two between the rails and the back-sides of the shops. The rest of the bridges have no rails, and being built with a white stone, hard and slippery, makes the passage of them very unsafe; at least, says Mr. ADDISON, it would be so to a people less sober than the Italians. There are not keys on each side of every canal where people may walk, but frequently the canal takes up all the space from one side of the street to the other. The streets which have no canals in them are very narrow and crooked, which makes it extremely difficult for a stranger to find his way to any part of the town by land. The piazza of St. MARK is esteem'd the glory of Venice, as well for its extent, as for the magnificence of the buildings about it. The fine church of St. MARK fronts one part of it, and that of St. GEMINIAN the other; and the procuraties, where the lawyers reside, being uniform stately fabricks, adorn'd with large marble portico's and bass-reliefs, run on each side of it. The length of this square is two hundred and fourscore paces, and the breadth an hundred and ten. And on the right hand, going up towards St. MARK's is another square, extending as far as the sea, two hundred and fifty paces long, and eighty broad; the palace of the Doge lies on one side of it, and the procuraties are continued on the other. This is called the Broglio, where the nobility and senators meet and walk every day before they assemble in their

CHAP. XIII. Venice. respective councils. They sometimes chuse one side of the square, and sometimes the other, according as the weather serves; but which part soever they take up, none of an inferiour rank are permitted to come on the same side. These piazza's also serve as an Exchange, where the merchants of the several nations here transact their affairs. The houses which make the best appearance are upon the grand canal, as the palaces of Morosini, Loredano, Grimani, Cornaro, Vandramino, &c. These are noble lofty structures, the fronts of marble, or other hewn stone, and adorn'd with pillars of the several orders of architecture. But notwithstanding they have so beautiful an outside, the nice Dr. BURNET did not at all approve their contrivance; he says, they have nothing convenient, the architecture is almost all the same, one stair-case, a hall that runs along the body of the house, and chambers on both hands; but there are no apartments, no closets, or back stairs; so that in houses of an excessive costliness, they have yet no sort of convenience. The flooring, according to Mr. ADDISON, is a kind of red plaister, made of brick ground to powder, and afterwards work'd into mortar; it is rubb'd with oil, and makes a smooth shining and beautiful surface. The furniture is not commonly very rich, if we except the pictures, which are here in greater plenty than in any other place in Europe, done by the best masters, such as TITIAN, PAUL VERONESE, and TINTORET, the last of whom is of greater esteem at Venice than in other parts of Italy. The rooms are generally hung with gilt leather, which they cover with tapestry on extraordinary occasions, or with other hangings of greater value. Their bedsteads are of iron, to prevent the vermin lodging in them, and the bottoms of boards, on which they lay so many mattresses, that it is a large step up to them. The streets are paved with brick or free stone, and kept very neat, there being no horses or carriages, or so much as a chair that passes thro' them; they have almost every where the convenience of the water, and go by gondola's or boats from one place to another. In the middle of the vessel the passengers sit cover'd, as in a coach, with glasses on every side: the gondolier rows standing, with his face the same way he goes. All the gondola's are painted black, and the cabin in the middle cover'd with black cloth or stuff, by an order of the State; except those of foreigners, and particularly the gondola's of Ambassadors, which are very large, and finely painted, carved, and gilded; in these they make their publick entries, and they are esteem'd equal to so many coaches and six. The common gondola's may be hir'd by the hour, or from place to place, and a good one may be had for five or six shillings a day. It is computed there

Buildings.

Furniture.

Gondola's.



CHAP. there are not less than ten or twelve thousand of  
 XIII. them plying upon the canals of Venice; besides  
 Venice. which, all the nobility and people of condition  
 have two or three a-piece of their own, every  
 one of them large enough to hold five or six  
 persons at least. This city is said to contain se-  
 venty parishes, thirty monasteries, and about as  
 many nunneries; two hundred palaces fit for the  
 entertainment of Princes, a great many statues of  
 brass and marble, and several publick fountains;  
 but their water is generally bad, they are fur-  
 nish'd with what they drink from the continent,  
 or from their cisterns of rain-water.

Bad water.

Publick  
 buildings.  
 St. Mark's  
 church.

The publick buildings most admired are, first,  
 the church of St. MARK, which is properly the  
 Doge's chapel: it is built after the Greek fashion,  
 almost square, and cover'd by several domes or  
 cupola's, of which the largest is in the middle,  
 the whole supported by thirty-six marble pillars,  
 three foot diameter each. The outside and inside  
 also are of excellent marble, and the frontispiece  
 adorn'd with pillars of porphyry and jasper. There  
 are four brazen horses over the gate of exquisite  
 workmanship, said to have belong'd antiently to  
 the chariot of the sun, and an ornament to a tri-  
 umphal arch, which the Senate of Rome erected  
 for NERO, after his victory over the Parthians.  
 This church is not lofty, and something too dark;  
 but the vast quantity of Mosaick work, with  
 which both the roof and pavement are adorn'd,  
 render it one of the greatest curiosities in Italy.  
 This mosaick work consists of pictures form'd  
 with little inlaid pieces of wood, stone, ivory, e-  
 namel, or any other matter, in which they will  
 imitate nature to a miracle. They shew here a  
 red stone, on which the Emperor FREDERICK  
 BARBAROSSA laid his head, when Pope ALEX-  
 ANDER III. trod on his neck, with this inscription,  
*viz. Super Assidem & Basiliscum ambulabis.* A late  
 writer observes, that the mosaick work on the walls  
 has lasted more than six hundred years, without the  
 least diminution of its beauty: and in the pave-  
 ment several large pieces remain intire, which are  
 composed of little pieces of jasper, porphyry, ser-  
 pentine, and marble of several colours.

Mosaick  
 work de-  
 scrib'd.

The trea-  
 sury.

From this church strangers are led into the  
 treasury belonging to it, which is never open'd  
 but in the presence of one of the procurators of  
 St. MARK, who are the guardians of it. They  
 are first shewn abundance of precious relicks; such  
 as pieces of the cross, the hair and milk of the  
 virgin, &c. And in another room abundance of  
 real treasure, great part of which was brought  
 from Constantinople, when the Venetians were  
 masters of that city: as the crowns of Candia and  
 Cyprus, set thick with precious stones; armour  
 of beaten gold, enrich'd with jewels of a prodi-  
 gious value; vessels of agate, crystal, and entire  
 emeralds; four carbuncles, the least weighing six

ounces, and a saphire of ten ounces; a picture of CH  
 St. JEROME in fine mosaick; a mitre with a XII  
 great carbuncle on the top of it, which belong'd Ven  
 to CONSTANTINE, and innumerable other va-  
 luable curiosities; insomuch that Dr. BURNET  
 says, he never saw so great a treasure amass'd to-  
 gether in any other place.

After this, foreigners are shewn the Duke's pa-  
 lace, which has a very magnificent front, beauti-  
 fied with a multitude of marble pillars of the se-  
 veral orders; and if the other three sides were an-  
 swerable to it, 'tis said, there would not be a  
 finer fabrick in Europe; but these have a mean  
 appearance. In the chamber of the college there  
 is admirably painted on the roof, JUPITER dart-  
 ing thunderbolts, by PAUL VERONESE. In an-  
 other room, a description of all the cities the Ve-  
 netians possess on Terra firma, and eleven fine  
 statues of Emperors. In the great council cham-  
 ber, which is an hundred and fifty foot long, and  
 seventy-three broad, PAUL VERONESE and TIN-  
 Toret have exercised their utmost skill. The  
 principal pieces are, the battles of the Venetians;  
 the siege of Constantinople; their wars with the  
 State of Genoa; the history of Pope ALEXAN-  
 DER III, treading on the neck of the Emperor  
 FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, and a represen-  
 tation of Paradise, esteemed the best picture in  
 Venice.

The patriarchal church is dedicated to St. PE-  
 TER DI CASTELLO; but travellers have not  
 thought fit to give us a particular description of  
 it any further than to acquaint us, that it is large,  
 and the front deserves to be taken notice of for  
 its beautiful simplicity; that the great altar was  
 erected by the Senate, in pursuance of a vow they  
 made during a war with the Turks, anno 1649,  
 and is dedicated to the blessed LORENZO, whose  
 body lies near it, in a noble marble tomb, sup-  
 ported by angels and apostles. What seems par-  
 ticular to the city of Venice, is, their dedicating  
 their churches to saints who lived before the  
 Christian dispensation; as to St. JOB, St. MOSES,  
 SAMUEL, JEREMY, and DANIEL. The churches  
 most admired for their architecture, are, those  
 of St. GEORGE and Della Salute, which far ex-  
 ceed St. MARK's, as well as the cathedral, in  
 this respect.

The arsenal of Venice is another curiosity, which  
 travellers seem to think can never be sufficiently  
 admired: they relate, that there are arms for an  
 hundred thousand foot, and twenty-five thousand  
 horse, with other necessary accoutrements for  
 them, two thousand four hundred pieces of can-  
 non, &c. which I find far exceeds the truth.  
 Mr. ADDISON gives another account of it: he  
 says, the arsenal is an island of three miles in  
 circumference, which contains all the stores and  
 provisions of war which are not actually em-  
 ployed;

The D  
 palace.

The c  
 thedra  
 other  
 church

The a



CHAP. XIII. Venice. ployed; and here are the docks for their galleys and men of war, most of them full, as well as work-houses for all land and naval preparations: that the magazine of arms makes a great show, and was indeed very extraordinary about an hundred years ago; but at present a great part of its furniture is grown useless. There seem to be almost as many suits of armour as there are guns; the swords are old-fashion'd and unwieldy in a very great number; and the fire-arms fitted with locks of little convenience, in comparison of those that are now in use. The Venetians pretend they can set out, in case of great necessity, thirty men of war, a hundred galleys, and ten galleasses; but he could not conceive how they could man a fleet of half that number.

kins and of the men. The Venetian nobility and gentry are admired, as well for their persons, as genteel behaviour. When I came from France to Venice, says a certain traveller, I came from boys to men: here I saw walking upon the piazza of St. MARK every day five hundred gentlemen at least; proper handsome men, with gravity and wisdom in their looks, any of them fit to act the part of an Ambassador. They wear a little light cap, turn'd up with a kind of black fringe, and a long black gown of Paduan cloth, as their laws require (tho' I am very well assur'd they procure English cloth if they can clandestinely) and under their gowns, which fly open in summer, they have handsome black silk suits; their shoes and stockings are extremely neat; they wear long perukes, and usually carry their caps in their hands; they line their gowns with furs in the winter, and girt them close about them.

Of the women. The women are well-shaped and beautiful, witty, and of an agreeable conversation, and endeavour to improve their complexions with washes and paint. Those of quality are so immoderately fond of being tall, that some of them wear shoes with the heels above a foot high; insomuch that they are forced to have two people to support them when they walk, and appear much taller than their husbands, whenever they do appear, but that is mighty seldom, most commonly at church, where they are so veil'd that very little of their faces are seen. In the gondola's they are shut up close, and have always two old women to attend them. Those of an inferiour rank also are cover'd with a veil or scarf, when they go abroad, and open no more of it than to see their way: nor do these go out often, the men buying in all provision, and doing whatever is to be done without doors. As for virgins, they are sent to nunneries in their infancy, and never come out till they are married, or take the veil. They seldom see the man they are to have till the hour they are married; and their friends concern themselves

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about nothing more than the wealth and quality of the person they are to marry. CHAP. XIII.

The use of concubines is so much countenanced Venice. here, that the wife generally lives in a good correspondence with them. The ladies are so indulgent to their sons, that as soon as they observe in any of them an inclination for the fair sex, they bargain with some of their poor neighbours for one of their daughters to be his bed-fellow: whereby they prevent his marrying to disadvantage, or contracting a nauseous distemper by cohabiting with common women. The friends and relations of the girl who is to be the young gentleman's mistress, come frequently to wish her joy upon the occasion, as if she was really married to him. They contract for a month, a year, or more, as they can agree; and you shall hear a mother swear by God, and upon her salvation, that she can't afford to take less for her daughter than she asks. This commerce is taken to be so little criminal here, that they scarce ever mention it in confession; and if they do, the priest tells them he will not be troubled with such trifles. A late writer adds, that those who cannot afford to keep a miss for their particular use, join with two or three friends, and have one in common amongst them. That there are whole streets of wenches who receive all comers; and as the habits of other people are black and dismal, these dress in the gayest colours, with their breasts open, and their faces painted enough to mire a horse, in the phrase of a certain poet, standing by dozens, at the doors and windows, to invite their customers.

Concubinage allow'd here.

As to the wives of Venice, if we are to credit Dr. BURNET, they are bred up in so much ignorance, and converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull superstition of holy-days, in which they stay in the churches as long as they can, and so prolong the little liberty they have of going abroad on those days, as children do their hours of play. They are not employed in domestick affairs, and generally understand no sort of work, but are the insipidest creatures imaginable: which does not seem to agree with what other travellers relate of the wit and sprightly conversation of the Venetian women; unless we are to understand it wholly of common women, whom the Doctor perhaps would insinuate, have ingrossed all good sense. But he surely don't speak this from his own experience, any more than what follows, namely, That the married women don't wait the usual forms of courtship, but descend at once to downright lewdness with their gallants; the first step with them, without any preamble or preparative, is consummation.

As to the entertainments and diversions of the men, Mr. ADDISON observes, that though they live

Diversions

Z z



CHAP. live in a very moist air, drinking is not at all in fashion with them; nor have they any such amusements as bowling, hunting, walking, riding, or other exercises to employ them without doors. At the carnival, a time devoted to pleasure, the great diversion of the place, as at all other times of rejoicing, is masquerading: the Venetians, who are naturally grave, however give in to the follies and extravagancies of such seasons, disguised in a false personage. They are indeed under a necessity of finding out diversions that may agree with the nature of the place, and make amends for the loss of several pleasures which may be met with on the continent. These disguises give occasion to abundance of love-adventures; for according to my author, there is something more intriguing in the amours of Venice than in those of other countries. Opera's are another principal entertainment at this season; but the poetry of them is generally as bad as the musick is exquisitely good: the subject is generally some celebrated action of the antient Greeks or Romans, which often looks ridiculous enough, as when you hear one of the rough old Romans squeaking thro' the mouth of an eunuch. But the Italian poets, besides the celebrated smoothness of their language, have a particular advantage above the writers of other nations, in the difference of their poetical and prose language; for they have not only some phrases and sentences peculiar to poets, as in other countries, but a multitude of words never used in common discourse: they have such a different turn and polishing for poetical use, that they drop several of their letters, and appear in another form when they come to be rang'd in verse. For this reason the Italian opera seldom sinks into a poorness of language; but amidst all the meanness and familiarity of the thoughts, has something beautiful and sonorous in the expression. Without this natural advantage of the tongue, their present poetry would appear wretchedly low and vulgar, notwithstanding the many strain'd allegories that are so much in use among the writers of this nation. The comedies my author saw at Venice, he tells us, were very indifferent, and more leud than those of other countries. Their poets have no notion of genteel comedy, and fall into the most filthy double meanings imaginable, when they would make the audience merry: four standing characters enter into every piece that comes upon the stage; the Doctor, Harlequin, Pantaloon, and Coviello. The Doctor's character comprehends the whole extent of a pedant, that with a deep voice and a magisterial air breaks in upon conversation, and bears down all before him; every thing he says is back'd with quotations out of GALEN, HIPPOCRATES, PLATO, VIRGIL, or any author that rises uppermost, and all answers from his companions are look'd upon as impertinencies and interruptions. Harlequin's

part is made up of blunders; he mistakes one name for another, forgets his errand, stumbles over Queens, runs his head against every post in his way, all which is attended with something so comical in the voice and gesture, that a man who is sensible of the folly of the part, can hardly forbear being pleased with it. Pantaloon is generally an old cully, and Coviello a sharper: all four of them appear in masks; which custom the Italians and French probably derived from the Romans; but as my author well observes, a mask can never suit with the variety of passions that are incident to every single person in the whole course of a play, where the turns and motions of the face are often as agreeable as any part of the action: the grimace may be proper on some occasions, but is too steady to agree with all. The mob indeed are generally pleased at the first entry of a disguise, but the jest grows cold even with them, when it comes on the stage in the second scene. Among other shows exhibited to the Venetians, one is peculiar to them; where a set of artisans, by the help of several poles, which they lay cross each other's shoulders, build themselves up into a kind of pyramid, so that you see a pile of men in the air of four or five stories rising one above another: the weight is so equally distributed, that every man is able to bear his part of it, the stories growing less and less as they advance higher and higher; a little boy represents the point of the pyramid, who after a short space leaps off with a great deal of dexterity into the arms of one that catches him at bottom, and in the same manner the whole building falls to pieces.

Another diversion during the carnival, is gaming in places called the *Ridotti*, which are apartments in the noblemen's houses, where none but noblemen keep the bank; they dismiss the gamblers when they please, and always come off winners. There are usually ten or twelve chambers on a floor with gaming-tables in them, and very great crouds of people; a profound silence however is observed, and none are admitted without masks; here you meet ladies of pleasure and married women of quality, who under the protection of a mask enjoy all the diversions of the carnival, but are usually attended by the husband, or his spies. Besides these gaming-rooms, there are others for conversation, where wine, lemonade, and sweatmeats are sold: here the gentlemen are at liberty to rally and address the ladies, but must take care to keep within the bounds of decency, or they may meet with a severe resentment from the injur'd husbands, who too often employ bravoos or assassins to procure them satisfaction, as 'tis called, for affronts of this kind; but these practices are not so common as formerly, the State having in a manner extirpated this race of villains. The croud of masqueraders is often so great in the piazza of St. MARK, that



CHAP. XIII. Venice. that there is no passing; a man may take upon himself what character he pleases, so he be qualified to act the part he assumes. The Harlequins frequently meet, and are exceedingly witty upon one another; the Doctors dispute; and thus every man endeavours to support the character he has taken upon him. Those who only desire to be spectators, take the habit of Noblemen. The common people divert themselves chiefly with the rope-dancers, jugglers, fortune-tellers, &c. who have their several stages in the square; there are also bull-baitings, races of gondola's, and a multitude of other diversions, too tedious to enumerate. Among the inconveniencies of Venice, the want of good cellars for their wine is one, which occasions its turning sour; the badness of their water is a second; and the stench of some of their canals in the heat of summer a third; from whence it is easy to conclude the air is none of the best. Firing also is scarce; and they have hardly earth enough to bury their dead; consequently they have few fine gardens, courts, or squares, which are so great an ornament to other cities.

The island of Murano is situated about two miles north-east of Venice, and is one of the largest and pleasantest islands in the Lagunes; the chief town is of the same name. Here was the famous manufacture of Venice glass, which brought in a considerable profit to the republick, before other nations learnt the art; but they are now equal'd, if not excell'd, by the English, French, and Dutch, who used to take it off their hands.

Malamocco is an island two miles from Venice, considerable for its harbour, and for lying upon one of the narrow channels, which leads from the Adriatick sea to Venice; it has a town of the same name, formerly the See of a Bishop, but having been remov'd by earthquakes and inundations, the See was removed to Chiozza.

Chiozza, or Chioggia, is situated in a little island on the coast of the Dogado, about fourteen miles south of Venice, remarkable for little but its being a Bishop's See, suffragan to Venice, and for a battle fought near it between the Genoese and Venetians.

Torcello is a small city, on an island of the same name, six or seven miles north of Venice, considerable for little else but the being a Bishop's See.

Caorle, olim *Caprula*, is a little city, in an island of the same name, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Venice, in a very bad air, as most of these islands are upon this coast.

The city of Grado stands upon an island of the same name, about forty-five miles north-east of Venice, and ten miles south of Aquileia, called *New Aquileia*, on the destruction of that city by the Goths, and was for a considerable time the

seat of the Patriarch of Aquileia, but the Bishop of this See is now suffragan to Venice.

Fusine is a little town on the continent, five miles to the westward of Venice, where people take water to go to that city.

The second province I proposed to describe was the Paduan, antiently inhabited by the *Veneti*, being bounded by the Trevisan on the north; by the Dogado or duchy of Venice towards the east; by the Polesin on the south; and by the Vicentin towards the west; being about thirty-five miles in length and thirty in breadth. This country, on account of its fertility and delightful situation, has obtain'd the name of the garden of Italy, and the terrestrial paradise. Its chief towns are, 1. Padua. 2. Abano. 3. Arqua. 4. Montfelice. 5. Este. 6. Anguilura. 7. Campo St. Pietro. And, 8. Cittadella.

The city of Padua, olim *Patavium*, stands in a pleasant plain, water'd by the rivers Brent and Bachilio, about two and twenty miles to the westward of Venice; the form almost circular, held to be a town of great antiquity, and according to tradition, built above four hundred years before the city of Rome: it has been one of the most flourishing cities of Italy, but at present half the ground within the walls is not built upon, and great part of the houses that are left are uninhabited; though the walls, 'tis true, take up the same ground they did in the time of the Romans, when, as their historians relate, this city was able to raise an hundred thousand men; at this day all the souls in the place scarce amount to thirty thousand. The air is good, and there is plenty of every thing; and the falling palaces are sufficient indications of its antient grandeur. What does Dr. BURNET, and other travellers mean, therefore, in crying up the mild and happy government of the Venetians, when under all the natural advantages imaginable, the people subject to them are reduced to the extremest poverty, and the finest cities in their territories are fallen to decay, during a long uninterrupted peace; when no general calamity, either war, plague, or famine, has afflicted them for many years? These writers do to a man lament the miseries of these unhappy people, and yet are perpetually commending the wisdom and lenity of the administration they live under, which to me seems a manifest contradiction; nor can I assign any other reason for it, but that having laid it down as an incontestable maxim, that a republican form of government is much the happiest, and most beneficial to mankind; and the Venetian being a republick, if they should acknowledge the tyranny and oppression of that State, it would bear hard upon their favourite maxim, and induce people to have better thoughts of monarchy; for they



CHAP. themselves can't but acknowledge that at Turin, XIII. at Milan, and even at Rome itself, where the go-  
 Venice. vernment is monarchical, there is a much greater appearance of wealth and prosperity. But to be a little more particular in the description of Padua; the streets are narrow, and the buildings being lofty, the lower rooms are consequently dark: a double piazza runs along most of the streets, and there are abundance of magnificent palaces, inhabited by a numerous, but half-ruin'd nobility; occasion'd, 'tis said, in a great measure by pursuing their revenge against each other from generation to generation. For as there are continual quarrels and factions amongst them, and sometimes persons kill'd in these unnatural disputes, the government punishes those who were concern'd in them with the confiscation of part of their estates, raising thereby considerable sums; while they impoverish their unhappy subjects, without endeavouring to suppress these feuds entirely, as well on account of the profit which arises from them to the State, as because they are less apprehensive of a revolt, while the nobility of the conquer'd provinces remain at variance. But how wise soever this conduct may seem in the Venetians, it is surely very barbarous; nor am I perfectly convinced of the wisdom of it, since these destructions have occasion'd many of the trading and most wealthy inhabitants to leave the place. For the like reasons, 'tis said, the Venetians encourage the scholars of the University to insult and abuse the townsmen here, and even to murder them in the streets in the night-time. These young gentlemen, to shew they are superiour to all laws and magistrates, arm themselves every evening, attacking those they meet with in the streets, wounding some, and killing others; and sometimes when two parties of them have met, they have fir'd at each other from piazza to piazza, till many of them have lost their lives: and the University has in a manner lost its reputation by these disorders; for of ten colleges that it consisted of, there is not now above one left, the other nine being appropriated to other uses; which has had this one good effect however, that the streets are not so dangerous in an evening as they were formerly: the *Qui va li*, or Who goes there? in which words they used to challenge the townsmen, is very little dreaded at present.

The manufacture of cloth here brought in a great revenue to the State formerly, and is not inconsiderable at this time; but the English finding means to furnish the quality of Venice with better cloth clandestinely, few of the nobility wear any thing else, notwithstanding the magistrate of the pomps is obliged by his office to see that no body wears the cloth of a foreign country. The fields about Padua afford the best corn in Italy, and the neighbouring hills the best oil and wine, with a vast

variety of delicious fruits; the air and water, as CHA  
 hath been observed, is equally good; and yet all XIII  
 this affluence cannot render the people happy: Venic  
 they are still miserable, through the tyranny of  
 the government, which is here administer'd by a  
 Podesta and Capitaneo, the former having the  
 civil, and the other the military power committed  
 to him. The Bishop has the ecclesiastical go-  
 vernment, who is suffragan to the Patriarch of  
 Aquileia.

The publick buildings best worth seeing at Padua are, 1. The town-hall, where their courts of justice are held, the dimensions whereof are said to be equal to those of Westminster-Hall, but with this advantage, that the roof is finely painted with astronomical figures: in it are several magnificent tombs, and among them one erected to the memory of the celebrated LIVY the historian, who was a native of this place; but whether he was buried in this city is very uncertain; all the evidence they have for it, is an old leaden coffin, which was dug up in the year 1413, without any inscription on it, the people were pleas'd to think it the remains of LIVY, and in honour to him built the above-mention'd tomb. There is another monument in this hall taken notice of by travellers, as equally worth observation, and that is the tomb of the Marchioness of Obizzi, esteem'd a second LUCRETIA. It seems a gentleman of Padua being passionately in love with her, found means to get into her chamber when she was a-bed, and the Marquis her husband absent; and having, as 'tis presumed, first tried what courtship would do before he proceeded to acts of violence, at length enraged at her refusal to comply, itabb'd the young lady to the heart. When she was first surprized by the murderer, her only son, of about five years old, was in bed with her, but the child was afterwards found in an adjoining chamber, whither 'tis supposed he carried him before he perpetrated this piece of villany. The lady being found dead, the gentleman was apprehended, it being known that he had an inclination for her, and one of the buttons of his sleeve found in the bed, the Marchioness's young son also confirm'd his having been in the room with his mother: upon which strong presumptions, he was put to the torture both ordinary and extraordinary; still he persisted to deny the fact; and after fifteen years imprisonment his friends procur'd his liberty; but it was not many months after that the young Marquis (the child who was in the room when the murderer surpriz'd his mother) shot him through the head with a pistol, and then went into the Emperor's service, where he continued so lately as the year 1712.

The church of St. ANTHONY of Padua, (or rather of Lisbon, for he was a Franciscan Monk of that city) is a very large structure, adorn'd  
 with



CHAP. with several fine pieces of painting and sculpture, XIII. and many beautiful monuments. The painting Venice. in Fresco in the chapel of St. FÆLIX is inimitable, done by the famous GIOTTO, who excell'd in that kind of work. But what is most remarkable in this church, is the chapel of St. ANTHONY, the protector of Padua, whom by way of eminence they stile *Il Santo*. His body lies under the altar, which is exceeding rich, and the whole chapel is lined with bass-reliefs of white marble, representing the principal miracles of St. ANTHONY; and nine and thirty large silver lamps burn night and day round the altar. There are abundance of inscriptions and pictures hung up by his votaries in the church, his aid being more implored in Lombardy than that of any other Saint in their distresses, and if they happen to escape the evil they dreaded, they hang up some inscription or picture to commemorate the deliverance, esteeming it to be miraculous. Thus the beauty of some Popish churches is spoil'd, the walls being hung with wretched daubings and impertinent inscriptions, or with legs and arms of wax, &c. resembling the part affected and offer'd to the Saint. Among the stories we find in bass-relief in the chapel of St. ANTHONY, the most remarkable is his preaching to an assembly of fishes, which he had drawn together towards the sea-shore to hear him, which is a very edifying discourse, but a little too long to be inserted in this place; I shall only observe, that at the conclusion of it the grateful fishes, as if they had been endow'd with reason, bow'd their heads with the most profound humility and devotion, seeming to approve the sermon; which miracle occasion'd the conversion of many obstinate hereticks, that nothing could prevail on before: whereupon the Saint gave his benediction to the fishes, and dismiss'd them. This puts me in mind of the sermon that was preach'd by one of our sectaries to a flock of sheep, for which he apprehended he had a sufficient warrant from that command of our Saviour's, requiring his disciples to preach to every creature.

The church of St. JUSTINA, design'd by the celebrated PALLADIO, is, according to Mr. ADDISON, the handsomest, the most luminous, and disincumbred building on the inside, that is to be met with, and esteem'd by artists one of the finest pieces of architecture in Italy. The long Nef consists of a row of five cupola's, the cross one has on each side a single cupola, deeper and broader than the others. The martyrdom of St. JUSTINA, which hangs over the altar, was done by the famous PAUL VERONESE, and is an exquisite piece of Workmanship; and there are besides, twenty-four other fine marble altars; but they will not suffer any monuments to be erected here, which might spoil the beauty of the whole.

The basso-relievo in the choir is admirable, re-CHAP. presenting the prophecies of the Old Testament XIII. relating to our Saviour, with their accomplishment Venice. in the New. The monastery to which this church belongs is one of the finest in Italy, where they pretend to have an image of the virgin which flew from Constantinople when it was taken by the Turks. The university, to which physicians chiefly resort, is very much upon the decline, as has been observ'd already. Here are two societies of Virtuosi, as in other Italian cities, who employ themselves in the improvement of their language, and other ingenious studies. There are the ruins of an amphitheatre here, which appears to have been larger than that of Verona. And it would be esteem'd an unpardonable fault by some, if I should conclude the description of Padua, without taking notice of the tradition, that this city was founded by ANTENOR and a colony of his Trojans.

Abano, is a village about five miles south-west of Padua, famous for its hot and medicinal waters, which are so hot that the natives scald their hogs in them. They are full of white salt, which coagulates upon the surface, and are used for bathing as well as drinking.

Este is an antient town, at the foot of the Este mountains, about twelve miles south of Padua, from whence the family of D'ESTE, now Dukes of Modena, take their name. The rest of the towns in the Paduan do not require a particular description.

The Polesin de Rovigo is bounded by the Paduan on the north, the Dogado of Venice on the east, the duchy of Ferrara on the south, and the Veronese on the west; and is about fifty miles in length from east to west, and twenty in breadth from north to south; a country fruitful in corn and pasture, and water'd by the rivers Po, Adige and Adigesto; the chief towns whereof are Rovigo and Adria. The Polesin de Rovigo.

Rovigo is a well-built little town, situated on the Adigesto; twenty miles to the southward of Padua, the residence of the Bishop of Adria; but not considerable, as I can learn, on any other account. Rovigo city.

Adria, or Hadria, twelve miles to the eastward of Rovigo, and as much to the westward of the gulph of Venice, once a famous city, and a colony of the Tuscans, and gave name, as 'tis said, to the Adriatick Sea, being a commodious harbour when PLINY wrote, but now a miserable village, almost under water, and inhabited only by fishermen. Adria.

The Veronese is bounded by the Trentin on the north; by the Paduan and Vicentin towards the east; by the Mantuan on the south; and by the Brescian on the west; being about forty miles in length from north to south, and thirty



CHAP. thirty in breadth from east to west. It is well water'd by the Adige and the lake de Garda, XIII. Venice, which supply them with excellent fish; and the country abounds in corn, wine, oil, silk, wool, and cattle; and they have some quarries of marble, with an agreeable variety of hills and valleys, plains and enclosures. The air is healthful, but the neighbourhood of the mountains renders it very sharp in the winter. The chief towns are, 1. Verona. 2. Peschiera. And, 3. Garda.

Verona.

Verona, the capital city, is pleasantly situated, partly on a hill and partly in a plain, on the river Adige, which divides it in two parts, being fifty miles to the westward of Padua, and twenty-five to the northward of Mantua. It is fortified after the modern way, and defended by three forts, two upon the hill, and one by the river-side; and is about six miles in circumference, besides the suburbs, which are very large. Both parts of the town have a communication by four stone bridges over the Adige, one of which is much admired for its beauty. There are several noble palaces, publick buildings and antiquities which well deserve a traveller's attention here; but the generality of the houses are low, the streets some of them unpaved, and not very cleanly; neither is the town rich or populous, having but an indifferent trade. The cathedral has little to recommend it, unless the tomb of Pope LUCIUS III, whose epitaph is no more than this, *Offa Lucii III. Roma pulsus Invidia*. For it seems he was driven from Rome, and died here in the year 1185. There are however several magnificent churches in the place, travellers acquaint us, but have not taken the pains to describe them; particularly that famous piece of antiquity, the amphitheatre, seems to have ingrossed their whole attention, all the seats whereof are still entire, but the high wall and corridors that went round it, are almost ruin'd, and the area is quite fill'd up to the lower seat, which was formerly deep enough to let the spectators see in safety the combats of the wild beasts and gladiators. There are in all four and forty benches, in the highest round of which, MISSON says, he counted five hundred and thirty of his paces, and in the lowest two hundred and fifty; and it is generally agreed, that they would hold about four and twenty thousand spectators. The longest diameter of the area, or arena, as 'tis call'd, is two hundred and thirty-three French feet, and the breadth or shortest diameter, an hundred and thirty-six feet eight inches. Every step or seat is near a foot and half high, and about twenty-six inches broad, of the same measure; tho' Dr. BURNET, after his careless and cursory way of examining and recording things, makes every seat an English foot and half in breadth, and just as much in height, of which he pretends to have been an

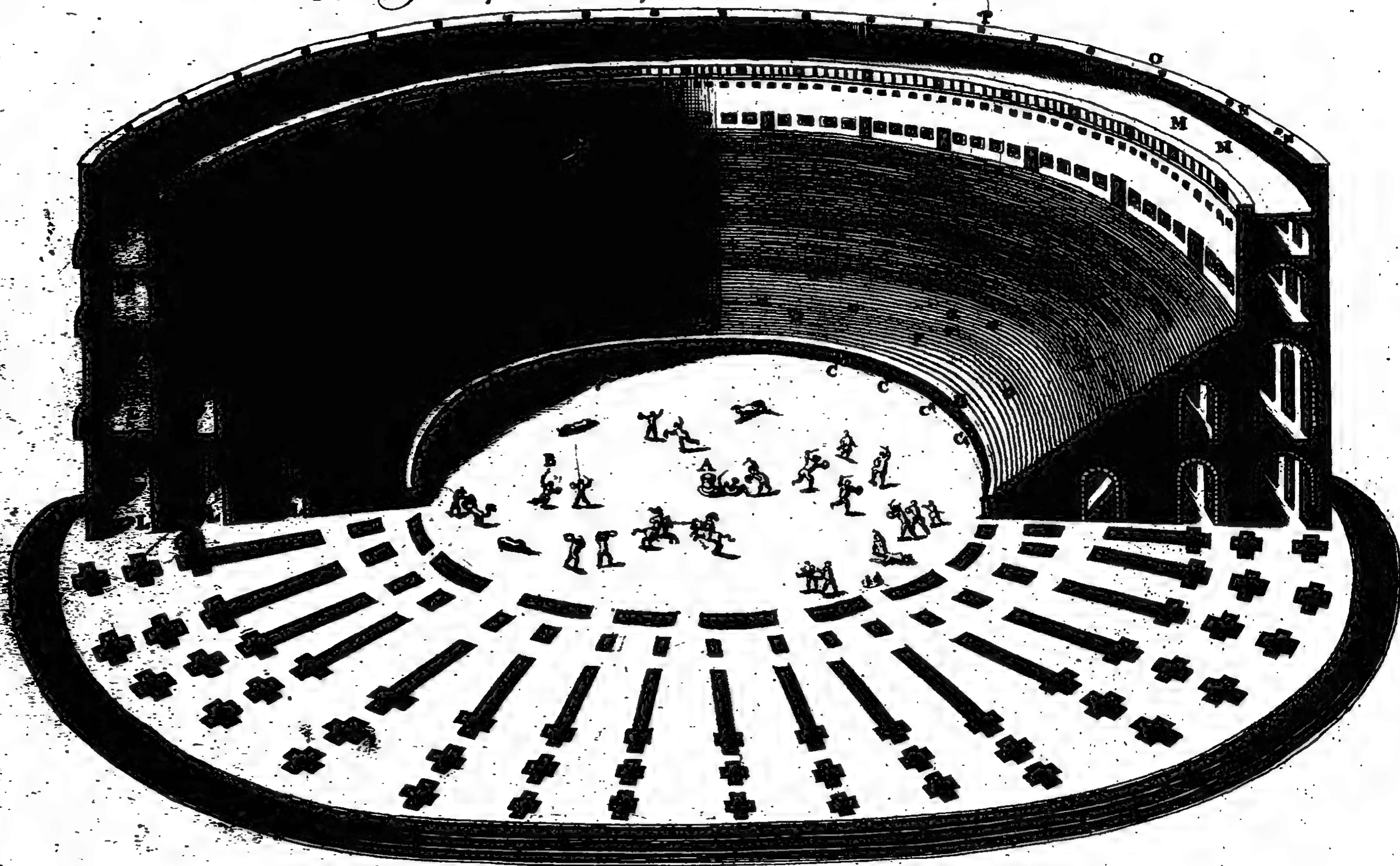
The amphitheatre.

eye-witness, as he was no doubt of many facts in CHA his posthumous history, which are equally true. XII Dr. BROWN observes, that when this fabrick was Venice entire, the out-side was no less splendid than the inside, being all of marble an hundred and twenty feet high, and consisted of three rows of pillars and arches, one above another, which open'd into spacious walks and portico's within, quite round the building; and above these three rows of arches there was a handsome wall, with windows over each arch, and pilasters over every pillar beneath: that each row consisted of seventy-two arches, and as many pillars of a great height, the upper-row supposed to be adorn'd with statues.

These magnificent structures were rais'd by the Romans for the diversion of the people, who were here entertain'd with combats, either between men and men, men and beasts, or beasts and beasts. Those between beasts and beasts are still continued by the gentlemen of Verona in this amphitheatre; but these sports were pursued with much more zeal by the antient Romans, who procured savage creatures from all parts of the known world to fight in these places. The engagements between men and men were usually perform'd by slaves, prisoners, or condemn'd criminals, though persons of condition would sometimes enter the lists. The combats between men and men were of various kinds, sometimes they fought on horseback, sometimes in chariots, and sometimes in boats, when either the area was fill'd with water, or a building was provided for that purpose, call'd *Naumachia*. The naval engagement exhibited by the Emperor CLAUDIUS on the lake Fucinus is famous in history, where both fleets saluted the Emperor with an *Ave Cæsar, Morituri te salutant*: but the most usual fights in the amphitheatres, were between the gladiators on foot; and these of various kinds, as, 1. The Retiarii, who fought with a trident in one hand and a net in the other, endeavouring to ensnare their enemies: if they fail'd in the attempt, they retreated suddenly, till they could recover themselves and renew the engagement. These gladiators fighting without any other armour than a short coat of mail, and bare-fac'd, the people were much delighted in observing the convulsions in their limbs, and the alteration of their colour and features in their dying agonies. These Retiarii, who acknowledged NEPTUNE for their patron, usually engaged the Secutores, who were followers of VULCAN, and guarded themselves with a shield, which they carried high to defend their heads against the enemies nets, and were arm'd also with a spear and a long sword. Five Retiarii having thrown down their arms, and yielded to as many Secutores, the Emperor CALIGULA commanded the Secutores to kill them, which they did to the last man, who

out







CHAP. out of despair taking up his trident, kill'd all  
XIII. the five Secutores. A third sort of gladiators were  
Venice. the Thraces, who were arm'd with a little Thra-  
cian shield, and a strong broad-sword, bending  
back like a Turkish cymetar. Another sort  
were the Myrmillones, who fought after the man-  
ner of the Gauls, covering themselves with an  
oval shield, and arm'd with a helmet with a  
fish for their crest, and pointed swords, with  
which they push'd the enemy with great activity.  
These frequently engaged the Thraces, and some-  
times the Retiarii, who coming up to them with  
their nets, would sing, *Non te peto, piscem peto,  
quid me fugis, Galle?* Another sort of gladiators  
were the Samnites, arm'd with shields flat and  
broad, a breast-plate, a helmet with a feather on  
the crest, and a boot on their left leg, with of-  
fensive arms, as described by LIVY. The Di-  
macheri fought with two swords, and the La-  
quearii with sword and halter. The Meridiani  
were desperate fellows, who coming in about noon  
when the spectators were dismiss'd, fought with-  
out any order, art, or armour. Nor were the  
fair sex exempted from these rough encounters:  
they made choice of the handsomest young wo-  
men they could find, who were taught to fight  
by the gladiators; and when one of these girls  
fought in the arena, with her golden shield and  
plume of feathers in her crest, the Emperor him-  
self would sometimes cry out, *Well play'd, fair  
lady.* The Emperor DOMITIAN made the gla-  
diators fight in the night-time, and would com-  
mand even his dwarfs to engage each other.  
Thus far from Dr. BROWN. And I am so far  
from begging the reader's pardon for this digres-  
sion on amphitheatres, if it be one, that I am of  
opinion he will be infinitely pleased with the  
relation, as I was when I met with it; and in-  
tend in this volume to give the plan of an am-  
phitheatre, and describe every particular part of it.

There is still at Verona also the remains of a  
triumphal arch, which was erected in honour of  
MARIUS, on his victory over the Cimbri, in  
the territories of Verona; and the ruins of a  
magnificent temple dedicated to JUPITER, with  
abundance of other valuable antiquities: But no-  
thing seems to be more admired than the cabinet  
of the Count DE MOSCARDO, consisting of a  
gallery and six other rooms, all fill'd with antiqui-  
ties, and the greatest curiosities in art and nature;  
as Pagan idols, instruments and utensils for their  
sacrifices, sepulchral urns, busts, lamps, inscrip-  
tions, the barks of several trees which the an-  
cients used to write on before paper came up,  
two trees of black coral, pearls, amethysts, sa-  
phires, and a great variety of other precious  
stones; fossils, plants, fruits, minerals, and mon-  
strous productions, with numberless medals, and

antient coins: here is also a vast collection of the  
finest paintings by the best hands.

Verona underwent the fate of the rest of the ci-  
ties of Italy on the decline of the Roman Empire,  
having been taken by the Goths and Lombards.  
It afterwards fell under the dominion of the Em-  
perors of the west, and since that was subject to  
the family of the SCALIGERS, several tombs of  
these Princes being still to be seen here. The Ve-  
netians made themselves masters of it about the  
year 1403, but it was taken from them by the  
Imperialists in 1509. The Venetians recovered  
it again in 1516, and have ever since kept the  
possession of it, governing it by a Podesta and Ca-  
pitaneo, assisted by three Councils, and other  
subordinate Magistrates; and in ecclesiastical af-  
fairs it is subject to the Bishop, who is suffragan to  
the Patriarch of Aquileia. Besides PLINY the hi-  
storian, already mention'd, the Poet CATULLUS,  
and PLINY the Naturalist, were born here; as  
were CORNELIUS NEPOS, and VITRUVIUS  
the famous architect.

2. Peschiera, *olim Piscaria*, and *Ardelica*, a little Peschiera.  
fortified town, situate on a little island form'd  
by the river Menzo, which flows out of the lake  
de Garda, and is about fourteen miles north of  
Verona, taken from the Duke of Mantua by the  
Venetians about the year 1441.

3. Garda, a small city, lying on the east side  
of the lake de Garda, fifteen miles to the east-  
ward of Verona. The neighbouring lake is as  
rough as the sea itself when a storm happens upon  
it, which is very frequently, occasion'd by the  
gusts which come from the adjoining mountains.

The next province I am to describe is the <sup>Brescia</sup> Brescian, bounded by the country of the Grisons <sup>Province</sup> towards the north; by the Veronese on the east;  
by the Cremonese on the south; and by the Ber-  
gamasco on the west: extending about sixty miles  
in length from north to south, and thirty in  
breadth from east to west. The country has  
plenty of corn, wine and oil, but is most re-  
markable for its iron mines and works, its plan-  
tations of flax and linnen manufacture. It ex-  
tends to the sides of the Alps, and consists of  
hills and valleys, not being so level as the rest of  
Lombardy. The chief towns are, 1. Brescia. 2.  
Desenzano. 3. Salo. 4. Guagnano. 5. Idro. <sup>Chief towns.</sup> 6. Sabio. 7. Tavernola. 8. Gardone. 9. Isco.  
10. Palazuolo. 11. Chiari. 12. Pontevico. 13.  
Menerbio. And, 14. Calcinato.

The city of Brescia, or Brixia, is situated in a <sup>Brescia city.</sup> plain at the foot of a mountain, on the rivers  
Mela and Garzo, whose branches run through  
most of the streets, being about thirty miles to  
the westward of Verona, and thirty-five north-  
west of Mantua. It is a populous trading town,  
defended by a wall and other fortifications, three  
miles



**CHAP.** miles in circumference; and has also a citadel  
**XIII.** built upon a rock, which commands it. The  
**Venice.** streets are neat, the buildings good, and amongst  
 them several beautiful palaces and churches. Their  
 trade consists in linnen, cheese and iron-work,  
 particularly swords and fire-arms, which employ  
 abundance of armourers, held to be the best ar-  
 tists in Italy. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan  
 to Milan, who has the title of Duke, Marquis  
 and Viscount. The women have more liberty  
 here than in the neighbouring cities, appearing  
 frequently in the streets and shops. The people  
 of this town and province are better used by the  
 Venetians than the rest of their subjects; for ha-  
 ving been once a part of the Milanese, and a  
 frontier province, they might think of returning  
 to their old masters if they were hardly dealt  
 with. The Governour here is both Podesta and  
 Captain-General, but in other Venetian cities  
 the civil and military power is usually lodg'd in  
 different hands.

**Iseo.** 2. The Iseo, situate on a lake to which it com-  
 municates its name, a considerable town of great  
 antiquity: The neighbouring lake is about fifteen  
 miles in length and three in breadth, the river Oglio  
 running through it. The rest of the towns of this  
 province do not merit a particular description.

**Bergamasco.** The Bergamasco is bounded by the territories  
 of the Grisons on the north; by the Brescian on  
 the east; and by Cremasco and the Milanese on  
 the south and west; being about forty-five miles  
 in length from north to south, and thirty in  
 breadth from east to west. It is for the most part  
 a mountainous rocky country, but lying on the  
 south-side of the Alps moderately warm, and be-  
 ing water'd with a multitude of little rivulets  
 which fall from thence, the country is fruitful  
 in many places. The chief towns are, 1. Ber-  
 gamo. 2. Caleppio. And, 3. Cluson.

**Bergamo city.** Bergamo is a large city, strongly situated on a  
 hill, and defended by a castle, lying thirty miles  
 to the westward of Brescia, and as many to the  
 northward of Milan, and is the See of a Bishop  
 suffragan to Milan. The town is populous and a  
 place of good trade, the merchants of Germany,  
 Switzerland and Italy resorting thither to their  
 annual fair with the product of their several  
 countries. The natives are the most clownish in  
 the Venetian dominions, and their dialect the  
 worst; but frequently make clever fellows when  
 they meet with good education. This town has  
 often changed its masters: It was a republick till  
 the year 1300, about which time some of their lead-  
 ing men assumed the government, and it became  
 monarchical. In 1419 it was taken by PHILIP  
 Duke of Milan, and in 1447 they put themselves  
 under the protection of the Venetians, who have  
 been in possession of this town and province ever

since, except that the French had it in their **CHAP.**  
 hands seven years in the reign of LEWIS XII. **XIII.**  
 Here, as in all other mountainous countries upon **Venice**  
 and near the Alps, the natives are troubled with  
 great wens or swellings on their throats, occa-  
 sion'd, as 'tis said, by their drinking snow-water.

The Cremasco is bounded by the Brescian on **The Cre-**  
 the north; by the Cremonese on the east; and **masco.**  
 by other parts of the Milanese on the south and  
 west: extending about fifteen miles in length  
 from north to south, and seven in breadth from  
 east to west. It is a well-water'd fruitful coun-  
 try: The only town of any note is Crema, from **Crema.**  
 whence this little territory takes its name, situate  
 on the river Serio, in a pleasant fruitful plain,  
 about twenty miles south-west of Brescia, and  
 twenty north-west of Cremona. It is a place of  
 some strength, well-built, and populous, and the  
 See of a Bishop, suffragan to Bologna. Their  
 principal manufacture is that of fine linnen. It  
 formerly belong'd to the duchy of Milan.

The Vicentin is bounded by the country of **The Vic-**  
 Trent on the north; by the Trevisin and Pa- **tin.**  
 duan towards the east and south; and by the  
 Cremonese on the south-west; being about forty  
 miles in length from north to south, and thirty  
 in breadth from east to west. As this province  
 is contiguous to the Paduan, it is equally fruitful  
 and pleasant; the soil and face of the country  
 much the same, and therefore needs no further  
 description here. The chief towns are Vicenza,  
 and Marastica.

The city of Vicenza, or Vincenza, is pleasantly **Vicenza**  
 situated at the confluence of several small rivers, **city.**  
 of which the chief are the Bacchiglione and the  
 Rerone, about twenty miles north-west of Pa-  
 dua; a populous trading city, about four miles in  
 circumference, and consisting of fifteen parishes;  
 the buildings beautiful, the squares and piazzas  
 spacious; there is particularly a modern theatre  
 built in imitation of the Roman theatres, by the  
 famous PALLADIO, and a triumphal arch by the  
 same artist; a magnificent town-hall, the ruins  
 of an antient theatre, and some other antiquities  
 which demonstrate its antient grandeur. This  
 town coming voluntarily under the protection of  
 the Venetians about three hundred years ago, and  
 not by conquest, enjoys greater privileges than  
 many other cities; having three councils consist-  
 ing of the natives, who have some share in the  
 administration; tho' here also is a Podesta and  
 Captain-General, as in the rest of the Venetian  
 governments. The chief manufacture of the place  
 is silk. The gardens of Count VALARANO, ac-  
 cording to Dr. BURNET, are as well worth see-  
 ing as any thing in the town, wherein he seems  
 to be mightily pleas'd with a noble alley of oranges  
 and citrons, some as big as a man's body, but  
 affords



CHAP. affords us no further description of them. It is a  
XIII. Bishop's See, suffragan of Aquileia.

Venice. I come now to the marquisate of Trevisana or  
Trevigiano, bounded by the Feltrin and Bellu-  
nese on the north; by Friuli and the duchy of  
Trevisana marquisate. Venice on the east; by the Paduan on the south;  
and the Vicentin on the west. The chief towns  
are, 1. Treviso. 2. Castel Franco. 3. Coalto.  
4. Conegliano. 5. Cenada. And, 6. Saravalle.

Treviso, or Trevigno, is situated on a rising  
ground, in a large plain near the river Sile, fif-  
teen miles north-west of Venice; a well-built  
populous place; and formerly the residence of  
the Marquises of Lombardy, from whence it ob-  
tain'd the name of the Marquisate.

The Feltrin is sometimes reckon'd part of the  
marquisate, and lies to the northward of Trevi-  
sana Proper. The chief towns whereof are, 1.  
Feltri. 2. Romegno. And, 3. Vedana.

Feltri or Feltro, is situated on the river Aso,  
twenty-five miles north-west of Treviso; and is  
the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Aquileia. The  
Venetians have been in the possession of it above  
three hundred years.

The Bellunese is also frequently deem'd part of  
the marquisate, being a little district to the north-  
ward of the Feltrin, and conquer'd about the same  
time by the Venetians: The chief town whereof  
is Belluno or Bellano, a small city, fifteen miles  
north-east of Feltri, and the See of a Bishop,  
suffragan of Aquileia. These three last districts  
of the Trevisin, Feltrin and Bellunese, have a  
sufficient quantity of corn and wine for their use;  
but what they are most remarkable for is their  
timber, fire-wood, and iron mines, which are of  
great advantage to the republick of Venice.

The Cadore is a small province, bounded by  
the bishoprick of Brixen on the north; by Friuli  
on the east; the Bellunese on the south; and by  
the Trentin on the west. The chief town is  
Pieve de Cadore, about twenty miles north of  
Belluna.

The province of Friuli is bounded by the Alps,  
which separate it from Carinthia on the north;  
by Carniola, another province of Germany, on  
the east; by the gulph of Venice on the south;  
and the marquisate of Trevisana, and another part  
of the Alps, upon the west; being about fifty  
miles in length, and as many in breadth; some  
part whereof is subject to the Emperor, on which  
account it is frequently made a part of Germany,  
and the rest to the Venetians, as will appear in  
the description of the several towns; which are,  
1. Aquileia. 2. Palma Nova. 3. Udene. 4.  
Cividad de Friuli. 5. Goritia. 6. Gradisca. 7.  
Idria. And, 8. Pontascl.

Aquileia is situated on a small river near the  
Adriatick sea, about fifty miles north-east of Ve-  
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nice, antiently a city of great strength and fame, CHAP.  
made the metropolis of Italy by the western Em- XIII.  
perors, and still gives a title to the Patriarch of Venice.  
Aquileia, to whom most of the neighbouring Bi-  
shops are subject; but the town is dwindled to  
a poor village, inhabited by fishermen, and there  
remain scarce any footsteps of its antient gran-  
deur. It is at present under the dominion of the  
house of Austria.

Palma Nova is a large fortified town, twelve Palma No-  
miles north-west of Aquileia, built by the Vene- va.  
tians as a frontier against Germany in the year  
1594, and has a communication with the Adria-  
tick sea by a canal cut from thence, and is still  
under the dominion of Venice.

Udene or Udina, is a large populous town, a- Udene.  
bove four miles in circumference, twelve miles  
north-west of Palma Nova, and subject to the  
Venetians.

Goritz, or Goritia, the capital of a county of Goritia,  
the same name, situate about ten miles north-  
east of Palma Nova, subject to the Emperor:  
but this town has already been describ'd in Ger-  
many. The natives use a barbarous dialect, nei-  
ther Italian or German, and are scarce under-  
stood by either.

Cividad de Friuli, lies about ten miles north Cividad de  
of Palma Nova, and is subject to the Venetians. Friuli.

Idria is situated in the mountains, about twenty Idria city.  
miles north-east of Goritia; remarkable for its  
mines of quick-silver. It is subject to the Em-  
peror.

Pontascl stands about twenty miles north-west Pontascl.  
of Cividad de Friuli, a frontier town between  
the Empire and the Venetian territories, but now  
subject to the latter.

#### CHAP. XIV.

*Treats of the Venetian dominions in Istria, Morla-  
chia and Dalmatia.*

ISTRIA is frequently described among their Istria.  
Italian provinces, but as it lies on the eastern  
side of the Adriatick Sea, it seems more properly  
to belong to Germany. It is a peninsula, bounded  
by Carniola on the north, and encompass'd by  
the Adriatick sea on the east, south and west;  
being about sixty miles in length, and fifty in  
breadth; a woody mountainous country, and  
chiefly valuable to the Venetians on account of  
the stone and timber which they bring from  
hence. The chief towns are, 1. Capo d'Istria.  
2. Pirano. 3. Cita Novo. 4. Parenzo. 5. Osero.  
6. Pola. And, 7. St. Veit en Flaum.

Capo d'Istria is situated on a small island in Capo D'I-  
the gulph of Trieste, having a communication stria.  
with the continent by a bridge, and stands about  
A a a ten



CHAP. ten miles south-east of Trieste: It is the See of  
XIV. a Bishop, suffragan of Aquileia, and the seat of  
the Venetian Governour, antiently called *Ægida*  
and *Justinopolis*, having been built by the Empe-  
ror JUSTIN.

Cita Novo. Cita Novo, antiently *Æmonia*, stands at the  
mouth of the river Quitto, twenty miles south-  
east of Capo d'Istria; in a very bad air, and  
thinly inhabited, tho' it hath an harbour, and  
is a Bishop's See, suffragan to the Patriarch of  
Aquileia.

Parenzo. Parenzo is situated on the Adriatick, six miles  
to the southward of Cita Novo, and hath a  
good harbour: It is the See of a Bishop, also  
suffragan to Aquileia; but lying in a very bad  
air, does not abound with people any more than  
the former.

Pola. Pola, *olim Pata*, forty-five miles southward of  
Capo di Istria, a strong town, situate on a moun-  
tain near the sea, under which there is a good  
harbour.

St. Veit. The town of St. Veit, situate at the mouth  
of the river Flaum, belonging to the Emperor,  
has already been described in Germany.

Trieste. The Port of Trieste, thirty miles east of A-  
quileia, belonging to the Emperor, has also been  
already described in this volume.

Morlachia. Morlachia is bounded by Croatia and Bosnia  
towards the north; by Dalmatia on the east;  
by the gulph of Venice towards the south; and  
by Istria towards the west; being about eighty  
miles in length, and five and twenty in breadth;  
a part of the antient *Liburnia*. The Turks laid  
claim to it as a dependant on Hungary, where-  
upon they put themselves under the Emperor's  
protection, as it remains at present, only some  
towns on the coast are subject to the Venetians,  
the chief whereof are Zeny and Novigrad.

Segna. Zeny or Segna, is situated on the sea-coast, a-  
bout forty miles south-east of St. Veit, a pretty  
town, with a castle and harbour; being a Bi-  
shop's See, subject to the Arch-bishop of Spalatto.

Novigrad. Novigrad stands near a bay of the sea, above  
sixty miles south-east of Segna, of which I meet  
with no further description.

Dalmatia. Dalmatia, the eastern part of the antient *Il-  
lyricum*, stretches along the coast of the Adria-  
tick Sea, near two hundred miles in length, and  
is generally about thirty miles in breadth; bound-  
ed by Bosnia and Servia towards the north; by  
Albania on the east; by the gulph of Venice on  
the south-west; and by Morlachia on the north-  
west; the sea-coast, except the territories of Ragusa,  
belonging to the Venetians, and the inland part of  
it to the Turks. The Venetian Dalmatia is di-  
vided into the continent and islands; the chief  
towns on the continent are, 1. Zara. 2. Nona.  
3. Scardone. 4. Sebenico. 5. St. Nicholas. 6.  
Salona. 7. Trau. 8. Spalatto. 9. Clissa. 10. Ci-

clut. 11. Rifano. 12. Castel Novo. 13. Cata- CHA  
ro. And, 14. Budua. XIV

Zara, *olim Jadera*, is situated on the coast of  
the Adriatick sea near two-hundred miles south-  
east of Venice, and an hundred and thirty south-  
east of Trieste, formerly the capital of Liburnia,  
a province of Illyricum. It was purchased toge-  
ther with Novigrad by the Venetians of LADIS-  
LAUS King of Hungary, about the year 1409,  
and is now the capital of the Venetian Dalmatia,  
and of a district, to which it communicates its  
name; and is an Archbishop's See. The sea sur-  
rounds the place, which is join'd to the continent  
by a bridge, and defended by a castle.

Nona, *olim Enona*, situate about eighteen miles  
north-west of Zara, upon a promontory almost  
encompass'd with the sea. It is a fortified town,  
and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Zara.

Scardone stands at the mouth of the river  
Kirka, thirty-five miles south-east of Zara; and  
is defended by a castle, and other fortifications,  
frequently taken and retaken in the wars between  
the Venetians and the Turks. It is the See of a  
Bishop, suffragan of Spalatto.

Sebenico is a fortress, situate on the same coast,  
about forty miles south-east of Zara; the castle  
stands on a steep rock, near the mouth of the  
Kirka. The Bishop is suffragan to Zara.

Trau, the antient *Tragurium*, a little town and  
harbour, about thirty miles south-east of Sebenico,  
encompass'd with the sea, and join'd to the con-  
tinent by a bridge, a Bishop's See, suffragan to  
Spalatto.

Spalatto stands on the same coast, about sixty  
miles south-east of Zara, and ten to the eastward  
of Trau: It is a place of strength, a large and  
populous town; and hath one of the best har-  
bours upon the coast, and is an Archbishop's See;  
hither the Emperor DIOCLESIAN retir'd when  
he was driven from his throne.

Castel Novo is situated on a bay of the sea, a  
little to the eastward of the territories of Ragusa,  
defended by a strong castle, among inaccessible  
rocks.

Cataro, situate on the same bay, about thirty  
miles to the eastward of Ragusa, defended by a  
strong castle, and is a Bishop's See.

Budua, a little town, the See of a Bishop, twen-  
ty miles to the southward of Cataro, almost sur-  
rounded by the Turkish territories. The chief  
towns in Dalmatia belonging to the Turks, are  
Trebigna, Narenza and Antivari.

Narenza or Narenta, *olim Naro* and *Narona*,  
stands on the river Naro, about sixty miles to the  
eastward of Spalatto, and forty to the northward  
of Ragusa; antiently a large and flourishing city,  
but has little to recommend it at present.

Trebigna is situated forty miles south-east of Na-  
renza, which is all the description I meet with of it.  
Antivari



CHAP. Antivari stands on the confines of Albania, be-  
XIV. tween Budua and Dulcigno, and was an Archi-  
episcopal See till taken by the Turks.

As for that part of Dalmatia which belongs to  
the republick of Ragusa, tributary to the Turk,  
this has been described already in Turkey, (in  
Vol. I.); the chief towns whereof are Ragusa,  
Stagno and Sabioncello.

The Venetian islands on the coast of Morlachia  
and Dalmatia are, 1. Cherso. 2. Osera. 3. Ve-  
glia. 4. Pago. 5. Arbe. 6. Grossa. 7. La Co-  
ronata. 8. La Lissa. 9. Lezina. And, 10. Cor-  
zola.

Cherso, *olim Crexa*, lies on the coast of Istria  
and Morlachia, ten miles to the southward of St.  
Veit, an hundred and twenty miles in circumfe-  
rence; the capital city is of the same name, and  
the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Zara.

Osera is join'd to Cherso by a bridge, the  
chief town being of the same name, a Bishop's  
See, and suffragan to Zara.

Veglia, or Curitta, lies between Cherso and the  
coast of Morlachia, being about sixty miles in  
circumference; its capital also is of the same name,  
and a Bishop's See suffragan of Zara.

Pago, or Glissa, is about fifty miles in cir-  
cumference, and lies within two miles of the coast  
of Morlachia; its chief town is of the same name,  
and has a tolerable good harbour.

Arbe lies between Pago and Veglia, its chief  
town of the same name, and a Bishop's See suf-  
fragan of Zara.

Grossa, or Longa, about thirty-five miles south-  
east of Osera, and ten from the coast of Dalma-  
tia, is about thirty miles in length, and six in  
breadth. Its chief town is of the same name, de-  
fended by a castle.

Lezina lies near the south coast of Dalmatia,  
being about fifty miles in length, and ten in  
breadth; its capital is of the same name, and  
lies towards the north-west end of the Island,  
and is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Spalatto.

Corzola lies about six miles to the westward  
of the territories of Ragusa, and is the best peo-  
pled of the Dalmatian islands; its chief town is  
of the same name, being a Bishop's See, suffra-  
gan of Ragusa.

The lesser Venetian islands on this coast do not  
require a particular description, but are laid down  
in the maps bound up with this work.

The Venetian islands which lie without the  
Adriatick sea upon the coast of Epirus and Mo-  
rea, are, 1. Corfu. 2. St. Moura. 3. Cephalonia.  
And, 4. Zante.

Corfu, *olim Corcyra*, lies near the coast of E-  
pirus, being about fifty miles in length, and  
twelve in breadth; it is a populous island, con-  
taining two cities, and near a hundred villages;  
and produces oil, honey, wax, oranges, lemons,

and a great variety of other fruits. The chief  
towns are Corfu and Cassiope.

Corfu lies about the middle of the east side of  
the island, in a peninsula, strongly fortified, and  
hath a good harbour: It is the See of a Latin  
Archbishop, tho' the Greeks have also their  
churches here.

Cassiope is situated on the same side of the  
island, fifteen miles north-west of Corfu; a little  
trading town, with a good harbour, about six  
miles from the coast of Epirus.

The island of St. Maura, *olim Leucadia*, is  
almost of a circular figure, and lies about forty-  
five miles south-east of Corfu, being separated  
from the coast of Achaia by a channel not more  
than half a league broad: It is about twenty miles  
over either way; the chief town of the same  
name, which stands on the north-east part of the  
island, being strongly fortified, and the See of an  
Archbishop.

Cephalonia lies seven or eight miles to the south-  
ward of St. Maura; about twenty miles to the  
westward of the gulph of Lepanto; being fifty  
miles in length, and five and twenty in breadth,  
being a mountainous uneven soil; but produces  
however wine, oil, silk, wool, honey and wax;  
with which the natives carry on a tolerable trade.  
It has a town of the same name, situate near a  
bay on the west side of the island, being a Bi-  
shop's See, suffragan to Corfu. And there are  
three other towns mentioned by geographers, viz.  
St. Nicholas, Catano and Asso; but I meet with  
no particular description of them.

The island of Zante, *olim Zacynthus* and *Illyra*,  
lies about twelve miles to the southward of Ce-  
phalonia, and as much to the westward of the  
Morea, being twenty-four miles in length, and  
twelve in breadth, most considerable for the little  
grapes call'd currants, or corinths, from their be-  
ing first cultivated about the city of Corinth,  
where there are now scarce any; France and  
England, and the rest of the countries of Europe,  
being supplied with this kind of fruit from hence,  
and consequently this island hath a very great  
trade. The natives of Cephalonia and Zante are  
generally Greeks, but the Venetians have also  
introduced the Roman Catholick religion. The  
chief town is Zante, situate on the east side  
of the island, fortified and defended by a castle,  
being of the last importance to the Venetians. It  
is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Corfu; and  
the residence of the Governour, who is always a  
noble Venetian of the first rank. There are  
some other small islands belonging to the Venetians  
in these seas, but of no great consequence.

The Morea was taken from them by the Turks  
in one campaign, anno 1715, to compensate  
which loss they made themselves masters of the  
towns of Previsa and Vosnia in Epirus; but these



CHAP. are far from being an equivalent for that fine  
 XV. country: They bid fair indeed for taking Dul-  
 Venice. cigno in Albania, anno 1718, but the peace  
 which was concluded while they lay before it put  
 an end to that enterprize.

### CHAP. XV.

#### *Treats of the Venetian government.*

Venetian  
government.

THE Venetians boast that their government  
 has lasted upwards of thirteen hundred years; but then it must be remember'd that their State has undergone various changes and revolutions during that time. The islands on which Venice stands, and those in the neighbourhood of it, were antiently subject to Padua, and receiv'd a Governour from thence, but were then only inhabited by fishermen, mariners, and other poor people. About the year 420, the Goths and other barbarous nations overrunning Italy, and destroying the cities of Parma, Aquileia, and many more upon the continent, the inhabitants fled with their effects to these islands, and laid the foundation of the city of Venice. They were at first under the government of the consuls or magistrates of Padua, to whom the soil belong'd; but when they began to increase in wealth and numbers, and Refugees from all parts of Italy flock'd in to them, a deputy or representative from every island was elected, in whom the legislative power was lodg'd. Whether this was brought about by force, or the consent of the Paduans, at this distance of time does not appear: But this form did not endure long, some of the most powerful and popular men of the republick procured the sovereign power to be conferr'd on him, with the title of Duke, or Doge; making the representatives of the people only his council, whose advice he took or refused as he saw fit. No Princes were more absolute than these Doges for a considerable time, till at length the leading men of the republick encroach'd upon the prerogatives of their Doges, as the antient Doges had on the liberties of the people, and the sovereign power became vested in the most substantial citizens; the Doge retain'd no more than the shadow of his antient authority. About the year 1325, the great council, which was then composed of the chief citizens, pass'd an act for reducing their number, and vesting the sovereign authority in certain families and their male issue, who at the age of five and twenty, and proof of their legitimacy, without any previous election, were to be introduced into this assembly; and this body of men have long since assumed the title of *Noble Venetians*, who, according to Mr. ADDISON, look upon themselves to be equal at least to the Electors of the Empire, and but one degree below

The sove-  
reign power  
vested in the  
nobility.

Kings; for which reason they seldom travel into CHAP. XV  
 foreign countries, where they must undergo the Venic  
 mortification of being treated like private gentle-  
 men. It is observ'd, that they discharge them-  
 selves with a great deal of dexterity in such em-  
 bassies and treaties as they are concern'd in, for  
 their whole lives are imploy'd in intrigues of  
 state, and they naturally give themselves airs of  
 Kings and Princes, of which the Ministers of o-  
 ther nations are only the representatives. About  
 three or fourscore years ago, it was computed  
 there were about five and twenty hundred of these  
 noble Venetians who had voices in the Great  
 Council; but there are not at present more than  
 fifteen hundred, notwithstanding the addition of  
 many new families: for during the war with the  
 Turks in Candia, when their treasury began to  
 be exhausted, and on other exigencies of the  
 State, they have permitted merchants and over-  
 grown citizens, and even some foreigners, to pur-  
 chase this honour, and consequently a seat in the  
 Great Council of the republick for them and their  
 heirs. And tho' there be but one order of nobles  
 at Venice, yet they look upon themselves to be  
 more or less honourable, according to the anti-  
 quity of their families. They are generally di-  
 vided into four classes by our voyage-writers:  
 1. Those twelve families which were really noble  
 before the constitution of their commonwealth.  
 2. Such as were register'd when the members of  
 the Great Council were limited to certain fami-  
 lies. 3. Such as have purchased their nobility of  
 the State. And, 4. Those who have been created  
 noble Venetians on account of their merit. But  
 to be a little more particular in describing the  
 constitution of their present government; it con-  
 sists, 1. Of the Doge, or Duke. 2. The Great  
 Council. 3. The Council of Ten, or Seignory.  
 4. The Senate, or Council of Pregadi. 5. The  
 Council of the Savi, or Sages. And, 6. The Coun-  
 cil call'd the College.

The Doge, if he be not in reality a monarch,  
 yet he represents one in his habit and state. He  
 is cloth'd in a purple robe, and his head cover'd  
 with a cap resembling a mitre, which he never  
 takes off but when the Host is elevated. All  
 subjects appear bare-headed and standing be-  
 fore him, and he rises up to none. His name  
 is on the coin, publick letters and instruments  
 of State; and all laws and decrees are publish'd  
 in his name; and the letters of foreign Princes  
 are directed to him, tho' he delivers them un-  
 open'd to the Council. Ambassadors address them-  
 selves to him, but he delivers no other answer  
 than what is agreed on in council. He cannot  
 go out of the city without the leave of the State;  
 and whenever he sets his foot on the continent  
 his authority ceases, and he is consider'd only as  
 a noble Venetian. When he is elected, all his  
 relations



**H A P.** relations leave their posts, though they continue members of the Great Council: he is as subject to the laws as the meanest person; and the State-inquisition is level'd chiefly against his power. He has a double voice in the Great Council, and the appointment of the servants and officers of the palace, and the nominating of the Dean and Canons of St. MARK, and is call'd His Serenity. He continues in his office for life, unless he commits some offence against the State, or happens to be superannuated, or otherwise render'd incapable of discharging his trust. He presides in the Great Council, and other courts, and sees that the magistrates perform their duty, and summons them before the college on their neglect. He is elected in the Great Council by balloting, after a manner too tedious to relate here; only I shall observe, that such precautions are used, that 'tis impossible the Electors should be bias'd or over-aw'd in their choice by any great man: And in the same manner their Admirals, Governours of towns and provinces, and all other officers of state are appointed.

**Great Council.** The Great Council is composed of the Doge and all the noble Venetians who are in town; but more than half of them being absent on their governments, or at their country-seats on the continent, this assembly seldom consists of more than five or six hundred: Nor is the Great Duke's presence absolutely necessary, it being frequently held without him. In this Council the legislative authority is lodg'd, as well as the choice of the Doge, and of most of the great officers of state, as hath been observ'd already, for which purpose they meet on Sundays and some other holy-days.

**Seignory.** The Seignory consists of the Duke, six other members chosen by the Great Council, and the three chief judges of their principal courts of judicature, making ten in all, from whence they are usually call'd the Council of Ten. In these the executive power seems to be lodg'd, and this Council elect three of their own number every three months, who may be call'd Inquisitors of State. These receive all accusations and informations against persons suspected to have any designs against the government; imprison, and even proceed capitally against them, without allowing them to make any defence, either in person or by their advocates, if they all agree; if not, the matter is laid before the Council of Ten.

**Senate, Pregadi.** The Senate, or Pregadi, consists of an hundred and twenty of the members of the Great Council, chosen annually by that Council, (assisted by a like number of other counsellors, magistrates and officers, who have not a power of voting, but only of proposing matters in this Council.) All laws are last debated in this Council, and brought by them to the Great Council for their sanction, who have no power of altering any act propounded

to them, but only of assenting to it or rejecting it. The making peace and war, the sending and receiving Ambassadors, and all other matters of state, (except such as require secrecy, and are re-ferr'd to the Council of Ten on that account) are, after they have been prepared and debated by the college, brought hither for their approbation. In the Senate also is the choice of many of the inferiour officers of state, and commanders by sea and land.

The Council call'd the Savi, or Sages, consists of sixteen persons: six called the Savi Grande, who have both the sea and land under their care; five others, who consult and debate only of land-affairs; and five more, who take only the transactions at sea under their deliberation.

The College is esteem'd the most useful Council of State, consisting of the Seignory and Savi in conjunction, twenty-six in number. They meet severally every morning at a certain hour in their respective council-rooms, where having spent some time in debating the several businesses appropriated to each, the Savi go to the room where the Seignory sits, and joining with them form that Council call'd the College. From whence it appears that matters of State (except what requires an extraordinary secrecy) are debated, 1. By the Savi and Seignory in their several rooms distinctly. 2. By these two jointly, who constitute the college. 3. By the Senate, who when they have consider'd and alter'd the matters proposed as they see fit, bring all to the Great Council, who have a power of affirming or rejecting, but none of debating or altering the laws proposed.

From hence it appears, says my author, that Venice is one of the best constituted republicks that ever was establish'd. But methinks their State-inquisition, which they stile the basis of their government, has a terrible aspect, notwithstanding it may have frustrated some conspiracies and attempts against the State: for surely nothing can reconcile people to such an arbitrary bloody tribunal, who have ever known what liberty and property means; a tribunal that must make every subject and every senator tremble. How can the greatest amongst them enjoy his fortune with any tolerable tranquillity, while he is liable every day to be thrown into a dungeon, to be tortur'd, condemn'd and executed upon the crafty suggestions and insinuations of his enemies, without being suffer'd to know either his accusers or his accusation, or to offer any thing in vindication of his innocence? And in fact we find several persons have suffer'd by this accursed court, who have afterwards appear'd innocent. It would amaze one therefore to see some men, who cannot bear to live under even a limited monarchy, ever crying up this part of the Venetian constitution.



CHAP. In some instances indeed the subjects of Venice  
 XV. enjoy an unbounded liberty; they may be as leud  
 Venice. and wicked as they please, so their crimes do not  
 affect the State; and in this the republicks in Hol-  
 land perfectly agree with them. There they have  
 their musick-houses, whither the votaries of VENUS  
 resort by publick authority; and here are whole  
 streets assign'd to the same purposes, though the  
 carnival is the time when they indulge this hu-  
 mour most; then a croud of cavaliers resort hi-  
 ther from the neighbouring countries, where they  
 meet an equal number of the other sex, that come  
 to make their fortunes upon these occasions. An-  
 other instance of Dutch and Venetian liberty,  
 is, that they suffer all manner of sects and  
 persuasions in religion, provided there is no ten-  
 dency in them to disturb the State. Neither  
 the clergy of Holland or Venice are suffer'd  
 to hold synods or ecclesiastical courts, or to  
 frame laws for the government of the church,  
 without the approbation of the State; and  
 every man has an unlimited freedom to believe  
 and practise as he sees fit; neither the laws of re-  
 ligion or morality are enforced by the govern-  
 ment; every one may do what is right in his own  
 eyes, so he lets the administration alone. These  
 are some of the glorious liberties that the subject  
 enjoys under most republicks; but in other respects  
 they are as great slaves to their Sovereigns as the  
 people are in France or Turkey. Should a man com-  
 plain of the oppressions of the nobility, or presume  
 to censure the conduct of the ministry; nay, if any  
 thing of this kind should be suggested against him  
 by his enemies, though never so falsely, he shall  
 be first rack'd and tortur'd into a confession, and  
 afterwards executed as a malefactor, his estate con-  
 fiscated, and his family reduced to beggary. And  
 if these are the charms of a republican form of  
 government, who would not make it part of his  
 litany to be deliver'd from it? But to proceed:  
 The nobility themselves, though they have the  
 legislative authority in their hands, stand so much  
 in awe of this State-Inquisition which they have  
 establish'd, that they dare not enter into any fa-  
 miliar conversation with foreigners, or even with  
 their own order, for fear of being charg'd with  
 designs against the State: nay, 'tis held criminal  
 to talk of publick affairs, when they are not as-  
 sembled in the Broglio, or in their Councils.  
 And now I am speaking of the nobility, I shall  
 take an opportunity of mentioning some other  
 rules they are subject to: they are not permitted  
 to carry any arms about them, or to wear silver  
 or gold lace or fringe on their clothes, except the  
 Procurators of St. MARK, and some few others,  
 or to keep above a certain number of servants;  
 even the Doge himself is under the government  
 of his six Counsellors, who may visit his closet,  
 and all his retirements at any hour of the night or

day, and he is not at liberty to go abroad without CHA  
 them. XV  
 Veni.

The most honourable among the nobility are  
 the Procurators of St. MARK, who are appointed  
 by the Great Council, and have the guardianship  
 and administration of the revenues, treasure, gifts,  
 and legacies belonging to the church of St. MARK,  
 with very handsome annual pensions for life. They  
 are five and twenty in number; and formerly  
 consisted only of those who had been concerned in  
 foreign embassies, or had otherwise highly merited  
 of the State; but some have been allow'd to pur-  
 chase this honour of late years, when the State  
 wanted money. It is out of these that the Doge  
 and his Council of ten are generally chosen.

Besides the nobility, there are three orders of Knights.  
 knighthood; 1. That of the Golden Star, which  
 is conferr'd only on those of the first quality, who  
 have merited of the government; they wear a  
 star border'd with gold-lace. 2. The Knights of  
 St. MARK, which honour is usually conferr'd on  
 the officers in the sea or land service, who have  
 behaved well, to which is annexed a pension of a  
 thousand ducats per annum. They wear a medal  
 with the figure of St. MARK on one side, and  
 some other device of the Senate's appointing upon  
 the reverse. 3. The Doge's Knights, as they are  
 called, on account of their being created by him,  
 which is bestow'd on foreign officers in their ser-  
 vice.

There are still several orders of nobility, as Nobility  
 Counts, Marquisses, &c. on the Terra Firma in the con-  
 the Venetian territories, who are not at all e- quer'd co-  
 steem'd for their titles at Venice; and these are tries.  
 the heirs and descendants of such noblemen as  
 were created by foreign Princes before these pro-  
 vinces were conquer'd by the republick, who have  
 lost their privileges, and now enjoy no more than  
 the titles of their ancestors. These the Vene-  
 tians endeavour to humble and distress by all the  
 ways imaginable, that they may render them in-  
 capable of carrying on any designs against their  
 government. They create other noblemen with  
 the like titles, of whose fidelity they are assur'd,  
 in order to balance their power; and are perpe-  
 tually fomenting and encouraging their private quar-  
 rels, that they may be diverted from any practices  
 against the State. Another piece of their accursed po-  
 licy, is to discountenance all that are eminent and  
 remarkable for their virtues of any kind whatever:  
 a brave man is sure to be brow-beaten; and if a  
 person is a little more hospitable or charitable than  
 his neighbours, he is in danger of the State In-  
 quisition, lest these virtues, or the appearance of  
 them, should render him popular, and the govern-  
 ment be endanger'd thereby. But among the liber-  
 ties of Venice, there is one I had pass'd over  
 when I was upon that subject, which ought not to  
 be forgot. This, says my author, is perhaps the  
 only



**HAP. XV.** only city in Europe, where young painters may best study the beauties of nature; for there are two academies, where there are always naked people of both sexes to be drawn, who are often upon the stage together, in what posture they please to put them; and any man for the value of six-pence or a shilling may come in and take a view of them: nor is it to be conceiv'd with what assurance these young creatures will suffer themselves to be gaz'd on by all the world.

**CHAP. XV.** I shall conclude this head with some account of their ecclesiastical government and clergy. The Patriarchs of Aquileia and Venice share the government of this church between them; if that may be called a government, which can only be exercised at the pleasure of another, namely, the temporal power. The republick of Venice is as supreme and arbitrary in all causes, and over all persons ecclesiastical and civil in their territories, as the States of Holland are in theirs. The Pope is look'd upon as little more than a temporal Prince at Venice, and the Patriarch a cypher: the Patriarch of Aquileia, whose province is upon the Terra Firma, seems something more independent of the State, and is better supported in his spiritual authority by the Pope. He is also the eldest Patriarch, and has the largest extent of jurisdiction: for his province comprehends Friuli, Istria, and several other hereditary provinces of the Empire, with the Venetian territories in Lombardy, except Bergamo, Crema, and Brescia, whose Bishops are suffragans to Milan. The Patriarch of Aquileia is nominated by the republick, who oblige him to chuse a noble Venetian for his coadjutor, lest the nomination should return to the Emperor; who, on the other hand, detains the temporal revenues of the Patriarch in his dominions, and will not suffer him to reside at Aquileia, and therefore his seat is at present at Udina.

The Patriarch of Venice is always a noble Venetian, nominated by the State, and confirm'd by the Pope, and has a limited jurisdiction over the Archbishop of Candia, the Archbishop of Corfu, and the Bishops of Chioggia, Torcello, and Caorle. The church of St. MARK at Venice is a peculiar; the Premicerio, or Dean, has no superior, and is always a noble Venetian; to which church there belongs twenty-six Canons, and a seminary of young lads, besides an adjoining abbey. There is also at Venice a court of Inquisition, consisting of the Nuntio, the Patriarch, the Father Inquisitor, and two Senators, without whose assent they can transact nothing, or put any sentence in execution, being as much subject to the Senate as any other tribunal. The parishes elect their own curates, or parish-priests, in which they are generally influenced by the nobility, whom they dread above all things, and consequently love

them very little; not so much, 'tis said, on account of the oppressions they suffer, as that lofty supercilious behaviour, which the quality of Venice are distinguish'd for, and which indeed the State requires of them: for should they give themselves any familiar popular airs, and seem to court the vulgar, the State-Inquisition would look upon them as dangerous persons. But to return to the clergy: the Venetians, says my author, suffer themselves to be govern'd neither by Priests nor Monks: men of this profession may wear masks during the carnival, keep their concubines, sing on the stages, and take what other liberties they please, so as they do not meddle with the government. And notwithstanding the worshipping of images and relicks is encouraged here, as well as in other Popish countries, among the vulgar, the wits of Venice trouble themselves very little about these matters. But the Italians of all degrees are infinitely fond of musick in their churches; and perhaps there are the best entertainments of this kind in Italy, that are to be met with in the world. Vocal musick is usually perform'd by eunuchs: a good voice is a provision for a son; upon which account the poor people frequently castrate a boy or two of the family, who are notwithstanding admitted afterwards into priests orders. 'Tis true, this religion, as well as that of the Jews, requires a perfect man to administer in holy things; and it is necessary for the eunuch to produce these testimonials of his manhood, before they will permit him to officiate as a Priest in any church, (for a eunuch is known by his complexion;) but then if he have them dried in his pocket, it is deem'd sufficient to satisfy the intent of the Canon in this particular; and thus a happy expedient is found out in favour of vocal musick. Instrumental musick also is very much encouraged; insomuch, that if a strange violin comes and performs to the satisfaction of the audience in any of their great churches, they will immediately collect him a handsome gratuity.

The nuns of Venice have not a much better reputation than the clergy, particularly those of St. ZACHARY and St. LAURENCE, where only noble Venetians are admitted, and where they do not so much as pretend to retire for devotion; but the nobility send their daughters thither to save their estates, it being the easiest provision they can make for them. These, according to Dr. BURNET, are not veil'd, neither do they cover their necks or breasts, and receive variety of company; though he acknowledges, that those he saw used the same precautions they do in other nunneries, and had grates in their parlours, beyond which their male friends were not admitted to come. They talk'd much, he observ'd, loud and very ungracefully, and allow'd themselves a liberty in rallying, that other places could not bear.



CHAP. bear. The Patriarch intended to have restrain'd  
 XV. the liberties of these houses, and begun with the  
 Venice. nuns of St. LAURENCE; but they told him  
 plainly, they were noble Venetians, who had  
 chosen that way of life as most convenient for  
 them, but would not be subject to his regulations;  
 and upon his attempting to shut up their house,  
 they were about to set fire to it; whereupon the  
 Senate interposed, and requir'd the Patriarch to  
 desist. Mr. ADDISON relates also, that the Ve-  
 netian nuns are famous for their liberties; that  
 they have opera's within their own walls, and  
 often go out of their bounds to meet their ad-  
 mirers (if they are not misrepresented) and their  
 lovers converse with them daily at the grate of  
 their parlour.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Treats of their revenues, forces, views, and inter-  
 rests; with some account of their trade and manu-  
 factures.*

Revenues  
 and forces.

THE publick revenues of this State are com-  
 puted to amount to about twelve hundred  
 thousand pounds sterling per annum, and as the  
 government is arbitrary, may be advanced in time  
 of war, according to the exigency of their affairs.  
 Their forces by sea and land may amount to  
 four and twenty thousand; and in case of ne-  
 cessity, as has been intimated already, it is pre-  
 tended they can man and equip out thirty men  
 of war, an hundred galleys, and ten galeasses;  
 but this calculation seems to be of the largest.  
 A noble Venetian is always Generalissimo at sea,  
 who has the command of the islands, ports, and  
 maritime places subject to them, as well as of  
 the fleet: and there is constantly a Proveditor-  
 General of the sea, who commands the fleet when  
 there is no Generalissimo; he is chang'd every  
 two years, and during his office is always attended  
 by two noble Venetians, without whose concur-  
 rence he can undertake no enterprize. There is  
 also a General of the Gulph, that commands the  
 galeasses and galleys, clears that sea of pirates,  
 and takes care that the customs be duly paid.  
 For the land-service they usually make choice of  
 a foreign General, who is attended by some few  
 Senators, whose advice he is obliged to take upon  
 all occasions. The inferiour Generals and Of-  
 ficers are also foreigners; the noble Venetians,  
 who look upon themselves as Princes and Legisla-  
 tors, don't care to be commanded by those they  
 look upon as their inferiours. The common sol-  
 diers are usually Sclavonians, Morlachians, and Al-  
 banians on the frontiers of Turkey; and in Italy  
 they chuse to hire Germans, Swiss, or any other  
 foreign troops, rather than put arms into the  
 hands of their own subjects, on whose fidelity

they cannot depend. Their fortifications are usu-  
 ally in a ruinous condition, both on the side of  
 Italy and Turkey; and the garrisons weak and ill  
 paid, or the Turk could never have made himself  
 master of the Morea in one campaign: though  
 'tis true, the disaffection of their subjects in the  
 conquer'd countries, whom they treat with into-  
 lerable insolence, might contribute also to that re-  
 volution.

The interest of this republick is certainly to  
 live at peace with all their neighbours, if possible;  
 especially with the Emperor and the Turk, who  
 are either of them too powerful for this State to  
 grapple with. 'Tis true, the Emperor, the Pope,  
 and the rest of the Italian Princes would infalli-  
 bly join the Venetians if they were attack'd, so  
 as to prevent the Infidels getting footing in Italy;  
 but we see the Emperor suffer'd the Turks to wrest  
 the Morea from them in the last war, anno 1715;  
 and if he assists them in a future war, possibly  
 it will be on such terms as are not very agree-  
 able to them: he will either insist on their sur-  
 rendering some of the provinces dismember'd from  
 the Milanese, or their sharing the dominion of  
 the Adriatick Sea with him, which they have  
 hitherto been so jealous of. And no doubt but  
 the Venetians, and the rest of the Italian Powers  
 heartily wish that the Emperor, as well as the  
 Infidels, were further remov'd from their fron-  
 tiers. They seem to be in a very uneasy and  
 precarious situation at present: were it not the  
 interest of France to prevent the Imperialists be-  
 ing entire masters of Italy, those little States  
 would soon be swallow'd up; but if ever the  
 Emperor should attempt this, his most Christian  
 Majesty would infallibly make a powerful diver-  
 sion in their favour; they will certainly therefore  
 cultivate a good understanding with the Court of  
 France. As to the Spaniards, since they have  
 been driven out of their Italian territories, they  
 are neither capable of assisting or annoying them,  
 and were much less dangerous neighbours when  
 they were in possession of Naples and the Milanese  
 than the Imperialists are. But, as Mr. ADDISON  
 observ'd on another occasion, among all these dif-  
 ficulties this republick will maintain itself, if po-  
 licy can prevail upon force: Were they as rich as  
 formerly, they would find no great difficulty in  
 supporting themselves, at a time when every thing  
 is carried in all the Courts of Europe by the force  
 of money; but their trade is miserably declin'd,  
 and their treasure exhausted by their wars with  
 the Turks.

As the trade of Venice formerly consisted in  
 transporting the merchandize of Asia from Alex-  
 andria, and other ports of Turkey to the kingdoms  
 of Europe, so it does still, in a much lower de-  
 gree, since the navigation about the Cape of Good  
 Hope has been found out. Their manufactures



AP. and produce of their dominions also furnish them with merchandize to traffick with other countries; as their raw and wrought silks of various kinds, brocades, gold and silver stuffs, damasks, velvets, wine, oil, fruits, particularly currants or corinths, almost peculiar to the island of Zant, alum, sulphur, Venetian steel, iron, copper, wool-len-cloth, glass, marble, soap, rice, essences, turpentine, cream-tartar, snuff, and many other small articles. Great part of the goods they brought from Turkey used to be taken off by the Germans; but if the Emperor succeeds in his project of establishing a trade in the gulph of Venice, this branch of business will be entirely lost to the Venetians.

I must not conclude the description of Venice without taking notice of the ceremony of the Doge's espousing the sea annually, every Ascension-day, when he is attended by three or four hundred of the nobility, and embarks on board the Bucentaur, a noble galleasse finely carved and gilded, followed by a vast number of galleys, barges, and gondola's magnificently adorn'd, with trumpets and musick playing. The Captain of the Bucentaur always takes an oath on this occasion, that he will bring her back safe and sound, in spite of waves and tempests; and indeed he takes care to run as little hazard as possible, for he does not go above a mile or two out to sea in the calmest season of the year; and if the wind blow never so little, the ceremony is deferr'd. When they are come to a proper place, the Doge receives a gold-ring from the master of the ceremonies, which he throws into the sea, over the stern, saying at the same time, *We espouse thee, O Sea, as a mark of our true and perpetual dominion over thee.* It was about the year 1174, that Pope ALEXANDER III conferr'd the dominion of the Adriatick sea on the republick, instituting this annual ceremony of espousing it by a ring; and this in gratitude for their assistance against his great enemy the Emperor FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, who had driven his Holiness from Rome; but was afterwards compell'd to submit to this haughty Pope, and suffer him to tread on his neck in the city of Venice, of which they still retain the memory in some exquisite paintings.

## The POPE's DOMINIONS.

### CHAP. XVII.

*Treats of the situation and extent of the Pope's dominions, particularly of the Campania of Rome, and the principal cities and towns comprehended in that province.*

THE Pope's dominions are bounded by the territories of Venice towards the north; by the Adriatick sea, or gulph of Venice, on the north-

east; by the kingdom of Naples on the south-east; by the Tuscan sea on the south-west; and by the duchy of Tuscany on the north-west; encompasses the duchy of Tuscany on three sides, and is of a very irregular figure: extending in length from north to south about two hundred and forty miles, and in its greatest breadth from east to west an hundred and forty; though in some places, as between the duchy of Tuscany and the gulph of Venice, it is scarce twenty miles broad. To give the reader a just idea of the form of it, I must refer him to the map of Italy bound up with this volume. The Pope's dominions are usually divided into seven provinces. 1. The Campania of Rome. 2. The patrimony of St. PETER, comprehending the duchy of Castro, the territory of Orvieto, and the county of Ronciglione. 3. The province of Sabina. 4. Umbria, or the duchy of Spoleto, in which are included the territories of Perugia, and the Contado di Citta de Castello. 5. The marquisate of Ancona. 6. The duchy of Urbino. And, 7. Romania, or Roman-diola, comprehending Romania Proper, the Bolognese, and the duchy of Ferrara.

The Campania of Rome, containing the greatest part of the antient Latium, inhabited by the Latini, Equi, Hernici, Rutuli, and Volsci, is bounded by the patrimony of St. PETER and Sabina towards the north; by the provinces of Abruzzo and Terra de Lavarò in the kingdom of Naples on the south-east; and by the Tuscan sea on the south-west: being about seventy miles in length from the north-west to the south-east; and forty-five in breadth from the north-east to the south-west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Rome. 2. Tivoli. 3. Palestrina. 4. Zagarola. 5. Colonna. 6. Fregcati. 7. Marino. 8. Castel Gandolpho. 9. Albano. 10. Velitri. 11. Cisternæ. 12. Sermoneta. 13. Paleano. 14. Anagni. 15. Ferentini. 16. Alatri. 17. Veroli. 18. Frasione. 19. Maenza. 20. Piperno. 21. Fossa Nova. 22. Terracina. 23. Netuno. 24. Anzio. 25. Ardea. 26. Paterno. And, 27. Ostia.

Rome, the metropolis of the Pope's dominions, and antiently of the Roman Empire, deriv'd its name, according to some, from ROMA, a Trojan lady, and according to others, from ROMULUS the founder; there are those also that affirm it was called Roma before the days of ROMULUS; and maintain that he only enlarg'd the town, and was called by its name, as Princes and Great Men are at this day called by the names of their seats in some countries. Others again reject the story of ROMULUS and REMUS entirely as a fable: and indeed I meet with nothing satisfactory on this head, any more than I do as to the time of its foundation; some affirming it was founded about the year of the world 3301, 753 years before



CHAP. fore the coming of Christ; and others again in XVII. the year of the world 3198.

Pope's Rome is situated on the river Tiber, about sixteen miles north-east of the Tuscan Sea, in forty-one degrees forty-five minutes north latitude, thirty-two degrees odd minutes to the eastward of

Situation.

London. It stood antiently on seven mounts or eminencies of easy ascent, and was of a square figure, but now comprehends twelve little hills, viz. Monte Capitolino, Palatino, Aventino, Celio, Esquilino, Viminale, Quirinale or Monte Cavallo, Janiculo, Pincino, Vaticano, Citorio, and Giordano. It is of an irregular figure, and the walls, which take in the same ground with those which AURELIAN built, are about twelve miles in circumference, all the turnings and windings included; otherwise the compass is not, or ever was, more than six or seven miles, though some have made it fifty miles about. How far the suburbs antiently extended, is very uncertain; if the town, with all its suburbs and adjacent villages, contain'd half the number of souls which some authors of very great reputation have asserted, and all these were look'd upon as part of the city (as the villages within the weekly bills are sometimes reckon'd part of London) the circumference must have been very large: and there is room to believe that the villages towards the sea were deem'd part of Rome, because 'tis said, that some of the Roman Emperors had a design of extending the walls as far as the Tuscan Sea; which is twelve or fifteen miles distant from the present city. Another way of accounting for that vast number of Roman citizens, which we find upon record in some writers, is by taking into the account all those who had the privileges of Roman citizens in the Empire; and then the highest account we meet with will not appear incredible, for the citizens of a multitude of great cities had this privilege. But to return to modern Rome; there is not above a third part of the ground within the walls built upon, but taken up with gardens and vineyards, and other void spaces; and consequently is but thinly inhabited. The natives are usually computed at 120,000. That part of the town which stands on the west side of the river, and is called Trastevere, is not above a sixth part of the whole; the course of the river through it is from north to south; it rises so high, and runs with such an impetuous torrent, at the time of the melting of the snows, or on violent rains, that the lower part of the town frequently suffers very much by inundations. There are five bridges over the river, twenty gates in the walls, and three hundred towers still remaining; the castle of St. Angelo was design'd rather as a bridle for the inhabitants, than for their defence. Rome is too large to be of any great strength, and would hardly be able to sustain a regular siege. Though the Italians

excel in architecture, they apply themselves very little to fortifications and engineering, unless the King of Sardinia, who lying next two such potent neighbours as France and the Empire, is under a necessity of fortifying his towns after a better manner. It is computed that modern Rome stands fourteen or fifteen feet higher than the old city, being built upon the ruins of the former. The ingenious Mr. ADDISON observes farther, that the violent rains, which have happen'd in so long a tract of time, must have wash'd down great part of the hills into the valleys, and very much alter'd the face of it, and that the town is much more upon a level therefore than it was formerly; what confirms this conjecture is, that the Tarpeian rock, which was once a terrible precipice, from whence malefactors were thrown, is not now above twenty feet high; but then as those parts of the town are higher which are built in the valleys, consequently those which stand upon the hills are proportionably lower. The town is generally well built, the streets strait, and adorn'd with a vast number of palaces, monasteries, and churches; of the last of which there are not less than three hundred. The triumphal arches, pillars, obelisks, statues, and fountains, all exquisite in their kind, are no small addition to its beauty. On each hand, says Dr. BURNET, as I enter'd Rome by the gate Del Populo, I observ'd a long vista of streets; but there is not a town in these parts of the world, where the churches, convents, and palaces are so noble, and the other buildings so mean. Before I give a particular account of these, I shall enquire into the character of the modern inhabitants; and, according to the last mention'd author, there is a universal civility reigns among all sorts of people at Rome, which he conceives flows in a great measure from the nature of their government, where every man being capable of all preferments, the meanest ecclesiastick may be a Cardinal, and even Pope; which makes every one behave himself towards all other persons with an exactness of respect, no man knowing what another may arrive at: but this makes professions of esteem and kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much upon them.

The politeness, affability, and officious civility, says a more modern traveller, which I experienc'd among the Romans in two journeys I made to Italy, seem'd to me charms sufficient to induce any, who have a taste for what is valuable, to come thither from all parts of the world, to view the treasures of curiosities contain'd in this city. I have here seen noblemen of the first rank, both secular and ecclesiastick, who upon hearing a traveller at their gate desirous of seeing what was in their palaces, would themselves take a pleasure in shewing them; and if they were busy, order their

CHA  
XVI.  
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nion



H A P. their domesticks to do it for them, and even leave  
 XVII. their cabinets to give them the liberty to see what  
 Pope's was worth seeing in them. But I found not at first  
 Domi- all the Italians so civil, complaisant and polite, but  
 nions. more reserv'd: they generally study a stranger's  
 humour and temper before they admit him into  
 their company and familiarity. As for the per-  
 sons of any consideration, they are ambitious of  
 passing for virtuoso's, admirers of pictures, statues,  
 musick, architecture, medals, and other pieces of  
 antiquity; and no people have more command of  
 their temper, or are more careful in avoiding to  
 give offence, or bear more before they take it,  
 especially from a stranger, than the Italians in  
 general. I shall conclude their character with a  
 passage in Misson, where he says, the people of  
 this country are not at all possessed with a spirit  
 of hatred or persecution against strangers, of what  
 religion soever: and I must do them the justice  
 to acknowledge, that in our travels through Italy,  
 and even at Rome and Loretto, we were never  
 in the least molested by those adorers of relicks  
 and images.

Rome, according to Mr. RAY, is well supplied  
 with provisions, though not so cheap as at Flo-  
 rence or Naples, which may be occasion'd by the  
 multitude of foreigners resorting to this city, who  
 seldom study frugality much in their travels.  
 Their beef is not inferiour to that in England,  
 except the flesh of the buffalo, which is only eaten  
 by the poor Jews and common people, and they  
 hunt or bait it all before they kill it. Their veal  
 is the best in Europe, and their kid and pork are  
 excellent, but the mutton is tough and dry. Tame  
 fowls are plentiful and good, as turkeys, hens,  
 capons, tame pigeons, &c. Geese indeed are  
 scarce, but wild fowl is very cheap, and that of  
 the best sort, as partridges, woodcocks, snipes, duck,  
 mallard, teal, quails, plover, larks, and all man-  
 ner of small birds; besides which, they eat several  
 sorts that we never touch here, as kites, buzzards,  
 sparrowhawks, jays, magpies, and almost every fowl  
 that flies. They are also pretty well supplied  
 with sea and river fish, but dearer than flesh.  
 The fresh-water fish are, pike, carp, tench, trout,  
 eels, barbel, chevin, and dace. Their sea-fish  
*mullus antiquorum*, now called *triglia*, and with us  
*furmullet*, *mugil* or *mullets*, *sole*, *plaice*, and  
 others of the flat kind, *hake*, *sturgeon*, *dolphin*,  
 and the *lupus marinus*, not known in England.  
 Wild boar and other venison is to be had every  
 day in the market, but their deer are not compa-  
 rable to the wild hog. Oranges and lemons are  
 cheap, but apples and pears dear, being sold by  
 weight; however, they are exceeding good.  
 The bread is good and cheap, and very light, tho'  
 made without yeast; what they use in the room  
 of it, I can't learn. And they have greater va-  
 riety of wines here than in any town in Italy, as

the Greco, Lachryma Christi, Languedoc, wine  
 of Syracuse and Augusta in Sicily, Orvietano,  
 Jenson, Monte Pulciano, Monte Fiascone, Ca-  
 stelli Romano, and Albano, the last of which is  
 most usually drank. Their wines are generally  
 sweet, and so strong-bodied that they will bear  
 half water. Their rough wines are none of them  
 so harsh as the French claret, or Florence, which  
 may also be had here, and are generally better  
 liked by foreigners than the sweet wines, which  
 are not fit to sit by. The Romans, who only  
 take a single glass now and then, or mix them with  
 water, prefer their own wines to the French; and we  
 find their antient poets very lavish in the praises  
 of them. Their olives are small, but very sweet  
 and good, as is the oil consequently that is drawn  
 from them, and eaten generally instead of butter  
 all over Italy. They have plenty of peaches, a-  
 pricots, walnuts, small nuts, almonds, chesnuts,  
 and other fruits which grow in our climate, in  
 great perfection. The water of the Tiber is thick  
 and muddy, and not fit to drink till it has stood  
 a considerable time; but they are abundantly sup-  
 plied with good water by their aqueducts, some of  
 which bring the water from fountains thirty or  
 forty miles distant from Rome, as will be ob-  
 served more particularly hereafter.

Rome affords so vast a variety of agreeable ob-  
 jects, that one knows not where to begin, much  
 less where to end, when we have enter'd upon  
 the description of them. The most valuable cu-  
 riosities however may be reduced under the fol-  
 lowing heads, viz. 1. Theatres and amphitheatres.  
 2. Pagan temples. 3. Triumphal arches. 4. Co-  
 lumns. 5. Baths. 6. Aqueducts and fountains.  
 7. Catacombs. 8. Obelisks. 9. Sepulchres. 10.  
 Cirques or Circus's. 11. Bridges. 12. Churches.  
 13. Palaces, with the statues and paintings which  
 adorn them. 14. Piazza's and squares. 15. Col-  
 leges. And, 16. Hospitals.

Of all the theatres and amphitheatres that were  
 in old Rome, there are only the ruins of three now re-  
 maining, viz. some small footsteps of the amphi-  
 theatre of STATILIUS TAURUS, near the church  
 of St. CROCE. Some part of the walls of the  
 theatre of MARCELLUS, on which the palace of  
 the Savelli stands. And part of the amphitheatre  
 of TITUS, now called the Coliseo, of which  
 there are very large ruins. It appears to have  
 been of a round form without, and of an oval fi-  
 gure within; and, as 'tis said, was capable of hold-  
 ing eighty-five thousand persons. This structure  
 was famous antiently, as well for the beauty of  
 its architecture, as the martyrdom of many thou-  
 sand Christians, who, like other condemn'd per-  
 sons, were frequently obliged to fight with wild  
 beasts here. The Romans do not seem to have  
 had certain punishments fixed for every crime,  
 but the Emperors, their Viceroy's and Judges, or-  
 der'd

CHAP.  
 XVII.  
 Pope's  
 Domi-  
 nions.

Theatres  
 and amphi-  
 theatres.



CHAP. der'd them to be put to death often in what man-  
 XVII. ner they saw fit; and upon their coming off vic-  
 Pope's torious in their combats with men or beasts, fre-  
 Domi- quently granted the prisoner his pardon. This  
 nions. probably was St. PAUL's case, who lived to tell  
 us he had fought with beasts at Ephesus.

Pagan  
 temples.

The chief pagan temples remaining, are, 1. The Pantheon, or temple of the gods, usually called the Rotunda, from its circular figure, and now dedicated to the Virgin MARY and All Saints: it is an hundred and forty-four feet in height, and as many in breadth; the roof vaulted in form of a cupola, and receives all its light from a hole in the top of it, nine feet diameter. Its portico consisted of sixteen tall pillars of speckled marble, called oriental granite, each pillar being but one stone, of which there are only now thirteen remaining: they are all of the Corinthian order, and about fifteen English feet in circumference, some a few inches more, and some less. The door is forty feet high, and about twenty-five broad, the side-posts and cross-pieces composed of five pieces of granite, and not of one, as some have related. Upon the architrave of the portico are these words, inscrib'd in large capitals, viz. *M. Agrippa L. F. Cos. Tertium fecit.* This temple was cover'd with copper, till Pope URBAN VIII remov'd it; with which he made those four admirable wreath'd pillars, which support the canopy of the high altar in St. PETER's church; and with the *clavi trabales*, or nails, which fasten'd the copper plates of the portico, and weighed two thousand eight hundred pounds, he cast a great cannon, which still remains in the castle of St. ANGELO, with this inscription, *Ex clavis trabalibus porticus Agrippæ*, and the form of one of the nails is engraven on it. The body of this temple remains intire, having only been depriv'd of its statues and some other ornaments, amongst which was the famous MINERVA of PHIDIAS. Antiently this temple was ascended by seven steps, which surrounded the whole building, and now there is a descent of eleven steps to go into it, which shows how far old Rome is buried in rubbish. In the church is the tomb of that exquisite painter and architect RAPHAEL URBIN, with the following inscription, viz.

*Hic situs est Raphael, timuit quo sospite Vincti,  
 Rerum magna parens, & moriente mori.*

2. The temple of FORTUNE, was given by PIUS IV to the Armenians, where they still celebrate divine worship. It is at present called St. MARIA ÆGYPTIACA, and is an entire piece of antiquity, surrounded with pillars of the Ionick order, mixed with the Corinthian and Dorick, which serve for a model to the modern architects.

3. The temple of the SUN, or of VESTA, CHA  
 which stands not far from the former, on the XVI  
 banks of the Tiber near the broken bridge, and Pope  
 is now a Christian church, called La Madonna Dom  
 del Sole; being a small round structure, with a nion  
 gallery of strait pillars round it, receiving the  
 light in the same manner as the Pantheon, by a  
 round hole in the top.

4. The temple of DIANA AVENTINE, now called St. SABINA, a large building, supported by twelve pillars on each side, which divide the nave from the isles.

5. The temple of HERCULES AVENTINE, now dedicated to St. ALEXIS and BONIFACE, and stands on the top of Mount Aventine.

6. The temple of JANUS, in the market for beasts, being a building exactly square, with four fronts, resembling a triumphal arch more than a temple: on each front are twelve niches for as many statues, representing the months of the year, which JANUS was held to govern.

7. The temple of CONCORD, or rather the remains of it, there being only the portico left, sustain'd by eight great marble pillars of one stone each, and standing on the ascent from the Forum Romanum to the Capitol.

8. The temple of SATURN, now a Christian church, dedicated to St. ADRIAN; the frontispiece only whereof is part of the antient temple. Here the Romans kept the Tabulæ Elephantinæ, which contain'd the names of the thirty-five tribes of the city: it stands at the foot of the Capitol near the arch of SEVERUS.

9. The temple of ANTONINE and FAUSTINA, which stands in the Forum Romanum, whereof are left good part of the walls, and the pillars of the portico, said to consist of a kind of marble, which will cleave like wood, the grain lying one way.

10. The temple of ROMULUS and REMUS, since dedicated to St. COSMO and DAMIANO, but very little of the antient temple left.

11. The temple of ISIS and SERAPIS, or of the SUN and MOON, now New St. MARY's: the small ruins of the antient temple which remain are behind the cloyster, the present church not standing exactly on the same ground.

12. The temple of PEACE, in the Campo Vaccino, begun by CLAUDIUS, and finish'd by VESPASIAN, in which were laid up the rich spoils found in SOLOMON's temple, on the taking of Jerusalem, till this city was plunder'd in its turn by ALARIC, King of the Goths. This exceeded all the other temples in Rome in its dimensions, as may still be discern'd by the vast ruins of the foundation. There is very little standing of it at present, besides part of three arches, the rest having been burnt down in the reign of COMMODUS by a fire, which, 'tis said, broke



CHAP. broke out with an earthquake; tho' there is a  
XVII. tradition which says it fell of it self, at the birth  
Pope's of our Saviour. The great marble pillar which  
Domi- stands before the church of St. MARY MAG-  
ons. GIORE, and is the largest in Rome of one entire  
stone, was taken from hence, being one of the  
eight which supported the nave or body of this  
temple.

13. The temple of JUPITER STATOR, in the Campo Vaccino, of which there now remains no more than three marble pillars, was built under the Consuls, as 'tis pretended, in compliance with a vow made by ROMULUS, who finding his troops give way in an engagement with the Sabins, promised to build a temple to the honour of JUPITER, if they stood their ground: and this temple was accordingly afterwards erected, and dedicated to JUPITER STATOR, *a stando*, from the Romans standing their ground.

14. The temple of JUPITER TONANS, or the thunderer, erected near the capitol by AUGUSTUS, 'tis said, on his being preserved from a flash of lightning which fell on his litter and kill'd his servant, of which there remains no more at present than three pillars of the Dorick order, half buried in the ruins.

15. The temple of FAUNUS, now a Christian church, call'd St. STEPHANO ROTUNDO, from its circular figure, situate on mount Celius: it is a large edifice, sustain'd by two concentrical circles of pillars, the outermost, which are forty-four in number, are the least, and the innermost are exactly half that number, and stand at the same distance from each other as those of the outer circle.

16. The temple of HERCULES CALLAICUS, now Galuzo, of a diagonal figure, the roof consisting of a cupola, little less than the Pantheon, having two doors directly opposite to each other.

17. The temple of Bacchus, now the church of St. CONSTANTIA, without the walls, of a round figure, sustain'd by twelve large pillars without, and a concentrical circle of twelve pillars of a less circumference within, containing an antient monument of porphyry, call'd the tomb of BACCHUS, which resembles a large chest, finely engraved, with branches of trees, boys treading of grapes, birds, and other animals; several parts of the roof also is beautified with bunches of grapes, and other things belonging to a vintage in Mosaick work; but the freshness of the colours, and the rudeness of the figures, have made some judicious travellers suspect that it is not of Roman workmanship.

18. Another temple of ROMULUS and REMUS, now dedicated to St. THEODORE, of a circular figure, into which there is a descent of several steps, as into the Pantheon.

The triumphal arches still remaining, are five:

1. That of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. 2. That of CHAP. CONSTANTINE the Great. 3. That in the Via XVII. Sacra, erected to the honour of VESPASIAN, Pope's and his son TITUS. 4. That of GALIENUS. Domi- And, 5. Another to the honour of SEPTIMIUS nions. SEVERUS, and his son.

1. The triumphal arch of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS stands at the foot of the capitol, being of marble, and still entire, tho' something sunk under the present surface of the ground. On each side are represented in bas-relief the victories of this Emperor; and on the inside the vault is finely wrought with flowers, of which no two are of the same shape. It was erected to the honour of SEVERUS, in memory of his Parthian conquests; but being under a great concern at the civil discords he met with on his return to Rome, he feign'd himself ill of the gout, and deputed his son to triumph in his stead. The inscription on the arch is as follows in large Roman characters, viz. IMP. CAES. LVCIOSEPTIMIO. M. FIL. SEVERO. PIO. PERTINACI. AVG. PATRI PATRIAE. PARTHICO. ARABICO ET PARTHICO ADIABENICO. PONTIFICI MAXIMO TRIBUNIC. POTES. XI COS III. PROCOS ET IMP. CAES. M. AURELIO. I. FIL. ANTONINO. AVG. PIO. FELICI TRIBUNIC. POTES VI. COS. PROCOS. P. P. OPTIMIS FORTVNATISSIMISQUE. PRINCIPIBUS. OB. REM. RESTITVTAM. IMPERIVMQVE POPVLI ROMANI PROPAGATAM. INSIGNIBUS. VIRTVTIBUS EORVM DOMI FORISQUE. S. P. Q. R.

2. CONSTANTINE's arch, which is not only the noblest in Rome, but in the whole world, according to Mr. ADDISON. It stands near the amphitheatre of NERO, and was erected by the Senate, as 'tis said, in one day's time, while the armies of CONSTANTINE and MAXENTIUS were engaged at Ponte Molle, with an intention to inscribe it to him that should come off victorious; and CONSTANTINE defeating his competitor, it was accordingly dedicated to him; being beautified with several excellent statues and bas-reliefs, relating to the most remarkable actions of his life. The statues have many of them lost their heads; which, 'tis said, the Duke of Tuscany, LAURENCE DE MEDICIS, stole and carried to Florence. The bas-reliefs on this arch are not equally fine, which makes it supposed that some of them were taken from more antient monuments to adorn this. Mr. ADDISON says, he search'd narrowly for some representation of the apparition which is said to have preceded the victory; but there are not the least traces of it to be met with; the reason whereof, he conceives, is, that the greatest part of the ornaments were taken from TRAJAN's arch, and



CHAP. set up to the new conqueror in very great haste  
XVII. by the Senate and People of Rome, who were  
Pope's then most of them heathens. There is however,  
Domi- he observes, something in the inscription which  
nions. is as old as the arch it self, which seems to hint

at the Emperor's vision, viz. IMPERATORI  
CAESARI FLAVIO CONSTANTINO MA-  
XIMO AVGVSTO QVO INSTINCTV DI-  
VINITATIS MENTIS MAGNITVDINE  
CVM EXERCITV SVO TAM DE TY-  
RANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS FAC-  
TIONE uno tempore IVSTIS REMPVBLI-  
CAM VLTVS EST ARMIS ARCV M TRI-  
VMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT S. P. Q. R.  
LIBERATORI VRBIS.

FVNDATORI QVIETIS.

3. The triumphal arch in the Via Sacra, e-  
rected in honour of VESPASIAN and his son TI-  
TUS, on their conquest of Jerusalem and Judea,  
is composed also of marble, on which is repre-  
sented VESPASIAN riding in triumph with the  
spoils of SOLOMON's temple; namely, the table  
of shew-bread, the seven golden candlesticks,  
the tables of the commandments, the trum-  
pets of the great Jubilee, and several vessels  
used by the Jews in their sacrifices. But Mr.  
ANDISON says, he was much disappointed in  
not finding the figure of the temple of Jeru-  
salem on it; tho' some are of opinion, that the  
composite pillars of this arch were made in imi-  
tation of the pillars of SOLOMON's temple, and  
observe that these are the most antient of any  
that are found of that order. The inscription on  
it is as follows, SENATVS POPVLVSQVE  
ROMANVS DIVO TITO, DIVO VESPA-  
SIANI F. VESPASIANO, AVGVSTO.

4. The arch of GALIENUS, usually call'd the  
arch of St. VITO, is of Tiburtine stone, and  
was erected in honour of the Emperor GALIE-  
NUS and SALONINA, as appears by the follow-  
ing inscription, viz. GALIENO CLEMENTIS-  
SIMO PRINCIPI CVIVS INVICTA VIR-  
TVS SOLA PIETATE SVPERATA EST  
ET SALONINAE SANCTISSIMAE. AVG.  
M. AVRELIVS VICTOR DEDICATISSI-  
MVS NVMINI MAIESTATIQUE EORVM.

5. Another arch erected to SEPTIMIUS SE-  
VERUS by the goldsmiths and graziers of the city,  
the inscription whereof differs but little from that  
on the other arch of SEPTIMIUS.

Baths.

The *Thermae*, or baths, of antient Rome, were  
esteem'd some of the most magnificent buildings  
in the city, of which there are still considerable  
ruins remaining, particularly of ANTONINE's  
bath, which lies at the foot of mount Aventine,  
and appears more like a great town than a single  
fabrick. The walls are still vastly thick and high;  
and it contain'd sixteen hundred seats of polish'd  
marble, for as many persons to sit and bathe in

separately; some of these bathing-places were CHA  
floor'd with silver, and the pipes which brought XVII  
in the water were of the same metal; the walls Pope  
being adorn'd with statues, pictures, and precious Domi  
stones. nions.

2. The baths of DIOCLESIAN, which had seats  
for three thousand people, who might bathe with-  
out seeing one another, the ruins whereof are seen  
at St. MARIA DE ANGELIS, and the Carthu-  
sian church is composed of part of this bath, par-  
ticularly eight noble marble pillars of this church,  
with their cornices of composite work, exqui-  
sitely wrought, which serve as a model of that  
order to the present architects.

3. The baths of CONSTANTINE, built before  
his conversion, which stood at the foot of Monte  
Cavallo, a third part whereof are still remaining.  
There are also some small ruins of those of NE-  
RO, near the church of St. EUSTACHIUS; of  
those of PAULUS EMILIUS near St. DOMI-  
NICK's; and of AGRIPPA's near the Pantheon.

Of columns, there are four remaining, besides Colum  
those which belong to temples. 1. The column  
of TRAJAN. 2. The column of ANTONINUS.  
3. The Columna Milliaris. And, 4. The Co-  
lumnula Rostrata.

1. The Columna Trajana, an hundred and  
twenty foot high, besides the pedestal, which is  
twelve: It is composed of twenty-four entire  
pieces of white marble, hollow within, and set  
one upon another, with little windows to let in  
the light, and is ascended by an hundred and  
twenty three steps. It is adorn'd with bas-re-  
liefs, ascending in a spiral line from the base to  
the chapter, representing the wars and memo-  
rable actions of this Prince; and serv'd also as a  
mausoleum for his ashes, which were placed in a  
golden urn on the top of it, for TRAJAN never  
lived to see this pillar, dying of the flux as he re-  
turn'd from his Parthian expedition. The statue  
of St. PETER of brass gilt, was afterwards placed  
on the top of this pillar in the room of the Urn  
by Pope SIXTUS V. The pedestal, which was  
buried in the ground, was laid open again by  
Pope PAUL III, on which is the following in-  
scription, IMP. CAESARI DIVI NERVAE F.  
NERVAE TRAIANO AVGVSTO GERMA-  
NICO DACICO PONT. MAXIMO TRIB.  
POT. XVII. IMP. VI. COS. VI. P. P. AD  
DECLARANDVM QVANTAE ALTITV-  
DINIS MONS ET LOCVS TANTIS OPERI-  
BVS SIT EGESTVS.

2. The column of ANTONINUS PIUS in the  
piazza Colonna, which is an hundred and forty-  
five feet in height, English measure, ascended by  
two hundred and six steps; and composed of  
twenty-eight entire pieces of marble, having fif-  
ty-six small windows in it. The statue of the  
Emperor was placed on the top, where that of  
St. PAUL's



CHAP. St. PAUL's brass gilt now stands : Among other  
XVII. historical pieces in bas-relief, is the figure of  
Pope's JUPITER FLUVIUS sending down rain on the  
Domini- fainting army of MARCUS AURELIUS ANTO-  
nions. NINUS, and thunderbolts on his enemies ; which,  
as Mr. ADDISON observes, is the greatest con-  
firmation imaginable of the story of the Christian  
legion. The army of ANTONINUS, it seems,  
being surrounded by the enemy, and ready to  
perish for want of water, the Christian Legion  
by their prayers obtain'd a plentiful shower of  
rain, which wonderfully refresh'd their troops,  
while the other army was destroy'd by a dreadful  
tempest of thunder and lightning ; which extra-  
ordinary event the Pagan Romans ascribed to  
JUPITER, and the Christians to our Saviour.  
The inscriptions are all modern, and three of  
them relate to the repairing the column, and de-  
dicating it to St. PAUL by SIXTUS V.

3. The Columna Rostrata, which antiently  
stood in the Forum Romanum, and was erected  
to the memory of CAIUS DULLIUS on the vic-  
tory he obtain'd over the Carthaginians at sea,  
above two hundred and fifty years before the birth  
of our Saviour, is now placed in the wall at the  
foot of the stairs ascending to the rooms of the  
capitol, and is not more than twelve foot high ;  
the antient inscription not being legible, is sup-  
plied by antiquaries.

2. The Columna Milliaria, from whence 'tis  
said the antient Romans reckon'd their miles and  
distances from the city to all parts of Italy, is re-  
moved from the Forum Romanum in the center  
of the city to the capitol. It is mark'd with the nu-  
meral letter I. as the second stone at the first mile's  
end was with II. and so on ; so that *ad secundum  
lapidem* signified one mile's distance from this pil-  
lar ; *ad tertium* two, and so on upon all the great  
roads in Italy. This column is of white marble,  
eight foot and a half high, and on the chapter there  
is a brass globe, about two foot in diameter ; but  
Mr. MISSON is of opinion, that this is not the  
pillar from whence they reckoned their miles, be-  
cause some antient writers say, it was brass gilt,  
and the names of the great roads and the distances  
of towns were engraved upon it, which they are  
not on this ; besides, as the number I. is en-  
graved upon it, he conceives it is rather one of  
those which stood upon some road a mile distant  
from the city : but I don't think it worth the  
while to take up the reader's time longer in this  
controversy, in which Mr. MISSON contradicts  
the notions of most of those travellers who have  
gone before him.

A new pil-  
lar discover'd  
of Antoninus  
Pius,  
As to the column erected before the church of  
St. MARY MAGGIORE, that has been taken  
notice of already ; but it seems there is a new  
column discover'd not many years ago, the body  
whereof between the basis and the chapter is six-

ty-seven Roman palms, and the pedestal, which CHAP.  
is one entire piece, eighteen Roman palms in XVII.  
height, (a Roman palm is about eight inches and a Pope's  
half English.) Upon one of the faces is the fol- Domi-  
lowing inscription: DIVO ANTONINO AV- nions.  
GVSTO PIO. ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS.  
ET VERVS AVGVSTI FILII. And on the  
opposite side several bas-reliefs, among which  
there is a winged genius of ANTONINUS and  
FAUSTINA deified.

There is nothing, says Dr. BURNET, that de- Aqueducts  
lights a stranger more in Rome, than to see the and foun-  
great fountains of water that are in every corner tains.  
of it. That old aqueduct which PAUL V re-  
stored, comes from a collection of sources five and  
thirty miles distant from Rome, which runs all  
the way thro' a vaulted channel, equal to a river,  
and breaks out in five several fountains, of which  
some give water above a foot square. That of  
SIXTUS V, the *aqua felice*, is brought twenty  
miles to Rome, and dischargeth a prodigious quan-  
tity of water. The glorious fountain in the Pi-  
azza Navona hath an air of greatness that sur-  
prizeth one. The fountain in the piazza de  
Spagna, those before St. PETER's and the Palazzo  
Farnese, with many others, furnish Rome so plen-  
tifully, that almost every private house hath a  
fountain which runs continually. Among the  
antient aqueducts there are only four that have  
any thing remaining of them now, viz. the Aqua  
Martia, conducted thirty-seven miles ; the Aqua  
Claudia, brought thirty-five ; the Aqua Appia,  
and the Aqua Virginis, both brought eight miles ;  
the last of which being repair'd by Pope NICHOLAS  
V, is still in use, and known by the name  
of Fonte de Trivio. There are inscriptions on  
the Porta Maggiore, shewing who built and re-  
pair'd the aqueduct call'd Aqua Claudia, in the  
following words, viz.

TIT. CLAVDIVS DRVSI. F. CAESAR.  
AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS. PONT. MAX.  
TRIBVNICA POTESTATE. XII. COS. V.  
IMPERATOR XVII. PATER PATRIAE.  
AQVAM CLAVDIAM EX FONTIBVS QVI  
VOCABANTVR CAERVLEVS ET CVR-  
TIVS, A MILLIARIO XXXV. ITEM ANIE-  
NEM NOVAM A MILLIARIO LXII. SVA  
IMPENSA IN VRBEM PERDVENDAS  
CVRAVIT.

IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVGVST.  
PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. II. IM. VI.  
COS. III. DESIG. IV. P. P. AQVAS CVR-  
TIAM ET CAERVLEAM PERDVCTAS A  
DIVO CLAVDIO, ET POSTEA INTER-  
MISSAS DILAPSASQUE PER ANNOS NO-  
VEM SVA IMPENSA VRBI RESTITVIT.

IMP.



CHAP. IMP. TIT. CAES. DIVI. F. VESPASIA-  
 XVII. NVS AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS  
 Pope's TRIBVN. POTESTATE X. IMPERATOR  
 Domi- XVII. PATER PATRIAE. CENSOR. COS.  
 nions. VIII. AQVAS CVRTIAM ET CAERVLEAM  
 PERDVCTAS A DIVO CLAVDIO. ET  
 POSTEA A DIVO VESPASIANO PATRE  
 SVO. VRBE. RESTITVTAS CVM A CA-  
 PITE AQVARVM. A SOLA VETVSTATE  
 DILAPSAE ESSENT. NOVA FORMA RE-  
 DVCENDAS SVA IMPENSA CVRAVIT.

Others relating to the Aqua Martia, are on the gate of St. LORENZO, as follow.

IMPERATOR CAESAR DIVI IVLII F.  
 AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX. MAX. CONS. XII.  
 TRIBVN. POTES. XIX. IMP. XIII. RI-  
 VOS AQVARVM OMNIVM REFECIT.

IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIVS ANTONI-  
 NVS PIVS FAELIX AVG. PARTH. MAX  
 BRIT. MAXIMVS PONTIFEX MAXIMVS  
 AQVAM MARCIAM VARIIS CASIBVS IM-  
 PEDITAM PVRGATO FONTE EXCISIS  
 ET PERFORATIS MONTIBVS RESTITV-  
 TA FORMA ADQVISITO. ETIAM FONTE  
 NOVO ANTONINIAN. IN SACRAM VR-  
 BEM SVAM PERDVCENDAM CVRAVIT.

IMP. TITVS CAESAR DIVI F. VESPA-  
 SIANVS AVG. PONTIF. MAX. TRIBV-  
 NIT. POTES. IX. IMP. XV. CENS.  
 COS. VII. DESIG. II. RIVVM AQVAE  
 MARCIAE VETVSTATE DILAPSVM RE-  
 FECIT ET AQVAM QVAE IN VSV ESSE  
 DESIDERAT REDVXIT.

Catacombs.

Among the antiquities of Rome, those which go under the name of Catacombs are not the least surprizing. These are narrow subterraneous vaults, with a variety of windings and turnings in the nature like a labyrinth, by which the suburbs of ancient Rome were in a manner undermin'd. They are generally about five feet and a half high, and wide enough for two men to go abreast, but in some places the dimensions are larger. On each side of these passages are two or three rows of Loculi, or graves, cut out of the rock, or sand (as the nature of the ground is) like troughs, each of them capable of receiving a body, and had a square stone or tile set up before the mouth of them, with an inscription shewing that some martyr or confessor, or other person, was interr'd there. In some of them are found bones, but most of them are empty, the bodies, or what remain'd of them, having been removed to several churches, and kept as reliques of martyrs; for it was generally believed in the last age, That

these caverns were dug by Christians, who in the times of persecution perform'd divine service in them: That these burying-places were peculiar to Christians, and never used by Heathens; and that a great number of saints and martyrs were interr'd here. But Dr. BURNET says, nothing seem'd more evident to him, than that these were the common burying-places of the antient Heathens; for one enters into them without the walls of the town, according to the laws of the twelve tables; tho' 'tis true, in some places they run under it, which they could not avoid before they had the use of the compass, when they were engaged far under ground: Nor is it to be conceiv'd how the Christians in the primitive times could be able to carry on such a work without the notice of their Governours, when such mountains of rubbish must have been brought out, and such a multitude of hands employ'd in it. My author also observes, that it is absurd to think they could hold their assemblies amidst the annoyance of so much corruption, for he found the steams so strong, that tho' he was as little subject to vapours as most men, yet he had all the day long after he was in them, which was not an hour, a confusion, and as it were, a boiling in his head that disorder'd him extremely; and if there is now so much stagnating air there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner, while there were vast numbers of bodies rotten in those niches. Besides, according to his calculation, the number of Christians in those days at Rome could not amount to above fifty thousand; of whom, excluding the women, old men and children, there were not more than twelve thousand fit for labour, and it is not credible that so vast a work could have been accomplish'd by them. My author acknowledges indeed, that it does not appear when these caverns were dug, but observes, that when the laws of the twelve tables were made, sepulture was in use, and Rome being grown to a vast bigness, he takes it for granted they had repositories for their dead; and none of the Roman authors mentioning any such work, he thinks it not unreasonable to imagine, that these vaults had been wrought and cut out from the first beginnings of the city, and therefore later authors had no occasion to take notice of them. And though it is certain, that burning came to be in use among the Romans again, yet they returned back to their first custom of burying bodies long before CONSTANTINE's time; so that it was not the Christian religion that produced this change. Our modern writers seem to agree, that the change was made in the times of the ANTONINES; yet there being no law made concerning it, and no mention in an age so full of writers, of any orders that were given for burying-places, it is probable

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CHAP. XVII. **Pope's** **Domi-**  
 nions. probable that the custom of burning wore out by degrees: And since we are sure that they once buried, it is more natural to think, says this writer, that the slaves and the meaner sort of people were still buried, that being a less expensive and more simple way of disposing of their bodies than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable; and if there were already burying-places prepared, it is much easier to imagine how the custom of burying grew universal, without any law made concerning it. But to return to the catacombs: Tho' the inferiour people among the Pagan Romans, and their slaves might be buried here, it is evident from the many genuine inscriptions that have been found in the catacombs, which bear the dates of the consuls, that these were also the common burying-places of the Christians of the fourth and fifth century, but this reverend Divine does not remember any of an antienter date.

The Roman Catholicks, as has been observ'd already, do not only firmly believe that the catacombs were the works of the primitive Christians, but adore the bones and ashes that are found there. They assure us also, that several of the antient Roman Bishops held their synods and resided here, administer'd the sacraments, preach'd, &c. that **LIBERIUS** baptiz'd above four thousand persons in these regions of darkness on an Easter-Sunday, and that there are several large grotto's in these burial-places adorn'd with painting and Mosaic work, which might very well serve for chapels, but that they are generally in the remotest and most intricate parts of the labyrinth, and the rubbish in many places fallen in, that travellers seldom or never visit them. While the Protestants universally maintain, that these are only the burying-places of the Roman slaves, which the Christians might afterwards apply to the same uses; but that it is impossible they could ever assemble and perform divine service in these nauseous subterranean vaults. Notwithstanding both sides seem to be very positive in their respective opinions, I believe all impartial men must say, the matter still wants to be clear'd up. If these catacombs are as old as the city, according as **Dr. BURNET** and some other Protestant writers affirm, or indeed if they were known publick burying-places for any number of years while Rome continu'd Pagan, it is very unaccountable that they should never be particularly described by any Roman writer. As for a passage or two which these gentlemen have cited in relation to the burying of their slaves, they may relate to any other common burying-place as well as these, and do not seem at all conclusive. On the other hand, how the Christians should be able to undermine almost all the suburbs of Rome, dispose of the earth that came out of these cells, con-

stantly perform their worship in them, and bury their dead, without being discover'd by one false brother, appears to me very incredible. How it came to pass afterwards that the memory of these catacombs was perfectly lost, and they should lie undiscover'd for many hundred years, is equally surprising. Surely the slaughter of the Romans must be very great, when the barbarous nations destroy'd this city, that there should be none left alive that could tell what antient Rome was; one would think that there had been a general massacre, and Italy entirely new peopled by the northern nations, or such a night of ignorance could never have over-spread the face of the country, as we find there did on the declension of the Roman Empire; which inclines me to believe, that however the modern inhabitants may have assumed the names of the antient Romans, they are really most of them of Gothick extraction; and when no other probable account could be given of the forming of these catacombs, it is no wonder to find them ascribed by a politick court to the primitive Christians, whereby they are furnish'd with an inexhaustible fund of relicks.

Of the antient tombs, or Mausolea in Rome, there are still the traces of four, viz.

1. Moles Adriani, now the castle of St. Angelo, which was the mausoleum of the Emperor **ADRIAN**, and beautified antiently with statues and marble pillars, which were taken from it to adorn some of the modern churches and palaces, after it had been defaced by the Goths; but it still retains the antient inscription, viz. **L. HÆLIO. CAES. DIVI HADRIANI AVGVST COS II. F.**

**Pope BONIFACE** converted it into a fortress, and it has been improved by succeeding Popes; **ALEXANDER VI** built a long close gallery from the palace of the Vatican to this castle, through which he might retire on any tumult or insurrection in the city. It is said to have taken the name of Angelo, from an angel that appear'd at the top of it sheathing a bloody sword, while **St. GREGORY** was conducting a procession through the streets, and praying against a raging pestilence, which had taken off a multitude of the inhabitants, but ceased from the time of this procession. In this castle is the magazine of arms, ammunition and stores of war, as well as the Pope's treasury; and here also prisoners of state are confin'd.

2. The Mausoleum of **AUGUSTUS**, which was built of white marble, of a round figure, encompass'd by three circular walls, the circumference of the outermost being the largest, and join'd to that in the middle by a circular plain, and that to the innermost by another; so that the fabrick consisted of three stories, or walks, lessening



CHAP. fening gradually as they advanc'd in height, and  
 XVII. planted with ever-greens, whose lasting verdure  
 Pope's was suppos'd to represent eternal life: it was a-  
 Domi- dorn'd also with many fine statues, pillars and  
 nions. obelisks, and stood near the church of St. ROCH,  
 whereof little more remains at present than the  
 ruins; from which however the design of the an-  
 tient structure may still be discern'd.

3. The tomb of CAIUS CESTIUS, which  
 stands in the wall near St. PAUL's gate; is a  
 square pyramid, ending in a sharp point, being  
 an hundred and twenty foot high, and ninety  
 four foot broad at the base; the body of it is of  
 brick, but cover'd over with square pieces of white  
 marble; being repair'd by ALEXANDER VII, in  
 the year 1673, and almost restored to its original  
 beauty. The entrance into this Mausoleum is by  
 a low narrow passage to the middle of the build-  
 ing, where there is a little arch'd room, nineteen  
 foot long, thirteen broad, and fourteen foot high,  
 plaister'd over with a sort of white polish'd mor-  
 tar, on which are still several pieces of painting,  
 representing women, flowers, vessels, and other  
 ornaments. The inscription on a pedestal near  
 the pyramid, on which the statue of CESTIUS is  
 suppos'd to have stood, is as follows, viz. CAIVS.  
 CESTIVS. L. PVB. F. EPVLO. TR. PL. VII.  
 VIR, EPVLONVM——OPVS ABSOLV-  
 TVM EX TESTAMENTO. DIEBVS CXXX.  
 ARBITRATV. PONTI. P. F. CLAMELAE.  
 HEREDIS. ET PROTHI L. But tho' this be  
 inscribed to CESTIUS, the general opinion is,  
 that it was the common sepulchre of the Epulo-  
 nes, who were seven in number, and to whom  
 belong'd the management of all sacrifices, feasts  
 and banquets that were celebrated in honour of  
 the Gods.

4. The tomb of METELLA, the wife of  
 CRASSUS, stands in the Via Appia near St. SE-  
 BASTIAN, being vulgarly call'd the *Capo de bove*,  
 from the heads of oxen carv'd on the walls. It  
 is a round building, form'd like an old tower, the  
 walls whereof are twenty-four foot thick. At the  
 funeral exequies of this lady were two great sacrifi-  
 ces perform'd, consisting of an hundred oxen each.

Obelisks.

Of fifty obelisks which were in antient Rome,  
 there are not more than ten or eleven yet dug out  
 of the rubbish. They were all of them brought  
 from Egypt, and are of granite, being a red and  
 white marble, so hard and durable, that it will  
 even resist the fire for a considerable time: They  
 are of a quadrangular figure, broad at the base,  
 and narrow towards the top, representing the rays  
 of the sun, ador'd by the Egyptians under the  
 name of OSIRIS, and deem'd by them the re-  
 sidence of Beings, Genius's, and the Soul of the  
 Universe. They do not terminate in a point, but  
 are a kind of obtuse pyramid.

1. The fairest obelisk now in Rome, stands in

the piazza before St. PETER's church, formerly CH.  
 dedicated to AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS, and XV  
 was brought hither from the Circus of NERO. Poi  
 It is one entire piece of granite, seventy-two foot Doi  
 high, twelve foot square at the base, and eight nio  
 at the top; and weigh'd nine hundred and fifty-  
 six thousand one hundred forty-eight pounds; and  
 is now about four thousand years old. It lay ma-  
 ny years buried in the ruins of the abovesaid Cir-  
 cus; and after it was found, its immense weight  
 deterr'd several architects from attempting to erect  
 it, till DOMINICO FONTANA, by the encou-  
 ragement of SIXTUS V, set it on a pedestal  
 thirty-eight foot in height, to the astonishment  
 of all that saw it. The Pope dedicated it to the  
 Holy Cross, as appears by the modern inscrip-  
 tions. There are no hieroglyphicks on it; but the  
 antient Roman inscription on the obelisk is in the  
 following words, viz. DIVO. CAESARI. DIVI.  
 IVLII. F. AVGVSTO. TIBERIO CAESARI.  
 DIVI AVGVSTI F. AVGVSTO SACRVM.

2. The obelisk of St. JOHN DE LATERAN  
 has three rows of hieroglyphicks on each face of  
 it, and is the largest in Rome; being an hun-  
 dred and eight feet in height, without the pede-  
 stal or cross, nine feet and a half at the base one  
 way, and eight the other. It was antiently con-  
 secrated to the sun in the city of Thebes, about  
 twelve hundred years before our Saviour; sent to  
 Rome by the son of the Emperor CONSTAN-  
 TINE, and set up in the Circus Maximus, where  
 it was found not many years since, cover'd with  
 rubbish, and broken in three pieces; cemented  
 together and erected again before the church of  
 St. JOHN DE LATERAN by the abovementioned  
 FONTANA

3. The obelisk in the piazza del Popolo, which  
 was brought from Heliopolis in Egypt by AUGU-  
 STUS, and dedicated to the sun in the Circus  
 Maximus, where it lay a long time broken in  
 pieces, and was set together, and erected again  
 in the place where it now stands by the above-  
 said FONTANA, at the expence of SIXTUS V,  
 having the following antient inscription, IMP.  
 CAESAR DIVI F. AVGVSTVS PONTIFEX  
 MAXIMVS IMP. XII. COS. XI. TRIB POT  
 XIV AEGYPTO IN POTESTATEM PO-  
 PVLI ROMANI REDACT. SOLI DONVM  
 DEDIT.

4. The obelisk near the church of St. MARIA  
 MAGGIORE was set up in the mausoleum of  
 AUGUSTUS by the Emperor CLAUDIUS. It  
 is less than any of the three former, and is with-  
 out hieroglyphicks.

5. That in the Piazza Navona was taken  
 from the Circus of CARACALLA, and set up here,  
 with four marble statues, and a fountain breaking  
 out under its base, by INNOCENT X.

6. That which stands by the Jesuits church,  
 and



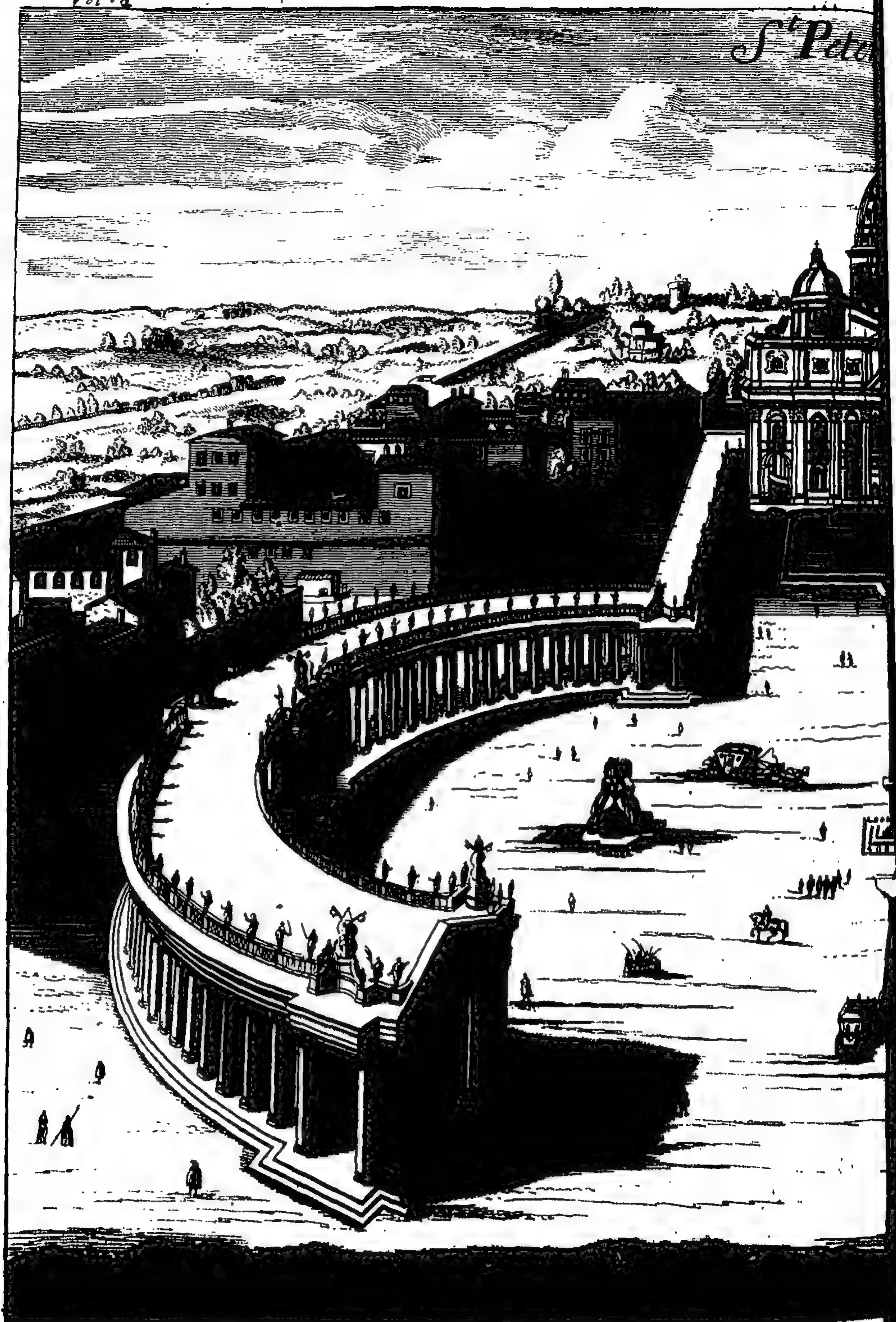




Church









Church





CHAP. and those in the gardens of MEDICIS and MAX. XVII. THO's are of a smaller size, and seem to be Pope's only the tops of obelisks broken off; but the hieroglyphicks upon them sufficiently demonstrate their antiquity. Some are of opinion, that the hieroglyphicks on these obelisks relate the memorable actions of the Egyptian Kings; others imagine they contain the secrets of their divinity, astrology, metaphysics, magick, and other sciences that were cultivated by the Egyptians; but I could never meet with any writers who pretended to decypher them, which might have been done if they made use of an alphabet, and each character had been a letter. I am inclin'd to believe therefore, that every character was a word, or syllable at least, as we find the case to be in the Chinese writing, which is possibly of an equal antiquity.

The Circi, or Cirques, were spacious structures, of an oval or semicircular figure, with large area's, where the Romans run races in chariots, or on horseback, round a Meta, which stood in the middle. There are only some small remains of that of ANTONINUS CARACALLA without the walls, and of the Circus Maximus the form may just be discern'd. Of the Circus Agonalis, now the piazza of Navona, the Circus of NERO in the Campo Vaticano, and the Circus Flaminius, no traces are left. The Circus Maximus, 'tis said, would contain an hundred and sixty thousand spectators, who might sit conveniently in the three open galleries; one of which was for the senators, a second for the gentlemen, and a third for the common people. Those two obelisks which are before the Porto del Popolo and St. JOHN de Lateran, formerly stood here, as has been intimated already.

There were antiently eight bridges over the Tiber, of which five are still left, viz. 1. Ponte di St. Angelo, formerly call'd the *Pons Ælius*, near the castle, on which are the statues of St. PETER and St. PAUL, and twelve angels holding the instruments of our Saviour's passion. 2. Ponte St. Bartolomeo, antiently *Pons Cæstius* or *Esquilinus*. 3. Ponte Sisto, heretofore *Aurelius Janiculensis*. 4. Ponte di Santa Maria, *olim Palatinus* and *Senatorijs*. And, 5. Ponte de Quatro Capi, the antient *Pons Tarpeius*, or *Fabricius*, on which there is still the following inscription, viz. L. FABRICIVS. G. F. M. CVR. VICAR. FACIENDVM CVRAVIT. Q. LEPI M. F. M. COLLIVS M. F. COS. PROBAVERVNT DD. NN. IMP. CAES. FLA. VALENTINIANVS. PIVS FAELIX MAX. VICTOR ET TRIVMPHATOR. SEMPER AVGVSTVS. PONT. MAX. GERM. MAX. ALEM. MAX. FRANC. MAX. GOTH. MAX. TRIB. POT. VII. IMP. VI. COS. II. P. PP. ET FLA. VALENS PIVS FAELIX MAX. VICTOR

AC TRIVMPH. SEMPER AVG. VI. PONT. CHAP. MAX. GERMANIC. MAX. TRIB POT. XVII. VII IMP. VII. COS. II P. PP. ET FLA. Pope's GRATIANVS. PIVS FAELIX MAX. VIC- Domi- TOR AC TRIVMPH SEMPER AVG PONT nions. MAX. TRIB. POT. III IMP II. COS PRI- MVM. P. PP. PONTEM FAELICIS. NOMINIS GRATIANI. IN VSV SENATVS AC POPVLI ROM. CONSTITVI DEDICARIQVE IVSSERVNT.

I come next to the description of the churches Churches. in Rome, of which St. PETER's, situate on the St. Peter's west side of the river in Trastevere, is the most admired both for its dimensions and architecture; and as I am speaking to Englishmen I cannot give them a juster idea of this noble fabrick, than by telling them that St. PAUL's in London is built after the same model. The length on the outside, including the portico, is seven hundred and twenty-two English feet: the length within, not taking in the portico or the thickness of the walls, is five hundred and ninety-four feet. The breadth of it from the north side of the cross to the south side, or from the north to the south door on the outside, is four hundred and ninety feet: the breadth from the north to the south door within is four hundred and thirty-eight feet; the breadth of the body of the church is eighty-six feet eight inches. The height of the body of the church is an hundred and forty-four feet. The outward circumference of the dome or cupola is six hundred and twenty feet; the diameter of the dome within, an hundred and forty-three feet. The breadth of the front of the church four hundred feet; the height from the pavement to the top of the cross which is over the ball, four hundred thirty-two feet; the diameter of the ball, eight feet four inches. The height of the statues which are on the cornice of the front, eighteen feet. The body of the church, as well as the cupola, is sustain'd by large square pillars, like those in St. PAUL's, and have the advantage of being incrustated or overlaid with marble, as well as the walls, which is however so tarnish'd by the smoke of the lamps and candles, that the plain stone of St. PAUL's looks full as well. The great altar is directly under the Cupola, being a kind of pavilion supported by four wreathed brazen pillars, adorn'd with foliages and strew'd with bees, which were the arms of Pope URBAN VIII; over every column of the altar is an angel, brass gilt, seventeen feet high, with the figures of children playing and walking on the cornice, the height of the whole being ninety feet; and about the altar are an hundred silver lamps perpetually burning. The inside of the cupola is adorn'd with Mosaick work representing paradise, the eternal Father, and many other figures; and in the corners below are the four



CHAP. XVII. Evangelists of the same work, admirably well done: on the inside of the four square pillars that support the cupola are erected gigantick statues of St. VERONICA, St. HELENA, St. LONGINUS, and St. ANDREW; and under the pedestal of each statue is an altar with a beautiful picture of each Saint. These statues and pictures are placed here in regard to certain relicks which are kept in the vestries belonging to these altars or chapels, as they are call'd; as, 1. The handkerchief which, according to tradition, St. VERONICA lent our Saviour as he was carrying his cross to mount Calvary, and still retains the print of his face. (One of these handkerchiefs the reader will remember we met with at Turin; which is the right, I shall not take upon me to determine.) 2. A piece of the real cross of Christ. 3. The top of the lance wherewith LONGINUS pierc'd our Saviour's side, sent as a present by BAJAZET Emperor of the Turks, to Pope INNOCENT VIII. And, 4. The head of St. ANDREW. Under the high altar there is a pair of stairs which leads to the chapel where, 'tis said, part of St. PETER's body is kept, and to the other holy places in the vaults of this church. An old wooden chair, supposed to be St. PETER's, enclosed in brass and supported by four Doctors of the Latin church, whose Colossian statues are of brass gilt, is not one of the least ornaments of St. PETER's; the chair with all its furniture having cost seven thousand five hundred and fifty Roman crowns. The riches and beauty of the chapels and altars round the walls of this church can never be express'd; the gilding, carving, emboss'd work, statues of brass and marble are all disposed by so wise and happy a contrivance, according to a late traveller, that the abundance does not cause the least confusion. Among other admirable pieces, the dead Christ of alabaster by MICHAEL ANGELO is said to be a stupendous work; the two wreathed pillars of alabaster brought from Jerusalem by HELEN the mother of CONSTANTINE, and erected at a side altar, are much admired; the altar-piece representing St. MICHAEL in Mosaick work shews such a vivacity of colours and exact proportions of all the parts and lineaments of the body, that it passes for a wonder of its kind; the martyrdom of St. SEBASTIAN, the visitation of the blessed Virgin, the crucifixion of St. PETER, the fall of SIMON MAGUS, and a thousand other historical pieces, are exquisite performances. There are also a great number of tombs of Popes, Cardinals, and other persons of distinction; particularly those of the Emperor OTHO II, CHARLOTTE Queen of Jerusalem, Cyprus and Armenia, and of ADRIAN IV, the only English Pope. The tomb of St. PETER serves for an altar to say mass on; the tombs of URBAN VIII, PAUL III, ALEXAN-

DER III, the Countess MATHILDA, who gave her estate to the church, are works of a finish'd beauty and magnificence: Nor does the tomb of CHRISTINA Queen of Sweden, who voluntarily abandon'd the glories of a crown for a religious retirement, fall short of the rest. I shall conclude the description of the inside of St. PETER's with the general account of it given us by DE LA MOTRAYE. It is adorn'd, says that gentleman, with above an hundred columns of the finest, and for the most part antique marble, with some of brass: twenty-nine altars exquisitely design'd; with several incomparable statues, especially the brazen ones which support St. PETER's chair: there are also two statues which adorn the glorious tomb of PAUL III, which are esteem'd some of the most valuable remains of antient Rome, especially that of the young woman representing justice. Here are also an infinite number of excellent paintings, the masterpieces of the most celebrated pencils, with several other curiosities of art and nature, which can never be too much admired or applauded for their magnificence. The sacristy of this church and that of the Pope's contain also a vast variety of sacred utensils in gold and silver enrich'd with precious stones, as crosses, shrines, chalices, pontifical tiara's, mitres, priestly habits and ornaments that are inestimable. But if we look upon the building only, exclusive of the rich materials and furniture, the church of St. PAUL's in London, according to modern travellers, is very little inferior to that of St. PETER's: Nay, there are some that say St. PAUL's is to be preferred to it; not being incumber'd with chapels on the sides, as that of St. PETER's is, which tho' they contain abundance of rich furniture and exquisite paintings, hinder and obscure the prospect of the whole. That spacious court in the front of St. PETER's indeed, surrounded by a piazza of two hundred and eighty-six fine marble columns, adorn'd with a prodigious number of statues, gives it some advantage of St. PAUL's. Here also is that obelisk already mention'd, erected by SIXTUS V, and two fine fountains playing in the middle of the area, which are no small addition to the beauty of it; from whence we ascend to a lofty portico before the church by four and twenty steps, and from this porch the church is enter'd by five doors, one of which, call'd the *Porta Sancta*, is open'd only in the jubilee year. On the other hand, as the palace of the Vatican is contiguous to St. PETER's, much of the beauty of the building is lost to those who view it on the outside. But to be a little more particular in describing the magnificent porch: In the front it is eighty-five foot high, and supported by pillars three fathoms in circumference, the vaulted roof gilded and beautified with Stucco work,



work, and on the architrave is the following inscription, viz. *In honorem principis Apostolorum Paulus Quintus Burghesius Romanus, Summus Pontifex Anno 1612.* Over the porch are the statues of our Saviour and the twelve Apostles; and in a balcony here the Popes are crown'd in the view of all the people. The two principal doors of the church are above forty foot high and cover'd with brass, on which are represented our Saviour, the Virgin MARY, the crucifixion of St. PETER, the decollation of St. PAUL, the coronation of the Emperor SIGISMUND by EUGENIUS IV, and the re-union of the Greek and Roman churches.

There is one thing related by VERYARD of this church, which I don't meet with in any other writer; and that is, that contrary to all others, it opens to the east: which was occasion'd, he apprehends, from its situation; for had it been otherwise built, the back part would have look'd towards the city. This is a fact which some who have resided at Rome could not satisfy me in; but I shall make a further enquiry into it before I leave Italy, that the reader may not remain in the same suspense I do at present. This church stands in the same place where the Emperor CONSTANTINE the Great erected one in the year 324, with the materials of the Circus built by CALIGULA and NERO, and dedicated it to the honour of St. PETER, upon a tradition that this Apostle and many other Saints suffer'd martyrdom here by the command of NERO. Here also 'tis said stood the little subterraneous chapel or oratory of CLITUS, the first Bishop of Rome, conceal'd from the Pagans till the reign of CONSTANTINE. The church built by CONSTANTINE, which was a most magnificent fabrick, falling to decay about the year 1450, Pope NICHOLAS V formed a design of rebuilding it from the ground, which his death preventing, his successor Pope JULIUS II had the honour of beginning it, the plan being laid by that famous architect BRAMANTE LAZARI, and continued by MICHAEL ANGELO under the pontificate of PAUL III, nor was it finish'd till the time of Pope PAUL V, so that it was an hundred years in compleating.

St. John de  
Lateran.

2. The church of St. JOHN DE LATERAN, tho' inferior to St. PETER in its dimensions and architecture, is indeed the metropolitan church of Rome: It was built by CONSTANTINE after his conversion to the Christian faith, and by him stiled the first or head of all the churches in the world, *Mater Orbis & Urbis*. The Emperors antiently received their crowns here: and here the Pope still takes possession of his dignity, and confers all ecclesiastical characters and orders. The fabrick of this church hath been much enlarged since the time of CONSTANTINE,

and is very beautiful. It has five doors, one of which is call'd the *Porta Sancta*, which is only open'd in the year of Jubilee, (every twenty-fifth year.) The body of the church is long and large, supported by two rows of pillars on each side; the roof is gilt, and the pavement curiously inlaid with the finest marble: The number of its precious shrines, rich ornaments and utensils are very great; but nothing is more valued on account of its holiness, than a plain tin chalice, which, 'tis said, was used by St. PETER, and a portable wooden altar, inclosed in the great one; whereupon, according to the Roman tradition, that Apostle and his immediate successors said mass. The tabernacle of the high altar is a beautiful piece; and amongst a great number of columns that are placed in the most exact order for the symmetry and construction of this church, there are twenty four of Verd Antico, and four others of hollow brass of the Corinthian order, fifteen feet high, said to be brought from Jerusalem; but according to others, were taken from the temple of JUPITER CAPITOLINUS. The little church adjoining to this, dedicated to St. JOHN Baptist, is much admir'd also on account of its fine columns, its old brazen doors, and the font, where, according to tradition, CONSTANTINE was baptiz'd. The piazza of St. John de Lateran, with the noble obelisk and fountain in the middle of it, and the fine buildings which surround the cathedral, form all together a very delightful scene.

3. The church of St. MARY MAGGIORE, tho' its dimensions are not large, is esteem'd one of the most beautiful in Rome; the body of it is supported by fine marble pillars of the Ionick order, the roof gilt, and the walls adorn'd with Mosaick work; but the greatest curiosity is the chapel of PAUL V; the altar whereof is prodigiously rich and splendid, the back of it being one entire piece of Lapis Lazuli, sixteen feet in height, and twelve in breadth, with a space in the middle containing an antient picture of the blessed Virgin, cover'd almost with jewels of an immense value, said to have been drawn by St. LUKE himself. The marble walls of the chapel are adorn'd with bas-reliefs, representing the principal actions of PAUL V, and CLEMENT VIII, whose statues are likewise here. Over against this chapel is that of SIXTUS V, the building and adorning whereof is said to have cost eight hundred thousand crowns; here also in bas-relief are represented the great actions of SIXTUS V, and in it is kept the manger, where, 'tis said, our Saviour was laid in the stable of Bethlehem.

4. The church of St. PAUL, about a mile out of the city, built by CONSTANTINE, and enlarged and beautified by several Popes, is in the form of a cross, seven hundred and eighty feet in length, and two hundred and sixty in breadth, supported by

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Pope's  
Domini-  
nions.

St. Mary  
Maggiore.

St. Paul.



CHAP. XVII. Pope's Dominions. by an hundred stately marble pillars, taken from the baths of ANTONINUS, one half of them being of striate marble, with capitals of the Corinthian order finely wrought: the high altar is a noble piece of architecture, supported by pillars of jasper, and, according to tradition, contains the cross which spoke to St. BRIDGET, with half the bodies of St. PETER and St. PAUL, the other half remaining in St. PETER's. The roof is adorn'd with mosaick work of twelve hundred years standing; as is the pavement, which passes for one of the greatest curiosities in Rome. On the altar of St. STEPHEN is a beautiful picture of the stoning of that martyr, done by that ingenious female LAVINIA FONTANA. The doors of this church are of brass, exquisitely wrought, containing several pieces of sacred history in bas-relief.

St. Laurence.

5. The church of St. LAURENCE without the walls, built also by CONSTANTINE: it is supported by thirty-two fair marble pillars, and the pavement beautified with mosaick work. The high altar is adorn'd with pillars of jasper; and under it are repositied, as 'tis said, the bodies of St. STEPHEN the Proto-Martyr, St. LAURENCE and St. JUSTIN. From this church there is a passage into the catacomb of St. CYRILLIUS.

St. Sebastian.

6. The church of St. SEBASTIAN without the walls, on the *Via Appia*, was also founded by CONSTANTINE; but it is not remarkable for any thing, unless a beautiful altar, the tomb of St. SEBASTIAN, and the print of our Saviour's foot, which, according to tradition, was left upon one of the stones that is shewn in this church, when he ascended into heaven. From hence is a passage into the catacomb of St. CALIXTUS.

St. Croce.

7. The church of St. CROCE in Gierusalemme, built also by CONSTANTINE, at the request of his mother HELENA, as 'tis said, out of the ruins of the temple of VENUS and CUPID. The most remarkable things here are, 1. The high altar. 2. The pavement of Mosaick work. 3. The roof of the choir, whereon is represented the finding of the cross by St. HELENA, which, 'tis said, was distinguish'd from those of the two thieves by sick people's being cured by the touch of it. 4. A chapel under ground, where only the Pope says mass. And, 5. Some of the pieces of silver, for which JUDAS betrayed his master. These are the seven churches usually visited by pilgrims; besides which, there are others equal to several of them; as the churches of the Jesuits, that of St. AGNES in the piazza Navona; the church dedicated to St. MARY DELLA MINERVA, and the three noble churches in the piazza del Popolo, each of them dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

Ara Cœli.

I shall conclude the description of the Roman churches with a tradition concerning that called

Ara Cœli, which stands in the place where the temple of JUPITER FERETRIUS once did. The Emperor AUGUSTUS, 'tis said, consulting the Cumean Sibyl on some future events, and amongst other questions, demanding if any one should hereafter be born greater than himself? she shewed him the Virgin MARY with our Saviour in her arms, in a circle about the sun, telling him that child should be greater; whereupon the Emperor from that day renouncing all his august titles, and owning himself a mortal man, while he was worshipped as a god by the people, erected a temple and altar in this place, calling it Ara Cœli. The most remarkable thing in this church is the tomb of St. HELENA. It belongs to the Franciscan Fryars, whose General usually resides in the adjoining convent. There are above an hundred white marble steps ascending from the street to this church.

Next to the churches their hospitals come naturally to be treated of; and these are no less than forty in number; some for the old and infirm, others for orphans, for fools and madmen, for pilgrims, for women unhappily married, for decayed gentlemen, for leud women who have left their ill courses, and a very large one for infants exposed in the streets by their wretched parents. The chief hospital is that of St. Spirito, near the Vatican, erected by INNOCENT III, above five hundred years ago, for exposed infants, on his finding great numbers of them at the bottom of the Tiber: it has been much enlarged by succeeding Popes, and appears now like a little town. Besides children, they receive here above a thousand sick and infirm persons; and have apartments for poor gentlemen, where they are treated in a better manner than in common hospitals. It is under the government of a Cardinal, who hath his palace within the walls of it. The revenues amounting to near forty thousand pounds per ann. and they have apothecaries shops well furnish'd within the house, with physicians and surgeons, who also reside here. As to the foundling children, their parents, or any other person for them, carry them to a back wall of the hospital, where a place is made to receive them, and ringing a bell, a servant comes and takes the child, asking no other question, but whether it be baptiz'd. The boys are educated by monks, and the girls by nuns, in different apartments, and are provided for when they grow up.

Every nation in Europe, where the Roman Catholick religion is professed, have their hospitals for pilgrims in this city, but this of the Trinity receives all indifferently; insomuch, that it hath lodg'd and fed at one time fifteen thousand persons, besides their ordinary quota. The manner of receiving and treating of the pilgrims is thus: every evening those who are newly arrived present themselves



H A P. selves before the officers of the house, and producing their certificates, are enter'd on the register, each person receiving a medal, or ticket of his admission: after this they are led into a large room, where a priest having read prayers, washes all their feet, and dresses such as are hurt with travelling: after which they are brought into the refectory, where having supp'd, they are shewn the common dormitory, and each man having his bed assign'd him, the priest after some short exhortations and prayers leaves them to take their rest.

be Pazzarella, or hospital for mad people, pretty much resembles Bedlam in its institution, unless it be that the charity is more extensive, and provides for persons of all countries who are disorder'd in their senses, as appears from a story related by a traveller of reputation. He says he was walking in this mad-house with another English gentleman, who had resided several years at Rome, who took that opportunity of acquainting him with an adventure of two English Quakers, who were merchants in Italy, and had learnt the language. These gentlemen, it seems, in the abundance of their zeal, look'd upon it as a meritorious undertaking to endeavour the conversion of his Holiness the Pope, and accordingly applied themselves to his domesticks for an audience; nor were they at all backward in declaring their business in their usual cant and phrases. They were laugh'd at, at first, as people that were disposed to be merry; but continuing their solicitations from day to day with great earnestness, they were at length taken for madmen, and the Pope's officers, in meer charity, sent them to Bedlam, or the Pazzarella, as 'tis called. The Governour of the house taking their zeal and unusual transports for certain symptoms of a distemper'd brain, shut them up in a dungeon, and treated them with the utmost rigour: the physicians also purg'd them off their legs, repeating and strengthening their doses, as they observ'd their flights and extasies increase; but all proving ineffectual, they were at length neglected as insatuated persons, past all cure, and permitted to walk about the house among the harmless lunatics; till the above-mention'd gentleman coming to see the hospital with some friends, and meeting these Quakers, after a little discourse with them, understanding the bottom of the matter, procur'd them to be dismissed, and sent to England; where no doubt they acquainted their friends with the success of their adventure, which probably deter'd their brethren from making any further attempts of this nature. But to return to the charitable institutions at Rome: besides many other publick hospitals, almost every company or body of artisans have their hospitals among themselves, and provide for such of the fraternity as are infirm, or otherwise distressed,

till they can procure them admission into the greater hospitals. In the church of the twelve Apostles are chosen annually, twelve noblemen, and one prelate, called their Prior, who make it their business to search every corner of the city, to find out poor men in want who are ashamed to beg, and relieve their necessities. Even the lawyers of Rome, the colleges of advocates and attorneys, 'tis said, assign one day in a week for accommodating poor men's suits, or bringing them to an issue at their own charge.

There are hospitals also founded for poor maids, who are educated and provided for till they come to women's estate, when they have their choice of a married life or a nunnery; to three hundred of whom the Pope annually distributes a purse of money, as their portion; and the Cardinals, and other charitable people do the same for others: and some Monks and Friars in the religious houses make it their business to teach grammar to the children of poor people gratis, to fit them for the university; which brings me to enquire after the education of lads in their seminaries and colleges.

The university and publick schools here, called the Sapienza, were founded by Pope EUGENIUS IV, enlarged and beautified by URBAN VIII and ALEXANDER VII. The structure is magnificent, and the schools of all the faculties extremely commodious; and there are no less than forty Professors, who have good salaries; but they have very little business since the erecting the Jesuits college, who seem to have engrossed the education of youth here, and in most Roman Catholic countries. A modern traveller relates, that at his being at Rome, all the readers of this university together, except those of law and physick, had not forty auditors, besides some strangers who accidentally came in, and whose presence seem'd very acceptable: the Professors being obliged to read lectures at their stated hours, though nobody attended them. Every nation almost has its particular seminary or college in Rome, who send their students however twice a day to the Roman college of Jesuits, which was founded for divinity, philosophy, and mathematicks by GREGORY XIII: it is a large and noble building, with a magnificent new church, esteem'd equal to any in Rome, except St. PETER'S. The English college was formerly an hospital for pilgrims of this nation, and converted into a college by GREGORY XIII. Cardinal HOWARD much enlarg'd and beautified it, and built himself a palace adjoining to it. The superiours of this college are Jesuits, but the students of the secular clergy, and seldom exceed eighteen or twenty, though the foundation be for fifty or more. Every one who is admitted to study here, after six months probation, is obliged to take a vow to enter into orders after

CHAP. XVII.  
Pope's  
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nions.



CHAP. XVII. after having compleated his studies, to serve so many years as a missionary in England, and not Pope's to enter into any order of regulars.

Domini- The palaces in Rome are very numerous, the nobility of Italy chusing to reside most part of the year in towns: and as architecture is one of their favourite amusements, and they are furnished with greater variety of rich materials from the ruins of the old city, and their own quarries, than are to be met with elsewhere; it is no wonder if the beauty of their houses in general exceeds that of other cities: for we are not to imagine but there are palaces in Europe which equal, and even surpass any that we meet with in Rome, particularly some of the French King's; and as to those of private noblemen, that of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, and some others in England, do not fall short of the best in Italy.

The Vatican.

The palace of the Vatican, near St. PETER's church at Rome, where the Pope usually resides in winter, is large and commodious, but far from a regular building. It is, according to a late writer, a heap of good pieces ill join'd together, as Princes houses generally are; advantageously situated on an eminence, to which we ascend from St. PETER's church by a good number of stairs, which lead into the great hall, or Sala Regia, where the Pope gives audience to Ambassadors; much admir'd for the exquisite paintings with which it is adorn'd, as the Pope's condemnation of heresy, his return from Avignon after he had been driven from Rome, the subdued Emperor FREDERICK's kissing his toe, St. LEO in his pontifical habit meeting ATTILA King of the Huns, the circumcision of St. PETER and the conversion of St. PAUL by MICHAEL ANGELO, the victory over the Turks at Lepanto, &c. The parts of this palace most admir'd, are the great stair-case, the apartment where the Conclave is held, the Pope's apartment on the east side, the Clementine hall, that in which they preach in Lent to the Papal family; but above all, the building which contains the Vatican library, which is so beautiful a fabrick, that, according to a late traveller, it will admit of no addition: nor is the library itself inferior to the case, being the richest in the world, both in printed books and manuscripts; and indeed, it is not a single library, but a collection of some of the best in Europe, as the Elector Palatine's, the Duke of Urbino's, &c. with nineteen hundred scarce manuscripts, presented by CHRISTINA Queen of Sweden. Dr. BURNET in his description of this library says, the case is great, but that which is lodg'd in it much greater; for here is a collection of books which fills a man's eye. There is first a great hall, and at the end of it there run two galleries, of so vast a length, that though the half of them is already furnish'd with books, yet one would

hope there is room left for more new books than the world will ever produce. When it appear'd I was come from England, says the same writer, King HENRY VIII's book of the Seven Sacraments was shewn me, with an inscription upon it with his own hand to LEO X; together with a collection of some letters which he wrote to ANNA BULLEN, of which some are English, and some are French; "I that knew his hand well, saw clearly they were no forgeries." A copy of one of these is given us by Mr. ADDISON, and is as follows:

THE cause of my writing at this time, is to hear of your health and prosperity, of which I would be as glad as in manner of my own; praying God, that it be his pleasure to send us shortly together; for I promise I long for it, howbeit, I trust it shall not be long too: and seeing my darling is absent, I can no less do than send her some flesh, prognosticating that hereafter thou must have some of mine; which if he please, I would have now. As touching your sister's mother, I have consign'd WALTER WELSH to write to my Lord MAUWRING my mind therein, whereby I trust he shall not have power to disleid her; for surely, whatever is said, it cannot so stand with his honour, but that he must needs take his natural daughter in her extreme necessity. No more to you at this time, my own darling, but that with a whistle I wish we were together one evening by the hand of yours

HENRY.

These letters are shewn to every Englishman who visits the Vatican library. The manuscripts of greatest antiquity, if they are genuine, are a VIRGIL and TERENCE above fourteen hundred years old; the gospels, written by the hand of St. CHRYSOSTOM; an antient Hebrew bible, written on pieces of parchment fasten'd together in length, and rolled up, from whence comes the word *volumen*, signifying a book. There are also several antient bibles in all the oriental languages; Chinese and Japonian books, antient Roman table-books, &c. The library, as well as the rest of the palace, is adorn'd with excellent paintings; among the rest there is a representation of all the general councils, antient libraries, and learned men, who have contributed to the advancement of arts and sciences. These paintings and inscriptions make ADAM, instructed by God, the first inventor of sciences and letters; the sons of SE'TH of astronomy; ABRAHAM the author of the Syriac and Chaldean; and MOSES of the antient Hebrew; and ESDRAS of the modern. In the same pieces Jesus Christ is represented as the sovereign teacher of the heavenly doctrine, and the Pope his Vicar,

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**CHAP. XVII.** **Pope's Domi- nions.** **Vicar, under the form of SEXTUS V, said to be the best resemblance of that Pope. And, lastly, the Emperor is represented as defender of the church and the catholick faith. In the same manner the General Councils are embellish'd with what was most remarkable in them. In the Council of Nice is represented the condemnation of ARIUS, for denying that Christ was of the same substance with the father. In that of Ephesus is the condemnation of NESTORIUS, for having separated the two natures of Christ, and denying the Virgin MARY to be the mother of God. In that of Trent the condemnation of the Lutherans and other Protestants called hereticks; and so of the rest. There are three galleries over one another in the Vatican, filled with the paintings of the greatest masters, which must not be forgot: one of them is cover'd with pieces of sacred history, done by the celebrated RAPHAEL. The chapel of SIXTUS V, adjoining to the Sala Regia, is admired for its structure, as well as a representation of the Last Judgment by MICHAEL ANGELO, held to be inimitable: the paintings in the Capella Paulina over-against it are equally admired. In another part of the palace the victory of CONSTANTINE over MAXENTIUS, the resignation and renunciation made by CONSTANTINE to St. SILVESTER by putting the plan of Rome into his hands, the coronation of CHARLEMAIN, and many other admirable pieces of painting are shewn, which would be too tedious to enumerate. From the palace strangers are led to the adjoining garden of Belvidere, so called from its delightful situation: it is divided into three parts, or rather is three entire gardens, the first travellers denominate the Privy Garden, full of pleasant walks, fountains, and cascades; and here lies the famous pine-apple of gilt brass, which antiently stood on the Moles Adriani, and contain'd the ashes of that Emperor, being three fathom in circumference; and by it are two large peacocks of the same metal, taken from the tomb of SCIPIO AFRICANUS. The second garden is remarkable for a great variety of antique statues; among which is that of LAOCOON with his two children, and serpents twining about them, of one entire piece of marble; a dying CLEOPATRA, APOLLO, PYTHIAS, VENUS coming out of a bath, with the representations of Nile and Tiber in cumbent postures, and many others, all of marble, and so exquisitely wrought, that they are esteem'd some of the best pieces of antiquity. The third enclosure is admired for its fine walks, fountains, grotto's, and exotick trees. I shall leave the palace of the Vatican with observing, that most travellers relate it contains above twelve thousand rooms, which, considering the largeness of many of them, seems incredible; I believe most of our writers take this fact from others, as little acquainted with the matter as themselves; and indeed I am so far of**

MISSON's mind, that it is not worth any man's while to number them, if he had leisure and opportunity of doing it: it is sufficient that we acknowledge it to be vastly large, and equal to the grandeur of its master, who wears the triple crown, and claims the sovereignty of all the Princes and States upon earth.

The second of the Pope's palaces is that of Monte Cavallo, or the Quirinal, situate on the Mons Quirinalis, where the Pope usually resides in the heat of summer; said to take its name from two gigantick statues of ALEXANDER with their Bucephali, erected before the gate, the works of PHIDIAS and PRAXITILES, and presented by TYRIDATES King of Armenia to NERO, according to tradition. This place, tho' much less than the Vatican, containing but seventeen hundred rooms, is fit to receive the greatest monarch in the world. Here also are an infinite number of exquisite paintings, and its furniture is answerable to the magnificence of the building: but what travellers most admire are its gardens, where the walks are planted with myrtle, laurel, and orange-trees, and adorn'd with near two hundred fountains, which continually discharge large sources of water; and here is a grotto where organs are play'd by water, accompanied with the notes of birds, which make a very agreeable harmony. Among a great number of antique statues placed here, those of APOLLO and JUPITER the Thunderer are preferred to the rest.

The third of the Pope's palaces is the Capitol, a modern structure built upon the ruins of the antient Capitol, admired for its agreeable situation and the antiquities it contains, as the two lions of Egyptian marble, which throw up vast floods of water; the two Colossus's call'd CASTOR and POLLUX, and two horses of the finest marble, with the trophies of MARIUS and TRAJAN; the equestrian statue of MARCUS AURELIUS brass gilt, with the celebrated fountain of Aqua Felice, in the middle of the square; the statue of ADRIAN, in the habit of a Priest going to sacrifice; that of FAUSTINA ANTIQUA on the stair-case, and those of JUNO and AGRIPPINA; the lion devouring a horse; the busts of TRAJAN and ANTONINUS PIUS; the brazen tables whereon the antient law is engraven in golden characters. Among the modern curiosities are the marble busts of URBAN VIII, LEO X, ALEXANDER FARNESE, and other Generals of the church; the brazen Colossus's of INNOCENT XI and SEXTUS V; the marble statue of Queen CHRISTINA, with a Latin inscription, purporting, that having triumph'd over herself, preferring a religious retirement to the throne of her ancestors, and submitted herself to the apostolick See, she ascended the Capitol, where admiring the old Roman grandeur in its majestick ruins, she conferr'd regal honours on the Senate and Consuls assembled there. The antiquities in the

The palace of Monte Cavallo or the Quirinal.

The Capitol.



CHAP. XVII. Pope's Domi-  
nions. chamber of the Festus Consulares are also much admired; the heads of **SOCRATES**, **DIOGENES**, and **PLATO**; the representation of the antient magistrates in marble, the head of **MITHRIDATES**, the statues of **SILENCE**, **CYBELE**, and **CERES**, that of **HERCULES** in brass, and that of the Courier's taking a thorn out of his foot, **ROMULUS** and **REMUS** suckled by a wolf, **HERCULES**, **BRUTUS**, and other antient heroes. Among the historical pieces in the great hall are, the rape of the Sabins, the fight between the **HORATII** and **CURATII**, **HORATIUS COCLES** defending the bridge against the army of **TARQUIN**, and the bold action of **MUTIUS SCÆVOLA**. From the Capitol strangers are led to the Tarpeian Rock, from whence traitors used to be precipitated; of whom **TITUS MANLIUS** was the first, a person who had received six crowns for having distinguish'd himself as often in his country's service, and thirty-seven rich presents as marks of the republic's gratitude and affection: he had also receiv'd three and thirty wounds in the fore-part of his body, and obtain'd the surname of **CAPITOLINUS** from his defending the Capitol against the Gauls; yet for his aspiring to the sovereignty, and endeavouring to render himself master of the city, was condemn'd to be thrown from this rock: which would not have been look'd upon as a very severe sentence, if it had been no higher than it is at this day, when travellers tell us it is but an ordinary leap; so much is the face of the ground alter'd.

The palace  
of the chan-  
cery.

The next palace I shall mention is the apostolick chancery, which, according to **DE LA MOTRAYE**, may be rank'd among the finest palaces of Rome, if we regard the regularity of its architecture, the disposition of its apartments, and the happy distribution of the paintings and statues which adorn it; of which the best judges prefer the two Christs by **RAPHAEL**, the blessed Virgin by **GUIDO RHENI**, and the **ADONIS** by **SPAGNOLETTO**. This palace was built out of the ruins of **VESPASIAN**'s amphitheatre, and the triumphal arch of **GORDIANUS**.

Of Farnese.

The palace of Farnese, belonging to the Duke of Parma, and built by Pope **PAUL III**, is a square fabrick, and one of the most magnificent in Rome, admired by travellers for the piazza and fountains before it, and for its beautiful front, an hundred and eighty foot in breadth, and ninety in height; for the statue of **HERCULES FARNESE** in the court with his club and lion's skin, that of **AUGUSTUS** in the gallery; but chiefly for that of **DIRCE** fasten'd to the horns of a bull by her hair, with the figures of the persons who bound her, endeavouring to throw both the bull and her into the sea; all as large as the life, of one entire piece of marble, even to the rope, which is admirably imitated: but 'tis scarce credible, that the Venetians

should offer the weight in gold for this piece, admitting it to be as exquisitely wrought as its greatest admirers can feign. In the hall is a fine statue of **ALEXANDER FARNESE** Duke of Parma, the King of Spain's successful General in the Netherlands, trampling upon two prostrate statues, representing Heresy and Rebellion, while he is crown'd by a Fame. All these figures are of white marble, and of one entire stone: round the hall also stand a great number of statues, representing gladiators with their swords in their hands upon their guard in various postures. The cieling of the gallery, according to **DR. BURNET**, is one of the best pieces of painting extant; and among the great number of heads of the Greek philosophers and poets that are here, the two that struck him most were those of **SOCRATES** and **HOMER**, but chiefly the former; which, as it is really antique, carries in it all the characters which **PLATO** and **XENOPHON** give of **SOCRATES**, as the flat nose, the broad face, the simplicity of look, and the mean appearance which that great philosopher made. In the library are several admirable pieces of painting, amongst which, the Last Judgment by **MICHAEL ANGELO** is one.

The palace Giustiniani near the Pantheon is held to contain the greatest number of antiquities and excellent paintings of any in Rome: one is struck, says **MOTRAYE**, at the very entrance of the court with the bas-reliefs and statues which adorn it, especially that of **MARCIANA**, representing the goddess of health, that of **SCIPIO AFRICANUS**, **CERES**, &c. and on ascending the steps to the house, one is agreeably detain'd by those of **GALIENUS**, **ANTONINUS**, **TITUS VESPASIAN**, and many more; and on the top of the steps with the busts of **AGRIPPINA**, **JUPITER**, **MAXIMILIAN**, **BERENICE** in her hair, with an excellent bas-relief of **JUPITER** sitting on mount Olympus, and drinking the milk of the goat **Amalthea** out of a horn, while a little Satyr dances and plays on an instrument before him.

The palace of Barberini alle Fontane, according to the same author, is incomparably magnificent, very large, and an invaluable treasury of antiquities, adorn'd with the finest paintings and richest furniture. The palaces of **Altieri**, **Colonna**, **Chigi**, **Mazarini**, **Pamfili**, **Altemps**, **Gai-tani**, and many others, would afford infinite satisfaction to those who are judges in architecture, sculpture, and painting; but it would be endless to enumerate all the beauties and curiosities of this nature in Rome. No city whatever, according to this writer, can shew either within its walls, or in its neighbourhood, so many fine palaces, adorn'd with so many different pieces of antiquity, and such pleasant gardens, where nature and art have

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1A P. have each of them contributed their joint endeavours to beautify and enrich them; and of which, whatever we see noble of that kind in other parts of Europe are but imitations; at least, one can no where meet with so great a number of columns, statues, and other curiosities of such different sorts of marble, as oriental, Egyptian, serpentine, gial antico, verd antico, jasper, &c. nor are there any where so many ingenious architects and carvers as in Rome and Italy, and who come so near to the perfection of the antients, and even surpass them in architecture. As for sculpture, neither the modern statuaries or engravers have been yet able to arrive at the art of giving their works so much life and spirit as the antients.

But notwithstanding all these high flights in regard to the Roman architecture, **Misson**, in one of his letters, desires his friend to lay aside that partial opinion he had entertain'd of it: the Romans, says he, have no secret knowledge, or infused gifts about this matter beyond other men. And notwithstanding all the eulogies that have been given to the palace of **Farnese**, no Prince in Europe would at this day build him a palace exactly upon that model; and to affirm there is nothing in the world comparable to it, is only the effect of a prejudiced understanding. Without going out of England I shall always be in a condition to demonstrate, that **Chatsworth** in Derbyshire is preferable to the palace of **Farnese**; and that the skilful **Mr. TAlman**, the architect of **Chatsworth**, who has made use of the knowledge of all the celebrated restorers of that art, had acquir'd a degree of capacity that exceeds perhaps that which **MICHAEL ANGELO** was master of in his time. It is not the materials of the palace of **Farnese**, which is built with brick, and plaister'd over, except the door-cases and corner-pieces; nor its three rows of windows without pillars, like an hospital; nor the disposition of the apartments, which are built now after a much more agreeable and convenient manner than can be boasted of in this, or any other Roman palace; but it is the famous antique statues, pillars, and excellent paintings, that are to be admired in and about this house, which are foreign to, and no part of it. Nor is **Misson** the only traveller who is of this opinion. The contrivance of the Romans in their palaces, says **Dr. Burnet**, is not to be admired; there are a great many things in them that offend the sight, the doors are generally mean, and the locks meaner; the floors of brick bear no proportion to the rest of the room, which creates a sensible dislike. There is indeed a great series of noble rooms one within another, of which their apartments are composed; but there is not at the end of the apartments where the bed-chamber is, such a disposition of rooms for back-stairs, dressing-rooms, closets, servants rooms, and other conveniencies,

as are necessary for accommodating an apartment; so that, notwithstanding all the riches of their palaces, it cannot be said they are well lodg'd in them. Nor are their gardens kept up as they ought: indeed no people lay out so much wealth at once as the Italians do in building and finishing their palaces and gardens, and afterwards bestow so little in preserving them. As to furniture, the publick apartments of their palaces are all cover'd with pictures, but those where they lodge are hung either with red velvet or damask, with a broad gold galoon at every breadth of the stuff, and a gold fringe at top and bottom; there is not much tapestry in Italy. But to return to their buildings; their palaces are usually built about a square court, like that of **Somerset-house**, having a piazza below, and galleries above; and sometimes a colonade and fountains before them, as well as in their courts and gardens. Give me leave to add a word or two out of the judicious **Mr. Addison**, in relation to the materials their antique pillars are composed of: Several of these pillars, says that gentleman, are certainly rated at a much lower price now than they were of old; for not to mention what a huge column of granite, serpentine, or porphyry, must have cost in the quarry, or in its carriage from Egypt to Rome, we may only consider the great difficulty of hewing it into any form, and of giving it the due turn, proportion, and polish. It is well known how these sorts of marble resist the impression of such instruments as are now in use. There is indeed a **Milanois** at Rome who works in them; but his advances are so very slow that he scarce lives by it. He shew'd me a piece of porphyry work'd into an ordinary salver, which cost him four months continual application before he could bring it into that form. The antients had probably some secret to harden the edges of their tools, without recurring to those extravagant opinions of their having an art to mollify the stone, or that it was naturally softer at its first cutting from the rock, or what is still more absurd, that it was an artificial composition, and not the natural product of mines and quarries. The most valuable pillars about Rome for the marble of which they are made, are the four columns of oriental jasper in **St. Paulina's** chapel at **St. Maria Maggiore**; two of oriental granite in **St. Pudenziana**; one of transparent oriental jasper in the Vatican library; four of nero bianco in **St. Cecilia Transtevere**; two of brocatella, and two of oriental agate in **Don Livio's** palace; two of giallo antico in **St. John de Lateran's**; and two of verdi antique in the **Villa Pamphilia**. These are all entire and solid pillars; and made of such kinds of marble as are no where to be found but among antiquities, whether it be that the veins of it are undiscover'd, or that they are quite exhausted upon

CHAP.  
XVII.  
Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.



CHAP. XVII. the antient buildings. Amongst these old pillars, there is great part of an alabaster column found in the ruins of LIVIA's portico, of the colour of fire, which is now placed over the high altar of St. DOMINION. MARIA in Campitello, having been cut in two pieces, and fixed in the shape of a cross, in a hole in the wall made on purpose to receive it; so that the light passing through it from without, makes it appear to those who are in the church like a huge transparent cross of amber. As to the workmanship of the old Roman pillars, it is observed, that the antients have not kept to the nicety of proportion, and the rules of art so much as the moderns; for which the workmen of Egypt and other nations are sometimes blamed, who sent most of the antient pillars ready shaped to Rome. Others are of opinion, that the antients knowing architecture was chiefly design'd to please the eye, only took care to avoid such disproportions, as were gross enough to be observed by the sight, without minding whether or no they approach'd to a mathematical exactness. Others again imagine it to be an effect of art, and of what the Italians call the gusto grande, rather than of any negligence in the architect; for that the antients always considered the situation of a building, whether it was high or low, in an open square or in a narrow street, and more or less deviated from the rules of art, to comply with the several distances and elevations from which their works might be viewed.

Piazza's or  
Squares.

There are also some noble piazza's in Rome, called by the French places, and by the English squares, let them be of what form they will, several of which have obelisks or pillars, and fountains in the middle of them. The chief whereof are, 1. The antient Forum Romanum, now the Campo Vaccino, where formerly stood the Rostra, made of the stems of ships. Here causes were heard, and orators harangu'd the people, and here the decrees of the Senate were publish'd. The head of CICERO, who had often honour'd this place with his eloquent orations, was set upon a pike here by the command of MARK ANTHONY, against whom it was supposed his Philippicks were written. Here also travellers are shewn the place, where, according to tradition, there was a gulph or lake, which had swallow'd up several houses, and infected the whole city with a pestilential air; which the people having long in vain endeavour'd to fill up, and consulting the oracle about it, were told nothing would avail, unless the most precious thing in Rome were thrown into it. After having cast in great quantities of silver, gold, and jewels without success, MARCUS CURTIUS, a noble Roman, imagining nothing could be more precious than the life of a young man, threw himself well armed and mounted into the pit; whereupon the gulph closed, and the contagion immediately

ceased. 2. The piazza di Pasquino, so called from an old broken statue, standing against the wall at the corner of one of the streets which opens into this square, on which are fasten'd all lampoons and libels, from thence called Pasquinades, which are answered by others fixed to an old statue, in another part of Rome, called MARPHORIO. 3. The piazza Colonna. 4. The piazza Navona. 5. The piazza Farnese. 6. The piazza de Spagna. And, 7. The piazza del Popolo; where most of the principal streets meet, before the gate del Popolo, antiently the Flaminian gate, thro' which several great roads lie to other cities of Italy. And this naturally brings me to the ancient Roman highways, the remains whereof are not the least instance of their grandeur. The chief of them were the Via Flaminia and the Via Appia; though there was scarce a single city that had not a way paved to it, on which travellers and carriages might go in the depth of winter, as well as in summer. The Via Flaminia, so called from the noble Roman who projected it, led to Ariminum, now Rimini, and was begun to be paved in the year of Rome 533. It was afterwards carried by the Emperor VESPASIAN over the Apennine, as far as the Adriatick sea; extending above two hundred miles, several other ways branching out from it. The Via Appia, so called from blind APPIUS the Senator, who directed the work, led from the Porta Capena or Appia, to Capua and Brundisium; extending three hundred and fifty miles and upwards, and was paved in the year of Rome 442, from whence also several other ways were branched out to the cities in the south-west parts of Italy. We travell'd, says Mr. RAY, a whole afternoon along the Tiber upon the Via Flaminia, which reaches quite cross Italy from Rome to Rimini: it is paved with broad flints and pebbles, having on each side a border of stone, and in that border, at every second or third pace, a stone standing above the level of the border. The Via Appia, according to Dr. BURNET, is still in a good condition in many places between Rome and Naples. This highway is twelve foot broad, all made of huge stones, most of them blue, generally a foot and a half large on all sides. The strength of this causeway appears in its long duration, for it hath lasted above eighteen hundred years, and is in most places for several miles together as entire as when it was first made: and the botches that have been made in mending such places as have been worn out by time, shews a very visible difference between the antient and modern way of paving. One thing seems strange, that the way is level with the earth on both sides; whereas so much weight as those stones carry should have sunk the ground under them by its pressure: besides, that the earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase, chiefly by the dust which the winds

CH A  
XVI  
Pope  
Dom  
nion

Roman  
highway



CHAP. winds or rains carry down from the hills, both  
XVIII. which reasons should make a more sensible difference between those ways and the soil on both  
Pope's sides, which makes me apt to believe, that antiently those ways were a little raised above the level of  
Domi- the ground, and that a course of so many ages  
nions. hath brought them to an equality. They seem chiefly design'd for those who go on foot ; for as nothing is more pleasant than to walk along them, so nothing can be more inconvenient for horses, and all sorts of carriage ; mules seem to be the only beasts of burthen that can hold out long in this road, which beat all horses after they have gone it a little while. Thus far the reverend doctor. But why these ways should be more inconvenient for wheel-carriages than the pav'd streets in London, I cannot apprehend, tho' one would not chuse to ride either on the one or the other, but to avoid deep ways.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*Contains an abstract of the history of Antient Rome.*

Italy peopled from Greece and Asia Minor.

AS sacred history informs us that paradise was seated between the Tigris and Euphrates, and that the posterity of Noah after the flood descended from the mountains of Armenia, and first planted themselves in Assyria and Mesopotamia (the present Turcomania and Diarbeck) upon the banks of those rivers ; it is observable that prophane history and tradition so far agree with the penmen of holy writ, as to make Assyria the first scene of action, and the first monarchy upon earth, from whence the rest of the world was gradually peopled. Those detachments which travelled westward, soon came to the shores of the Mediterranean, and planted colonies in the Lesser Asia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt ; and as these increased, they extended themselves to Greece, Italy, France, Spain and Africk, as far as the straits of Gibraltar upon the great Western or Atlantick Ocean. But to come to the point : As Italy lay next in their way from the Lesser Asia and Greece, we have all the reason in the world thus far to agree with the general tradition, that this country was planted by colonies from thence ; especially when we find the southern part of Italy actually called *Magna Græcia*, and the whole country sometimes so denominated from thence : and as every fiction almost hath some foundation in history, the fable of *ÆNEAS* and his Trojans settling themselves on the shores of Latium, may possibly have some mixture of truth blended with it. That there was such a people as the Trojans in the Lesser Asia, and that they were driven from thence by a confederacy of the neighbouring powers, and

afterwards planted themselves in Italy, is not in the least incredible, tho' most of the circumstances which *VIRGIL* and others have invented to cast a lustre on the Roman State, as springing from so glorious an original as they have feigned, were admitted to be false. But to proceed in the story : Pious *ÆNEAS* soon after his landing addressing himself to *LATINUS*, then King of Latium, obtain'd his only daughter *LAVINIA* in marriage, and upon the death of his father-in-law succeeded him in the kingdom, removing the seat of his government from Laurentum to Lavinium, a city he built in honour of his Queen, and dying not long after, left his petty dominions to his son *ASCANIUS*. This Prince built the city of *ALBA*, and made it the capital of his territories, which his posterity enjoy'd successively for eleven generations, till it came into the hands of *PROCAS*, who leaving two sons, viz. *NUMITOR* and *AMULIUS*, the younger found means to depose the elder brother, and in order to secure the crown to his posterity, made *RHEA SILVIA*, the only daughter of *NUMITOR*, take upon her the habit of a Vestal, and vow virginity : But *MARS*, or some other happy mortal, surprizing the fair Nun asleep, as 'tis said, made her the mother of two brave boys, who afterwards went by the names of *ROMULUS* and *RE*  
The birth of Romulus and Remus.  
*MUS*. The usurper no sooner heard of it, but he lock'd up the mother, and order'd the two infants to be exposed : whereupon the person who was entrusted with the matter left them under a tree upon the banks of the Tiber ; and being found there by *FAUSTULUS* the King's shepherd, who was not in the secret, he carried them home to his wife *FAUSTINA*, and bred them up with his own children. *FAUSTINA* having in her youth been a common prostitute, call'd in Latin *Lupa*, this 'tis said gave rise to the story of their being nurs'd and suckled by a she-wolf : tho' some still will have them to be nourish'd by a real wolf ; while others again reject the whole as a fable. But to proceed ; *ROMULUS* and *RE*  
The birth of Romulus and Remus.  
*MUS* being two enterprizing young fellows, and acquainted with their relation to old *NUMITOR* their grandfather, who had been deposed, form'd a conspiracy against *AMULIUS*, who was surprized by them, and *NUMITOR* restored to his throne ; after which they left him to reign in peace at Alba, and either built or fortified a town on the banks of the Tiber, which has ever since been known by the name of Rome, from *ROMULUS* its founder : tho' others say the town was so called long before, and that *ROMULUS* making it the seat of his residence, received his name from the town, and not the town from him. But however that matter be, the two brothers, according to tradition, falling out about the building or fortifying it, *RAMUS* had the misfortune to be



CHAP. XVIII. be kill'd in the skirmish, and left his brother ROMULUS in the sole possession of the place; whose inhabitants being for the most part a loose idle generation, who had been assembled by the two brothers, and subsisted chiefly by hunting or rapine, invited all people of the same disposition to join them, as well to defend what they had thus violently gotten from the neighbouring powers, who were exasperated at their ravages, as to enlarge their territories, which were at present too small to subsist any number of men. Historians generally ascribe several politick institutions to ROMULUS, as that he commanded that no child should be kill'd unless it was deformed; a barbarous custom then very common in Italy and Greece. That he ordered all the slaves in Rome should have their liberties, and the privileges of Citizens, from whom afterwards descended many of the best families. Nor were the most considerable of those who were made prisoners of war suffered to be sold for slaves, as was the practice of other Italian States, but enroll'd also among the number of Roman citizens, while he supplied their places in the conquer'd provinces with the poorest of his Romans, whereby he secured the obedience of the places he made himself master of. The expedient he took to provide his people with wives also, by carrying off great numbers of the Sabine virgins who were assembled to see their rural sports, must not be forgot; which perhaps was done with an intent to provoke that people to enter into a war with them, wherein they hoped to be gainers, as well as on the account of their want of women. ROMULUS is supposed to have begun his reign about the year of the world 3300, and to have reign'd thirty-seven years and some odd months, being succeeded by NUMA POMILIUS, who was a man of peace, and spent his time in reforming their barbarous customs, and the establishment of their priesthood and religious rites: and after a long reign of three and forty years, was succeeded by TULLUS HOSTILIUS, anno 3381, who regulated their military discipline, and entirely ruined the city of Alba, the mother of Rome; during which war was that memorable engagement between the three HORATII in behalf of Rome, and the three CURIATII on the side of Alba; where two of the HORATII being kill'd, the other resigning a flight separated the CURIATII, and kill'd them all one after another. HOSTILIUS, 'tis said, was kill'd by a thunderbolt after he had reign'd one and thirty years, and was succeeded by ANCUS MARCIUS, anno 3412, as guardian to the children of HOSTILIUS, but procured himself to be declared King; after which he subdued some tribes of the Latins, and incorporated them with the citizens of Rome. He was successful also against the Veientes, and extending

his conquests as far as the Tuscan sea, built the port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber; and having reign'd three and twenty years, was succeeded by TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, anno 3437, who is said to be the first of the Romans that wore a crown: he subdued part of Tuscany, beautified Rome, encreas'd the number of the Senate to an hundred, and the Roman Knights to three hundred; appointed the Fasces to be carried before the magistrates, and the ornaments and badges of the several offices, to distinguish them from the common people. In his reign the Gauls made themselves masters of that part of Italy which lies on each side of the Po, and thereupon obtain'd the name of Gallia, but at present is known by the name of Lombardy. He died in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, and was succeeded by SERVIUS TULLUS, A. M. 3475; who having had great success against the Tusci and Veientes, enlarged the city, extended the walls, number'd the citizens, took an account of their estates, and divided them into thirty tribes, levying a tax on them every five years, which he call'd *Lustrum* or *Census*. He also enacted that only the most wealthy citizens should bear arms, from whom he expected the best service, as they fought in defence of their private rights, which those who have little to lose are not very solicitous about; and this gave the Roman soldiery, 'tis said, a vast superiority over the rabble the armies of their enemies were composed of. This Prince was kill'd by TARQUIN, surnamed *the Proud*, in the forty-sixth year of his reign, who afterwards usurp'd the crown, anno 3521. TARQUIN having reign'd about four and twenty years, and committed many acts of oppression and violence, the people were so enraged against the usurper, that they took an occasion from his son SEXTUS's ravishing LUCRETIA, to drive him out of the city, and alter their form of government, electing BRUTUS and COLATINUS for their consuls or chief magistrates, the latter being the injur'd husband of LUCRETIA; so that it is computed the Kingly government lasted about two hundred and sixty years, and the Consular began about the year of the world 3545. TARQUIN the usurper had however many friends in the city, who enter'd into a conspiracy for his restoration, and amongst the rest the two sons of BRUTUS, which being timely discover'd, they were brought before the Consuls in order to be tried. BRUTUS sternly demanded of his sons what they had to say in their defence, who remaining silent, he immediately order'd them to be beheaded, and only staying to see this execution done, he left the rest of his conspirators to the mercy of his colleague; an act which has been applauded by some, as proceeding from an uncommon virtue, and censured by

Kings of Rome.

Romulus begun his reign A. M. 3300.

Numa, 3338.

Tullus Hostilius, anno 3381.

Ancus Marcius 3412.

CHAP. XVIII. Pope's Dominions.

Tarquin I. 3437.

Servius Tullus, 3475.

Tarquin II. 3521.

Consular government, 3545.



by others as the effect of a cruel and unnatural temper; and surely most men must reflect upon it with horror. Had this rigour been used in defence of a lawful Prince, or any settled government whatever, there might have been some colour for this severity; but when it was only in support of another usurpation, and to subvert the antient form of government, where could be the virtue of imbruing his hands in the blood of his own children? He could only propose to establish a new kind of tyranny; and such it seems it proved to the common people not long afterwards, much heavier than that of any of their Kings. But to proceed in the history; **TARQUIN** found many friends among the neighbouring Princes, who levied forces in his behalf, and laid siege to the city of Rome, the chief of whom was **PORSENNA**, the King of *Hetruria* or *Tuscany*, who had actually taken the place if they had not purchased their peace with a sum of money, and given hostages not to forge any arms or iron-work, but what was necessary for their husbandry. The Roman historians indeed endeavour to cover the weakness of their ancestors, and tell us that it was the courage and resolution of the Romans that induced **PORSENNA** to raise the siege, of which they give us such instances as can scarce be credited. The celebrated **COCLES**, 'tis said, when the Romans were driven back in an unfortunate sally, and the enemy upon the point of entering their gates, defended a bridge against their army by the assistance of two persons only, till his own party broke down the bridge behind him, and then throwing himself into the river, in his armour, swam over to the other side. A second instance they give is that of **MURIUS**, who intending to assassinate **PORSENNA**, and mistaking another person for him, when he was brought before the King to be examin'd, thrust his right hand into a pan of burning coals which stood ready for the sacrifice, and burnt it off, to atone for his mistake, telling him that there were hundreds in Rome that had vow'd to kill him as well as himself. At which the King was so astonish'd, that he dismiss'd him without punishment. A third instance is that of **CLELIA**, who being delivered as a hostage to the *Tuscans*, with several other noble Virgins, and obtaining leave to bathe in the *Tiber*, they all mounted on horseback and swam over to their friends, though the consul it seems sent them back to the enemies camp. But whether the Romans purchased their peace with treasure and by submitting to such ignominious terms as **PORSENNA** was pleased to impose upon them, or their obstinate courage was the principal inducement for his raising the siege, certain it is he withdrew his forces, and retired into *Tuscany*; which he had no sooner done, but the

*Sabines* and *Latins* entered into a confederacy against the Romans.

As the Consuls who presided in the Senate were annually elected, I shall not tire the reader with a dry account of every consulate, but only touch upon such remarkable occurrences as happened while this form of government continued. It appears that the *Sabines* and *Latins* in their wars with Rome were extremely weakened by their own divisions, particularly when **APPIUS CLAUDIUS** deserted to the Romans, and carried over with him five thousand families at once; soon after which, the *Latins* received a remarkable defeat from **VALERIUS PUBLICOLA**. The *Equi* and *Volsci*, the bravest of the *Latins*, still carried on the war with various success several years, but were at length entirely subdued by **LUCIUS QUINCTIUS**, the celebrated dictator, who was taken from the plow but a little before he obtain'd that signal victory. Still the *Veii*, who inhabited the capital city of *Tuscany*, contended many years with the Romans for empire; but losing several battles in the open field, and shutting themselves up within their own walls, after a siege of ten years were forced to surrender to **CAMILLUS** the Roman General. While the Romans were thus extending their conquests on one side of *Tuscany*, the *Gauls* made an irruption on the other, laying siege to the city of *Clusium*, whereupon the inhabitants sent to the Romans to interpose in their behalf. The Romans accordingly dispatch'd the three **FABII**, persons of the highest rank, to the *Gauls* as their ambassadors, who were received with all imaginable civility, but the *Gauls* could not however be prevail'd on to raise the siege. The ambassadors thereupon retiring into the town, and encouraging the besieged to make a sally, one of them was discover'd afterwards personally engaged in the action; which being look'd upon as a breach of the law of nations, was resented in such a manner by the *Gauls*, that rising from before *Clusium*, they immediately march'd towards Rome, and in their way intirely defeated the Roman army, about eleven miles from the city; which put the inhabitants into such a consternation, that most of them left the city, the rest retiring into the capitol. The *Gauls* thereupon plunder'd and set fire to the town, and having laid siege to the capitol, were very near surprising it in the night-time, but were discover'd by the noise of some geese; and the brave **MANLIUS**, who making a sally from the Fort while **CAMILLUS** attack'd them in the rear with an army of twenty thousand men, the *Gauls* were intirely defeated, and most of the stragglers cut off by the country people before they could reach their own country. This is the account most of

A.M. 3666.

the



**CHAP XVIII.** the Roman historians give of this matter : but there are others that say, when the capitol was reduced to the greatest extremity by famine, the Pope's Romans purchased their peace with a great sum of money : And as to the story of **CAMILLUS** coming to their relief just as they were telling over the money, and driving away the Gauls from before the place, this is by many writers look'd upon as a fiction. However, certain it is the Romans had a very narrow escape, and the city was so miserably demolish'd, that upon the return of the inhabitants it was proposed to remove to Veii, which was ready built and provided with all things to their hands ; but they were diverted from this design by an Omen, whereupon they applied themselves with such diligence to the rebuilding their city, that it was finished within the year. Soon after the Equi, the Volsci, and other states of Latium, entered into a new confederacy against Rome, but were defeated by **CAMILLUS**. After these the Samnites being apprehensive of the growing power of this city, enter'd into a war with the Romans, which they maintain'd with various success for fifty years, when they were entirely subdued by **PAPIRIUS CURSOR**. The city of Tarentum on the Adriatick sea, with their confederates, were the next that made trial of their strength ; who being supported by **PYRRHUS** King of Epirus, and other foreign powers, frequently defeated the Romans, and once in a general battle, when their horse were put into disorder by the elephants which **PYRRHUS** brought with him, which were the first that had been seen in Italy ; but being better provided to meet these monstrous animals in another battle, and happening to wound some of them in the beginning of the engagement, they turn'd upon their own troops and trod them down ; so that the Romans gain'd an easy victory, and by it the entire conquest of the southern part of Italy, and of all of it indeed which was not possess'd by the Gauls : and this is computed to have happen'd about four hundred and forty-seven years after the building of their city ; though some date this event the four hundred seventy-sixth year after the building of Rome, *A. M.* 3777.

Not long after the conclusion of this war upon the continent, the city of Messina in Sicily implored the assistance of the Romans against the Carthaginians, who had made themselves masters of a great part of that island ; which they afforded them so effectually, that in the space of two years the Romans retook no less than fifty cities ; and in conclusion, drove the Carthaginians quite out of Sicily ; at the same time making themselves masters of Sardinia and Corsica ; after which the Romans under the command of **REGULUS** and **MANLIUS** their consuls, transported their forces

into Africk, making that the seat of the war. **CHAP XVIII.** Whereupon the Carthaginians applied themselves to **XANTIPPUS** King of Lacedemon, for assistance, who sent them such a re-inforcement, that they defeated the Romans in a general battle, killing thirty thousand of them, and making fifteen thousand prisoners, together with **REGULUS** the consul ; but the Romans not discouraged, recruited their forces, and carried on the war in Africk with tolerable success ; and apprehending that the most effectual way to bring the Carthaginians to submission was to make themselves masters at sea, that people supporting themselves chiefly by their foreign trade, and the supplies they received from their confederates by sea ; the Romans built and mann'd out a mighty fleet, and notwithstanding they were yet but little versed in maritime affairs, entirely defeated the grand fleet of the Carthaginians, destroying above an hundred of their ships, and taking almost as many more ; in which battle thirty-two thousand of the Carthaginians were killed, and thirteen thousand made prisoners, which obliged Carthage to accept a peace on such terms as the Romans were pleased to prescribe. The Carthaginians, however, had no sooner recover'd from their consternation, but they assembled an army of an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse in Spain, under the command of the glorious **HANNIBAL**, who march'd through France into Italy, passing the mountains of the Pyrenees and Alps, which till that time were thought impassable for a body of troops ; and having defeated the Romans in four general battles, the last of which was at Cannæ, wherein no less than forty thousand of them were killed, he march'd almost to the gates of Rome ; but being unprovided for a siege, and the Carthaginians being jealous of the ambitious designs of their General, neglected to send him any recruits or supplies, till the Romans re-inforced their army, and straitned his quarters by cutting off all provisions ; so that his army was in danger of starving. In the mean time the celebrated **SCIPIO** was sent into Africa with a body of troops to make a diversion, which obliged the Carthaginians to recal their General ; and this put an end to the war in Italy. The two Generals having assembled all their troops in Africa, came to a general engagement there : After a most obstinate dispute the victory fell to the Romans, and Carthage was obliged thereupon to accept of an ignominious peace.

The Romans now making a great figure in the world, the Athenians, and several other Grecian cities that had been brought under the subjection of **PHILIP** of Macedon, implored the assistance of the Romans for the recovery of their liberties ; which they afforded the Greeks so effectually, that **PHILIP** was obliged to abandon all

The Roman's conquest of Italy, *A. M.* 3777.

First Punic war, *A. M.* 399.  
Rome 488.

From the building of Rome, *A.* 531.  
Second Punic war.



**CHAP. XVIII.** **Pope's Domi- nions.** all his conquests, and become tributary to Rome. In the mean while **HANNIBAL**, who could not bear to see the rising glory of the Romans, procured a re-inforcement from **ANTIOCHUS** King of Syria; but that Prince's Generals having been defeated by land, his fleet also, tho' commanded by **HANNIBAL** himself, was ruined by the Romans: whereupon **ANTIOCHUS** was glad to purchase his peace of this victorious nation. **PHILIP** King of Macedon dying soon after, his son **PERSEUS** confederating with the neighbouring States, who dreaded the growing power of the Romans, assembled a very numerous army, and march'd against their allies; but the consul **EMILIUS** came so seasonably to their relief, that he defeated the whole power of **PERSEUS**, and made him prisoner; and lest Carthage should recover it self, and contend with them again for empire, they laid siege to that city upon some slight pretence; and having made themselves masters of it, after three years brave defence, they levell'd it with the ground. And such a train of good fortune we find attending this people, that **ATTALUS** King of Pergamus dying without issue, left his extensive dominions, which contain'd the best part of the lesser Asia, to the Romans. They afterwards enlarged their conquests in Africa, where being opposed chiefly by King **JUGURTHA**, they defeated his forces, and brought him in triumph prisoner to Rome. The Teutones and Cimbri making incursions into Italy about the same time, they repuls'd their forces, and obliged them to retire. But after all this train of glorious success, civil wars began now to distract their Empire, **MARIUS** being at the head of one faction, and **SYLLA** of the other. But the rise of these divisions may be traced as high as the first constitution of their republick, when the nobility assuming the government, and forming an Aristocracy upon the expulsion of **TARQUIN**, grievously oppress'd the lower rank of people, who, wearied with their exactions and insolent treatment, unanimously left the city, and could not be prevail'd on to return, till the nobility, who, compos'd the Senate, consented to constitute Tribunes of the people, who might protect the commons against the encroachments of the nobility. These Tribunes, far from being contented with a power of defending their clients, insisted on a liberty of directing and controlling the Senate in almost all their acts: They extorted a law, that the Plebeians might marry with the nobility; they obliged the Senate to consent that one of the consuls should be chosen from among the Plebeians; and that no law should pass without their consent. At length they took upon them to make laws themselves, and to exercise a kind of sovereign authority. In their contentions with the Senate they seldom wanted some ambitious noble-

man to espouse their interests, who served his ends by encouraging the disaffection of the people. This was the state of Rome when **SYLLA** was constituted General against **MITHRIDATES** King of **PONTUS**, who had encroach'd upon the Roman territories in Asia and Greece, and reduced several of their towns and provinces under his obedience: for **SYLLA** had not march'd out of **ITALY** before **SULPICIUS** the Tribune, who was of a contrary faction, propos'd a law to recal **SYLLA**, and confer the command upon his antagonist **MARIUS**: of which **SYLLA** having intelligence, march'd back with his army, defeated **MARIUS** and **SULPICIUS** in a pitch'd battle, banish'd all his enemies from Rome, and then turn'd his arms against **MITHRIDATES** the common enemy, whom having defeated in two general engagements, he compell'd to beg a truce. In the mean time new consuls being chosen, **MARIUS** and his friends were recall'd from banishment; and exercised all manner of cruelties on those who were in **SYLLA**'s interest. **SYLLA** therefore, as soon as the truce with **MITHRIDATES** was sign'd, march'd back with part of his army to Rome; where **MARIUS** being dead before his arrival, he was opposed by his two sons and the consuls, who had rais'd an army against him; but these being defeated, he enter'd the city, and restored his friends to their commands; procuring himself the title of Perpetual Dictator; by which he was invested with the sovereign power, and subject to no controul from the senate or people. An authority that had never been committed to any General but for a limited time, and on some very great emergency of the State. However, having regulated the government according to his mind, he laid down his command, and retiring from business died in peace.

**MITHRIDATES** having broken the truce, and fallen upon the Roman provinces in Asia, was repuls'd by **LUCULLUS**, and both his fleet and army defeated; but **LUCULLUS** being recall'd, was succeeded in that command by **POMPEY**, who defeated another army rais'd by **MITHRIDATES**, drove him out of his dominions, and compell'd him to fly for refuge to his father-in-law **TIGRANES** King of Armenia, whither **POMPEY** following him, **TIGRANES** was so terrified at his approach, that he immediately submitted himself and his kingdom to the disposal of the Romans; on which success the Senate became apprehensive, lest **POMPEY** should entertain ambitious views; but finding him dismiss his army on his landing in Italy, and return to the city with his ordinary attendants, they received him with all imaginable expressions of joy, and decreed him a Triumph. (It was during **POMPEY**'s expedition into Armenia that **CATILINE**'s conspiracy,

**CHAP. XVIII.** **Pope's Domi- nions.**

**Catiline's conspiracy.**



CHAP.  
XVIII.  
Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.

First Tri-  
umvirate,  
R. 696.

R. 699.  
Second civil  
war, R. 703.

conspiracy was discovered.) The Roman State was at this time under the influence of three great men, namely POMPEY, CÆSAR and CRASSUS. POMPEY was most in the good graces of the Senate, and was pretty well-beloved by the soldiery; CÆSAR was the darling of the soldiers and the people, and CRASSUS had procured himself a considerable interest by his wealth. These three in the consulate of CÆSAR entered into a kind of confederacy to promote their mutual interests, and indeed to govern the State as they saw fit; from whence they obtain'd the name of the Triumvirate. And first they procured themselves the government of the three best provinces of the Empire; POMPEY had Spain conferr'd upon him; CÆSAR, Gaul; and Asia was allotted to CRASSUS. CÆSAR and CRASSUS hereupon entered upon their commands; and CRASSUS had the misfortune not long after to be kill'd in an expedition against the Parthians. CÆSAR on the other hand met with incredible success against the Gauls: but POMPEY, to maintain his authority in the Senate, chose to reside at Rome, and commit the administration of his government in Spain to a deputy. CÆSAR by his repeated victories in Gaul and Britain for nine years together, render'd himself exceeding popular, while the Senate on the other hand were so jealous of his ambitious designs, that when he petitioned for a second consulship, they commanded him to disband his army, and appear as a private person at the election; and notwithstanding CÆSAR's friends are apt to excuse his future conduct by surmising that it was not safe for him to come to Rome without a sufficient force to protect him against his great rival POMPEY, it is not to be doubted but he had long before this meditated the subversion of the State, and advancing himself to the supreme command; and if POMPEY had the same design when he return'd in triumph from the Mithridatick war, and was in the height of his glory, he certainly committed a very great oversight in disbanding his army, at least in the opinion of CÆSAR, who finding himself at the head of the best body of veteran troops in the Empire, march'd directly to Rome, in order to obtain that by force which he was never like to arrive at with the consent of the Senate, who being pretty well appriz'd of his intentions, a majority of them left the city and retired into Greece; whereupon CÆSAR enter'd Rome without opposition, and obliged those that were left behind to declare him Consul and perpetual Dictator. His next step was to fall upon POMPEY's forces in Spain, who either laying down their arms, or deserting over to him, he follow'd their General POMPEY into Greece, where he and the Senate had drawn together a very numerous army to oppose him. In the first engagement CÆSAR's

troops happen'd to be defeated; but both parties afterwards assembling their whole force upon the plains of Pharsalia, CÆSAR obtain'd a compleat victory, and pursuing Pompey to Egypt, found he had been kill'd by King PTOLEMY; after which CÆSAR having taken Alexandria, the capital city, he committed the government of Egypt to CLEOPATRA, the sister of PTOLEMY, who 'tis said had captivated the conqueror's heart; but not so fatally as afterwards she did MARK ANTHONY's, for the hero left her there, and still pursued his enemies in other parts of Africk, where he reduced SCIPIO and JUBA, the friends of the Senate; and afterwards POMPEY's two sons in Spain, in almost as short a time as he might have travell'd through those countries: so that *all opposition falling before him*, in the modern phrase, he was received at Rome with general applause; at least, in appearance, and stiled the Father of his country; for no other reason that I can learn, than the having subverted the constitution, and accomplish'd her destruction. Which the senate, who had before the sovereign authority, and were like to be the greatest sufferers by the change, were so sensible of, that notwithstanding they gratified him with all the titles and honours he could ask, before he had reign'd five months they publicly stabb'd him in the Senate; of which number were BRUTUS and CASSIUS, two of his most intimate friends. Hereupon a civil war ensued, one party espousing the interest of BRUTUS and his associates, who had kill'd the usurper, and the other pretending to revenge his death. The last were headed by MARK ANTHONY the Consul, who had no other design but to follow CÆSAR's steps, and assume the supreme command; which the Senate were so apprehensive of, that they declared him an enemy to the State, and raised an army under the command of HIRTIUS and PANSA the new Consuls, and young OCTAVIUS (CÆSAR's heir) to oppose him; but ANTHONY being defeated, they plainly shew'd they never intended that young OCTAVIUS should succeed his uncle: for they decreed BRUTUS and CASSIUS, the two heads of the conspiracy against CÆSAR, the two provinces of Syria and Macedonia, whither they had retired after CÆSAR's death, to avoid the rage of the populace. OCTAVIUS rightly judging from hence, that the Senate had no great regard to his interests, tho' they had made use of him to defeat MARK ANTHONY's ambitious designs, reconciled himself to ANTHONY, and with LEPIDUS, another General in the army, form'd a second Triumvirate; and OCTAVIUS returning to Rome, by their united interest was chosen Consul, tho' under twenty years of age. All the members of the Senate whom they suspected to be in a different interest were banished: and they after-

Pompey  
kill'd,  
705.

Cæsar kill'd,  
R. 707.

Second  
Triumvirate,  
R. 713.



**CHAP. XVIII.** afterwards procured a law, that all who were concern'd in the death of CÆSAR should be proclaim'd enemies to the common-wealth; and an army being assembled under the command of OCTAVIUS and ANTHONY, they march'd into Macedonia, and defeated BRUTUS and CASSIUS at Philippi; who finding victory declare against them, kill'd themselves with their own hands. The Roman affairs continued to be managed by the Triumviri for ten years after this battle, when LEPIDUS attempting to render himself independent of his colleagues in Sicily, was defeated by OCTAVIUS, and compell'd to relinquish his share in the government. Not long after there happen'd a misunderstanding between the other two; whereupon OCTAVIUS procured ANTHONY to be declared an enemy to the State, and having defeated him by sea and land, and reduced him to that despair, that he laid violent hands upon himself, OCTAVIUS assumed the supreme command, as his uncle JULIUS had done before him; but by his prudent and cunning behaviour so gain'd upon the affections of the Senate and people, that he had much fewer enemies. He even rejected the titles of King and Dictator, which he observed the people had a particular aversion to, tho' he render'd himself as arbitrary as his predecessor. His long reign of forty years, and his successes in Aquitania, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Illyricum and Germany, very much contributed to the establishment of the Empire.

**TIBERIUS**, who succeeded AUGUSTUS, prov'd an indolent Prince, famous, or infamous rather, for his retirement to the island of Capreæ, on the Neapolitan coast, where he led a most voluptuous life, abandoning the affairs of the Empire to that degree that he neglected to send Governours to Spain and Syria for several years, and suffer'd the frontier provinces to be insulted and over-run by the barbarous nations.

**CALIGULA**, his successor, was equally effeminate and cruel, and is taken notice of only for a mock expedition against Britain, when being arrived on the opposite shore, instead of imbarcking his troops, he order'd them to fill their helmets with cockle-shells, which he call'd the spoils of the Ocean; and returning to Rome, demanded a triumph for this glorious success; which being denied him, he became so monstrously cruel, that his own servants kill'd him, in the fourth year of his reign. Whereupon the Senate were about to return to their antient form of government; but the army set up **CLAUDIUS**, the uncle of **CALIGULA**, for their Emperor, and compell'd the Senate to confirm their election. The conquest of Britain was the most memorable occurrence of this reign. The cruelty of **NERO's** reign was insufferable, which continued however fourteen years; when to avoid the resentment of the

people, he chose to die by his own hands; and **CHAP. XVIII.** was succeeded by **GALBA**, who is said to have restored their martial discipline; but was murdered by **OTHO**, after a reign of some few months. **VITELLIUS** being proclaimed Emperor by the German army, disputed the title with **OTHO**, who despairing of success, kill'd himself before his affairs became desperate. **VITELLIUS** being detested of all mankind for his cruelties and voluptuous life, after a reign of eight months, was torn in pieces by his soldiers, and **VESPASIAN** proclaim'd Emperor by the provincial armies in his room; who reform'd the abuses of the State, added several provinces to the Roman Empire, and after a glorious reign was succeeded in the Empire by his son **TITUS**, stiled, The Delight of Mankind, who after a short reign of three years was succeeded by his brother **DOMITIAN**, a Prince fortunate in his wars, but guilty of such acts of cruelty, that he was murdered by his nearest relations; and so detested by the Senate, that they pull'd down his statues, and razed out all the pompous inscriptions his creatures had set up, who had flattered him with divine attributes. And this was the last of the blood of the Cæsars. Upon the death of **DOMITIAN** the Senate elected **NERVA**, an old General, who commanded the army in Gaul, who answered their expectations in the justice and prudence of his administration; but dying within two years, was succeeded by **TRAJAN** his adopted son, who is esteemed equal to any of the Roman Emperors. He mightily extended the limits of the Empire, reducing into the form of provinces the large countries of Dacia, Assyria, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Arabia. He is still more admired for his conduct in times of peace, and his prudent administration of the civil government; for his justice, liberality, and other virtues that adorn a throne. This Prince, after a reign of about twenty years, was succeeded by his adopted son **ADRIAN**, or **HADRIAN**, originally a Spaniard; he was more remarkable for his learning than martial exploits, though it is said he visited Britain, and the remotest part of the Empire in person, and built a wall between Newcastle and Carlisle, to keep the Scots within their bounds. After a reign of near twenty years he was succeeded by **ANTONINUS PIUS**, his adopted son, who was esteem'd for the excellency of his morals, and the sweetness of his temper. He was of a peaceable disposition, and applied himself more to the reforming abuses in the State, and to see justice duly administred, than in extending the bounds of the Empire. He died in the twenty-third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his adopted son **MARCUS AURELIUS**, who associated with him in the Empire **LUCIUS ÆLIUS VERUS**; he is remarkable for his extraordinary learning and profession

Galba, 68.  
Otho, 69.  
Vitellius, 69.

Vespasian, 69.

Titus, 79.  
Domitian, the last of the Cæsars, 81.

Nerva, 96.

Trajan, 98.

Adrian, 117.

Antoninus Pius, 138.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, 161.



CHA P. profession of the Stoick philosophy, from whence XVIII. he obtain'd the name of *The Philosopher*; he was Pope's also successful in his wars. It was in one of his Domi- expeditions that the Christian Legion is said to nions. have gain'd him a compleat victory by their prayers, and a plentiful rain when his army was on the point of perishing by thirst. His associate LUCIUS dying not long after him, his son COMMODUS, who was as remarkable for his vices and extravagance as his father was for his virtues, succeeded to the Empire; and after a reign of twelve years, was murdered by one of his mistresses, who suspected he had the same design against her. PERTINAX, a General of sixty years of age, was on the death of COMMODUS elected Emperor by the soldiers; a man of mean extraction, who had raised himself by his merit, and endeavouring to reform some abuses in the discipline of the army, was murder'd by the Prætorian guards in his palace, before he had reign'd three months; after which the army plainly put up the Empire to sale, and elected DIDIUS JULIAN, who happened to be the highest bidder: but he being unequal to so great a trust, and the Senate setting up SEVERUS against him, he retain'd the title of Emperor not above two months. SEVERUS revived and improved their military discipline, was successful against the Parthians, and defended the Britains against the incursions of the Picts and Scots. He died at York in the eighteenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his two sons, CARACALLA and GETA: CARACALLA soon afterwards murder'd his brother GETA, and became one of the greatest debauchees and tyrants that ever reign'd. He was murder'd by a Captain of his guards after a reign of six or seven years, and succeeded by OPILIUS MACRINUS; who abandoning himself to a voluptuous life, was murdered also by the soldiers in the second year of his reign. To whom succeeded HELIOGABALUS, a bastard son of the Emperor CARACALLA; one of the most cruel and voluptuous of the Roman Emperors; who after a whimsical and extravagant reign of two or three years, was murder'd by his soldiers. To whom succeeded his adopted son ALEXANDER SEVERUS, who restor'd justice and discipline in the Empire, and was successful in his expeditions against the Persians; but was notwithstanding murdered by the soldiers in the fourteenth year of his reign.

MAXIMINUS CAIUS JULIUS succeeded SEVERUS, being elected by the army, who admired his prodigious strength; for he was a monster of a man, above eight foot high, and every way proportionable. He was at first but a common soldier, and a Goth by extraction, and being opposed by the Senate, he became exceeding barbarous and cruel: he march'd into Italy to revenge

himself of his enemies, but laying siege to Aquileia, which made an obstinate defence, he was murdered by the soldiers, together with his son, whom he had associated with him in the government in the second year of his reign, before he had seen Rome. PAPIENUS and BALBINUS were thereupon elected by the Senate, Princes of great merit, but murdered within the year by the soldiers, because they had no share in the election. GORDIANUS, a General of a good family and sufficient merit, was elected by part of the African Legions, being at that time fourscore years of age, and their choice was confirm'd by the Senate; but another part of the army opposing him, and defeating his son, who was kill'd in the field of battle, he laid violent hands upon himself, and was succeeded by GORDIANUS junior, his grand-son. This young Prince was esteem'd a good Governour, but making PHILIP the Arabian his partner in the Empire, was treacherously murdered by his procurement in the seventh year of his reign; and PHILIP and his son, whom he associated with him, were also both of them murdered before they had enjoy'd the fruits of their treachery much above four years. DECIUS was next advanced to the Empire by the Legions, and had at first good success against the Scythians, but was kill'd in an engagement with them in the second year of his reign. GALLUS, the General of his army, was next elected by the army, and confirm'd by the Senate; he meanly consented to pay an annual tribute to the Goths or Scythians, whereupon he was murdered by those who advanc'd him, in the second year of his reign. EMILIANUS, another General, was elected in his stead; who defeated the Scythians, making a terrible slaughter of them; but VALERIAN setting up against him, he was kill'd by his soldiers, to prevent a civil war. VALERIAN being betray'd by MACRINUS his General, in an expedition against the Persians, was taken prisoner by King SAPOR, who used him as a footstool to mount his horse, and afterwards flea'd him alive. His son GALIENUS succeeded him, but was such an indolent voluptuous Prince, that he became the contempt of mankind, and gave occasion to no less than thirty tyrants, as they were call'd, to usurp the sovereign authority in several parts of the Empire, whom he at length however suppress'd, but lost many of the frontier provinces to the Goths and Germans, against whom CLAUDIUS II conspiring, he was murdered with his brothers and children, and CLAUDIUS advanced to the Imperial purple, who clear'd the Empire of the Barbarians, and made an excellent Prince; but died in the second year of his reign. AURELIANUS, who from a private man by his merit had obtained the highest posts in the army,

was



CHAP. XVIII. Pope's Domi-  
nions. was next elected by the soldiers, and approved by the Senate and People. He was successful in his wars against the Barbarians, conquer'd the famous ZENOBI, Queen of the East, as she stiled herself, and took her capital city Palmyra. He was murder'd in the seventh year of his reign, in an expedition against the Persians, by the treachery of his Captains, being succeeded by TACITUS, who was elected by the Senate. He was admired for his moderation and justice, but cut off by the soldiers before he had reigned seven months. PROBUS, who raised himself by his merit from a gardener to the chief commands in the army, was elected on the death of TACITUS. He had great success against the Germans, Goths, Sarmatians, and Persians, but was murdered by his soldiers in an expedition to Persia, in the seventh year of his reign. CARUS, who succeeded him, carried on the war with success in Persia, and was found dead in his tent in the second year of his reign, supposed to have been killed by a storm of thunder and lightning. His two sons CARINUS and NUMERIAN, whom he had associated with him in the Empire, enjoyed the sovereign power some time after; but one of them being killed, the other gave way to the fortunate DIOCLESIAN, the most successful of the later Emperors, especially in Egypt, Persia, and Armenia. He raised a very severe persecution against the Christians, which was the tenth and last; and for which they seem to bear hard upon his memory, making him a devil incarnate in the latter part of his reign, which continued about twenty years. CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS succeeded him, and was successful in his wars against the Germans, having GALERIUS for his colleague. He died in peace at York in the second or third year of his reign, and was succeeded by his son CONSTANTINE the Great. As to MAXIMIAN and SEVERUS, whom DIOCLESIAN associated with him in the Empire, I meet with nothing remarkable concerning them.

Constantine 306. CONSTANTINE the Great, the son of CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS and HELENA, succeeded his father in the year 306, being with him at York when he died. But notwithstanding he was proclaimed Emperor by the army in Britain, the Pretorian guards at Rome set up MAXENTIUS the son of MAXIMIAN. CONSTANTINE, to avoid a civil war, proposed to associate MAXENTIUS with him in the government; which being refused, CONSTANTINE marched with his army towards Italy, and while he was preparing to pass the Alps, 'tis said he was favoured with the vision of a shining cross in the air, and an inscription under it, that *in that sign he should overcome*, whereupon he order'd the cross to be work'd in his standards. CONSTANTINE having passed the Alps, defeated the troops of MAXENTIUS in se-

veral engagements; but the great and decisive battle was fought at Ponte Molle, within a mile of Rome; and while the victory was in suspense, the Senate caused that noble triumphal arch, of which there are still such large remains, to be erected, designing to dedicate it to the honour of the conqueror, let the victory fall on which side it would; and MAXENTIUS happening to be defeated and drowned in the Tiber, his rival enter'd the city in triumph on the twenty-fourth of September, 312, about six years after his election in Britain; and immediately published several edicts in favour of the Christians, having himself been initiated in the principles of that religion by his mother HELENA in his youth, though he was under a necessity of disguising his opinion for a considerable time. He erected several magnificent churches in Rome, and settled lands and revenues on the Bishops and clergy; and on his removing the seat of the Empire to Constantinople, 'tis said, conferred the city of Rome, and a considerable territory in Italy, on SYLVESTER, the Pope or Bishop of that See, and his successors. He died in peace, after having reigned thirty, and as some say, forty years, reckoning from the death of his father, and left his Empire among his three sons, viz. CONSTANTINE, CONSTANTIUS, and CONSTANS. To CONSTANTINE's share fell Gaul, Spain, and Britain; to CONSTANS Italy, Illyricum, and Africa; and to CONSTANTIUS Greece, Thrace, Egypt, and all the eastern provinces. CONSTANTINE not being content with his share, and attempting to dispossess his brother CONSTANS of his part, was defeated and killed at Aquileia, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the third of his reign. CONSTANS was killed by MAGNENTIUS, who usurped his part of the Empire in the thirteenth year of his reign; whereupon CONSTANTIUS remained the sole Emperor, and died on his march against MAGNENTIUS the usurper in the forty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign. JULIAN, the nephew of Julian, 361. CONSTANTINE the Great succeeded him, and endeavouring to restore paganism, is generally stiled the Apostate. He was successful in his wars with the Persians, but mortally wounded in the last engagement with them in the second year of his reign: whereupon JOVIAN was elected by the army, and declared himself a Christian, but died in the eighth month of his reign; being succeeded by VALENTINIAN the son of a rope-maker, who had raised himself in the army by his merit, and proved an excellent Prince. He assigned the eastern part of the Empire to his brother VALENS, and governed the west in person: he died in the twelfth year of his reign, and was succeeded by VALENS and GRATIAN. VALENS dying, GRATIAN associated THEODOSIUS with him in the Empire, who succeeded to it after his death. 372.

CHAP. XVIII. Pope's Domi-  
nions.

Constantine II, Constantius, and Constans, 337.

Valentinian, 364.

Valens and Gratian, 372. Theodosius the Great, his death.



CHAP. his death. THEODOSIUS the Great was a na-  
 XVIII. tive of Spain, he answer'd the expectation the  
 Pope's world had conceived of him, and became a suc-  
 Domi- cessful defender of the Empire against the barba-  
 nions. rous nations in its declining state. He died in the  
 sixteenth year of his reign, leaving the Empire of  
 the east to his son ARCADIVS, and that of the  
 west to his son HONORIUS. Under this Prince  
 the state of the western Empire became desperate  
 again, the barbarous nations attacking it on all  
 sides. ALARICK, King of the Goths, having  
 ravaged the greatest part of Italy, set fire to Rome  
 itself, and plunder'd the city, while the Emperor  
 remained at Ravenna, unable to relieve it. VA-  
 LENTINIAN III succeeded him; in whose time  
 ATTILA the Hun invaded Italy, and was re-  
 pulsed by the Roman General ÆRIUS; but the  
 Emperor having put ÆRIUS to death, the bar-  
 barous nations carried all before them, while  
 MAXIMUS, in order to mount the throne, pro-  
 cured the murder of VALENTINIAN, and com-  
 pelled his widow EUDOXIA to marry him; at  
 which she was so exasperated, that she invited  
 GENSERICK the Vandal into Italy, to deliver  
 herself and the miserable inhabitants from his op-  
 pressions: but GENSERICK, contrary to his oath  
 and promise, bringing a prodigious army with  
 him, plundered the city of Rome, and carried  
 many thousands of the inhabitants slaves to Africk.  
 AVITUS, the General in Gaul, next assumed  
 the title of Emperor, which he was forced to re-  
 sign within eight months. To whom succeeded  
 MAJORIANUS, a warlike Prince, who had some  
 success against the Goths and Vandals, but was  
 deposed and murdered by his General RICIMIR,  
 in the fourth year of his reign, though others say  
 he had the good fortune to die a natural death.  
 To whom SEVERUS, and then ANTHEMIUS  
 succeeded, who were both deposed and murdered  
 also by RICIMIR. OLYBRIUS was afterwards  
 sent from Constantinople with Imperial power,  
 but died within seven months. After whom GLY-  
 CERIVS was elected by the soldiers, but deposed  
 by JULIUS NEPOS in the second year of his  
 reign, and afterwards made Bishop of Salona.  
 NEPOS, who succeeded him, was also soon after  
 deposed by ORESTES the General, who left the  
 Empire to his son AUGUSTULUS: but ODOACER,  
 King of the Heruli, a people near the mouth of  
 the Danube, deposed him in the first year of his  
 reign, and put a period to the Roman Empire in  
 the west, about the year of our Lord 475.

THEODORICK, King of the Eastern or Ostro-  
 goths, who inhabited Dacia and Mæsia (the pre-  
 sent Servia, Bulgaria, Walachia, and Moldavia)  
 having been serviceable to the eastern Emperor  
 ZENO in suppressing a rebellion, had his statue  
 erected in Constantinople, and being a Christian,  
 was adopted the Emperor's son. This Prince the

Emperor prevail'd with to march his army into  
 Italy against ODOACER, about the year 491, who  
 having defeated him in several engagements, it  
 was agreed at a treaty to share Italy between them:  
 but there afterwards happening to be a misunder-  
 standing between these two Princes, and a war  
 following thereupon, ODOACER was defeated and  
 killed; whereupon THEODORICK became sole  
 Sovereign of Italy, and dying in the thirty-fourth  
 year of his reign, left the kingdom to his grand-  
 son ATHALRICK an infant, under the guardian-  
 ship of his mother AMALASUNTHA: who dying  
 in the eighth year of his reign, he was succeeded  
 by THEODOBAT or THEODAT, the nephew of  
 THEODORICK, who married AMALASUNTHA,  
 but afterwards took away her life on suspicion  
 of adultery; and was himself murdered by his  
 subjects, who set WITIGES, one of his Gene-  
 rals, on the throne in his stead. JUSTINIAN,  
 Emperor of the east, taking advantage of the  
 divisions among the Goths in Italy, ordered his  
 General BELISARIUS thither with an army,  
 who defeated WITIGES, and sent him prisoner  
 to Constantinople, and reunited part of Italy to  
 the Empire; while the Goths set up THEO-  
 BALD and ARARICK in other parts of that coun-  
 try, who did not both of them reign two years;  
 and were succeeded by TOTILA about the year  
 547, who in some measure restored the declin-  
 ing state of the Goths, making himself master of  
 several towns and provinces in the absence of BE-  
 LISARIUS; and amongst the rest, of Rome, which  
 he plunder'd in a most barbarous manner, and  
 had intirely destroyed it, but for a letter he re-  
 ceived from BELISARIUS, who dissuaded him  
 from it, and returning to Rome soon after,  
 so well repaired the walls, that TOTILA in-  
 vesting the city a second time, was repulsed with  
 loss. He continued however to ravage other parts  
 of Italy, till he was defeated and killed by NAR-  
 SES, another of JUSTINIAN's Generals. The  
 Goths afterwards set up TEJAS, who gain'd se-  
 veral advantages of his enemies, and took the city  
 of Rome again, exposing it to the plunder of his  
 soldiers for forty days, but was defeated by NAR-  
 SES before he had reigned a year; which put an  
 end to the kingdom of the Eastern or Ostrogoths  
 in Italy, after they had been in possession of great  
 part of it near an hundred years.

NARSES, the Imperial General, after all his  
 services, being recalled and slighted by the Em-  
 press at his return, was so provoked, that he in-  
 vited the Lombards, a German people, into Italy,  
 who remain'd masters of the north-west part of  
 that country for near two hundred years; the  
 eastern Emperors however keeping possession of an-  
 other part of it, of which the city of Ravenna,  
 where the Emperor's Viceroy or Exarch resided,  
 was the capital.

The



CHAP. XVIII. The first King of the Lombards in Italy was ALBOIN, who began his reign anno 568, and was succeeded by one and twenty Princes, of whom I meet with little remarkable, unless it be that some of them were esteemed orthodox Christians, and others Arians and Hereticks, and consequently sometimes friends, and at others enemies to the Pope. They were also in perpetual wars almost with the Gauls, and the Emperor's Exarch at Ravenna. ASTULPHUS, the last King of the Lombards but one, took the city of Ravenna, and put an end to the eastern Emperor's dominion in Italy about the year 755, and proceeded to lay siege to Rome; whereupon the Pope called in PEPIN King of France to his assistance, who compelled ASTULPHUS to surrender the exarchate of Ravenna, and the patrimony of the church, to the Pope: and ASTULPHUS being killed by a fall from his horse as he was hunting not long after, DIDIER was elected King of Lombardy in his room; who seizing on part of the patrimony of the Pope, CHARLEMAIN, the son of PEPIN, marched into Italy to the Pope's assistance, and having taken him prisoner, confined him in a monastery at Liege, which put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards, after it had continued above two hundred years.

From the destruction of the kingdom of the Lombards we may date the Pope's sovereignty over the city of Rome and the territories thereto belonging, which now go under the name of *The Pope's Dominions*, or *The Ecclesiastical State*: tho' PUFFENDORF seems to go higher, or at least to date the first rise of his temporal power from the Emperor JUSTINIAN's making Italy a province of the Grecian Empire: for then he observes it was, that the Popes took the opportunity of exempting themselves from the jurisdiction of these Emperors, whose authority was mightily diminish'd in Italy; partly by the ill conduct of their Viceroys at Ravenna, and partly by their own weakness and want of strength. One great inducement the Popes had to shake off the authority of the Grecian Emperors at this time, was, their declaring against the adoration of images; for LEO ISAUROS order'd them to be removed out of the churches, which was strenuously opposed by Pope GREGORY I; partly because the Roman See found this superstition very advantageous, and partly because the Pope took it amiss that the Emperor should undertake a reformation in matters of religion without his approbation; or perhaps he was glad of so fair an opportunity to shake off the jurisdiction of the Grecian Emperors. And in order to effect his design, he incited the Italians and Romans, who had hitherto been obedient to the Emperor, to refuse him his tribute; which his Viceroy endeavouring to levy, was killed in the tumult; after which indeed the Lombards seiz'd

Ravenna, and almost all the rest of Italy which belonged to the Emperor. But the Pope, as has been observed already, calling in PEPIN the French King to his assistance, defeated the Lombards, and procured the territories which belonged to the Emperor to be conferred upon him. Which PEPIN was the more ready to grant, in consideration of Pope ZACHARY's approving his proceeding in dethroning his lawful Sovereign CHILDERICK, and from Grand Marshal advancing himself to the dignity of King of France. A further reason of his interposing between the Pope and the Lombards is supposed to be the opportunity it gave him of making conquests in Italy, of which the French nation has always been ambitious. This donation of the Grecian Emperor's territories in Italy to the Pope by King PEPIN, was confirm'd by his son CHARLEMAIN, who establish'd a new empire in the west; of whose successors the reader will find an account in the state of Germany, in this volume. But these Emperors reserved to themselves a power of confirming the election of future Popes, and granting the investiture of Sees to the Italian Bishops; and the Pope enjoy'd these territories under the sovereign jurisdiction of the Emperor, who thereupon was stiled *The Patron and Defender of the Church*; till the reign of the Emperor HENRY IV, when the Popes growing weary of their subjection to the Emperor, who sometimes refused to confirm their election, and at others turn'd them out of the chair, in order to exempt themselves from their jurisdiction, were perpetually embroiling their affairs in Germany and Italy, and inciting insurrections against them; the German Bishops also, who were weary of their dependance on their Sovereign, were very ready to assist the Pope in setting up an independent ecclesiastical authority, which the ill conduct of HENRY IV, and the discontents of the Princes and States of the Empire, gave them an opportunity of effecting. GREGORY VII, a proud resolute prelate, being in the chair, loudly exclaim'd against the Emperor's mercenary temper, in setting bishopricks and other benefices to sale, and his putting persons into them before they had taken holy orders; and when the Emperor asserted his right of investing Bishops in their Sees, the Pope excommunicated him, and stirred up the Bishops and Princes of Germany against him, insomuch that the Emperor was obliged to part with that branch of his prerogative. Nor did he only thus free himself and other ecclesiasticks from the Emperor's jurisdiction, but even assumed an authority over him, summon'd him before him to answer the complaints of his subjects, and declared he had forfeited his right to the Empire. And though his son the Emperor HENRY V, attempted the recovery of the Imperial prerogatives, and imprison'd Pope PASCHAL, whom he com-

CHAP. XVIII. Pope's Dominions.

Charlemain establishes a new empire in the west, and is very bountiful to the Pope.

compelled



**CHAP. XVIII.** pelled to yield up the right of constituting Bishops, yet the clergy of Europe in general became so dissatisfied with it, that he was obliged to resign this power again into the Pope's hands. Succeeding Popes pretended to a power over all temporal Princes, to judge of their actions whether they were good or bad, to admonish and correct them, and even command what they thought fit to be done. If Princes enter'd into a war, they look'd upon themselves to be authorized to command a truce, and would require the contending parties to refer their differences to their decision, on pain of excommunication; and on their disobeying their decrees, would forbid the exercise of divine service, and the administration of the sacraments in their dominions. They gave out that they were empower'd by their office, in order to obviate all publick scandal, to defend such as were oppress'd, and to see justice done in the world. They received the complaints of all that applied themselves to them for a redress of such grievances as they suffer'd from their Princes, either by taxes laid upon them or otherwise, prohibiting the levying them upon pain of excommunication. Sometimes they declared the territories and possessions of those who stood excommunicated to be forfeited, releasing their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, under pretence that the government of Christians ought not to be entrusted to those who were rebels to the church. But I shall not enlarge here on the encroachments of the Bishops of this See, which will be seen in the following historical account of the Popes of Rome.

### CHAP. XIX.

*Contains an abstract of the history of the Popes of Rome, with a chronological table of their respective reigns.*

The name Pope common to all priests antiently.

**THE** word Pope, or rather *Papa* [Father] was antiently given to all Bishops, and indeed to every priest or ecclesiastick, as it is in the Greek church to this day, and was not appropriated to the Bishops of Rome till the latter end of the eleventh century; when GREGORY VII, in a Council held in this city, order'd that the name Pope should be peculiar to the Bishop of Rome. Nor did the antient church allow any such distinguishing primacy in the Pope as is now claimed; as appears by St. CYPRIAN's epistles, in which he calls the Pope brother, and treats him as his equal, and declares himself, by virtue of his episcopal authority, accountable to none but God for the government of his diocese. FERMILIAN, Bishop of Cappadocia, also writing to Pope STEPHEN, uses him with great freedom, and reproves him severely, without giving him the least mark of any superiority. The Council of Carthage,

held by St. CYPRIAN, reflect upon his stile of *Episcopus Episcoporum*, as an encroachment on the rest of the church. And from the canons of the second General Council of Constantinople it appears, that the precedency given to the Pope was on account of his residing in the capital city of the Empire, and not on account of his being the successor of St. PETER. The fourth General Council of Chalcedon, held in the fifth century, assigning the Bishop or Patriarch of Constantinople the limits of his jurisdiction, decree also by the twenty-eighth canon, that he should have equal privileges with the Bishop of Rome, because that Constantinople was then New Rome, dignified with a Senate, and the residence of the Emperor; of which the Pope's Legates complain'd indeed, and refused to be present at the passing the canon: But notwithstanding their opposition, 'twas read a second time, and unanimously carried by the fathers, and afterwards confirm'd by the Emperor. BALUZIUS has demonstrated for the Gallican churches, that for eight hundred years the French synods never allow'd of any appeals from their determinations to the Pope; they always ordain'd their own metropolitans, and strenuously resisted the encroachments of the Popes. And as to the Britannick church, it is evident that for six hundred years they never acknowledged any dependence on Rome. When AUSTIN the Monk came into England, and had a conference with the British Bishops, wherein he required their subjection to the Bishop of Rome, and a conformity to the Roman rites in the observation of Easter, and other things; they answer'd, that they owed no obedience to the Pope of Rome, but were under the government of the Bishop of Caerleon upon Uske, who was their overseer under God. And as to the controversy about Easter, they were so far from paying any deference to the Roman custom, that they continued their antient custom of observing Easter on a different Sunday from Rome for some ages after, for which reason they were treated as schismatics by that See.

This pretence of the Bishop of Rome's to an ecclesiastical sovereignty over the whole church, has been sufficiently exploded by the learned in the last age. They have shewn that he could never derive it from St. PETER, because St. PETER never pretended to a superiority over the rest of the Apostles. That the church in her original establishment usually took the civil government for her model: as every city among the Greeks and Romans was under the immediate government of certain magistrates within its own body, commonly called the Senate or Common-Council; in which there was one chief or principal, whose power extended not only over the city, but all the adjacent territory, then called the suburbs, in which several lesser towns and villages

The Church takes the State for her model.

were

**CHAP. XIX.** Pope's Dominions.



CHAP. XIX. Pope's Domi-  
 nions. were included. In the same manner the Apostles, in the first planting a church, wherever they found a civil magistracy settled in any place, there they endeavoured to settle an ecclesiastical magistracy, consisting of a Senate or Presbytery, a Common-Council of Presbyters, and one chief President among the rest, called the Apostle, Bishop, or Angel of the church, whose jurisdiction was not confined to a single congregation, but extended to the whole region or district belonging to the city, which was what we now call the diocese of the church.

Provinces. The Roman Empire also was divided into provinces and larger dioceses. A province contained the cities of a whole region, which were subject to one chief magistrate, who resided in the metropolis or chief city of a province, and was usually a Prætor or Proconsul. A diocese was a larger district, comprehending several provinces, the Governour whereof was stiled Vicar of the Roman Empire, and from hence the church took her model when she constituted Metropolitans and Patriarchs: for as in every metropolis or chief city of each province there was a superiour magistrate above the magistrates of every particular city, so in the same metropolis there was a Bishop whose power extended over the whole province, whence he was called the Metropolitan or Primate. And as the State had a Vicar in every capital city of each civil diocese, so the church in process of time came to have their Exarchs or Patriarchs in many, if not in all the capital cities of the Empire. This in the main was the state and division of the church in the latter end of the fourth century; but these things being only matters of conveniency and outward order, the church did not tie herself up to follow this model, but only so far as she judged it expedient and conducive to the ends of her own spiritual government and discipline, and therefore she did not imitate the State-model in all things; she never had one universal Bishop, in imitation of an universal Emperor, nor an eastern and western Pontificate in imitation of an eastern and western Empire, nor four grand spiritual Administrators answering to the four great Ministers of State, the Præfecti Prætorio in the civil government. The church was at liberty to follow the model and divisions of the civil State or not, as she judged most expedient for herself; and when any alterations were made, they were generally done by the direction or consent of a Provincial or General Council. As to the Bishop of Rome in particular, whether he was only a Metropolitan according to some, or a Patriarch according to others, it is held by learned men, that his jurisdiction extended no farther than the ten provinces of the Roman diocese, which were subject to the Vicarius Urbis, viz. 1. Campania. 2. Tuscia and Umbria. 3. Pi-

cenum Suburbicarium. 4. Valeria. 5. Samnium. 6. Apulia and Calabria. 7. Lucania and Brutii. 8. Sicilia. 9. Sardinia. And, 10. Corsica. CHAP. XIX. Pope's Domi-  
 nions. DUPIN, a Roman Catholick writer, makes no scruple to confess, that Germany, Spain, France, Britain, Africa, Illyricum, and seven of the Italic provinces, were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Roman Patriarch in the first and primitive ages. How he afterwards enlarged his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, remains still to be enquir'd into.

PUFFENDORF has assign'd several reasons as How he en-  
 the occasion of the increase and establishment of larged his  
 the Pope's spiritual monarchy; and first the bar- authority.  
 barity and ignorance which on the decay of the Roman Empire overspread the western part of the world; for bad wares, he observes, are ever best vended in the dark, or at least by a dim light. An ignorant person is sooner prevail'd on to believe ridiculous stories, than a wise man versed in all sciences: but what gave them the best opportunity of advancing their pretensions, was the Emperor's removing from Rome; for the Bishops of Constantinople, who he supposes were equally ambitious, could never gain this point. A third thing which contributed to enlarge their power, was the respect the barbarous nations paid them, who conquer'd the Roman Empire, on account of their being converted to the Christian faith by the Romish church; this induced them no doubt to honour her, as the most considerable of the western churches. A further opportunity she had of claiming a superiority over the western parts of Europe in the fifth century, when the Bishops who lived on this side of the Alps, used to go to Rome to visit the sepulchres of St. PETER and St. PAUL, either out of devotion, or to testify their firm adherence to the Christian faith; which voluntary devotion was afterwards changed into a necessity, and such as neglected it severely rebuked: from hence it was easy for the Popes afterwards to pretend, that the Bishops ought to receive their confirmation from Rome. Besides, many Bishops and Churches, that were novices in comparison of the antient Roman church, used to refer themselves to, and ask the advice of the church of Rome, concerning matters of consequence, and the true sense and interpretation of the canons; and when once they perceived at Rome, that their answers were taken as decisions, they began to send their decrees before they were demanded, under pretence that Rome being the first seat of the Christian Bishops, ought to take effectual care that the canons and ecclesiastical laws were duly put in execution. On the like pretence they made themselves judges of the differences between Bishops; and encroaching on the right of their Metropolitans, used to depose such Bishops as, in their opinion, had not a right or-  
 dination;



CHAP. XIX. Pope's Domi-  
 nions. dination; and such as were charged with enormous crimes they suspended, and obliged to appear at Rome and plead their cause: and if any desired an exemption from the canons, they travelled to Rome, where they were kindly received, and encouraged in their demands; whereby the staple of dispensations and favours became established at Rome. If any one lost his cause before the ordinary Judge, he immediately appeal'd to Rome. According to the French historians, the Emperor HENRY having made the city of Arles the capital city over seven provinces, the Pope constituted the Archbishop of that city his Vicar in France, lest he should attempt to make himself Patriarch of that kingdom; and the Archbishop chose to have the inspection, though precariously, over seventeen provinces, into which France was divided at that time, rather than to be head only of seven in his own right; and to add the greater authority to his commission, did all that lay in his power to establish the Pope's authority there. In the eighth century, when the clergy were become very debauched, WINIFRED, an English Fryar, who afterwards went by the name of BONIFACE, took upon himself to reform the manners of the monks and clergy, and endeavoured to establish Christianity in Germany; and, to acquire the greater authority, entirely devoted himself to the Roman chair, and was honour'd with a pall, and the title of Archbishop of Mayence: he was constituted also by Pope GREGORY III his Vicar, with authority to call Councils, and constitute Bishops in those places, which by his means had been converted to the Christian faith, with ample recommendations to those nations, and particularly to CHARLES MARTEL, the then Grand Master of France, desiring he would take him into his protection, which he very willingly did: and when afterwards his son CARLOMAN shewed an inclination to have the church-discipline regulated, BONIFACE took that office upon him, to the great advantage of the Roman See. At the request of this Prince also he called a Council in Germany; and in the reign of King PEPIN held several synods in France, where BONIFACE presided in quality of the Pope's Legate. In the first of these Councils the clergy sign'd a confession of faith, whereby they obliged themselves, not only to maintain the Catholick faith, but to remain in constant communion with the Romish church, and to be obedient to the successors of St. PETER. BONIFACE was the first who required the German Bishops to receive the episcopal pall from the Pope, and sent it to the Bishops of France unask'd, in order to increase their obligation to the See of Rome; and these ornaments afterwards becoming customary, they were forced upon them as of absolute necessity, and the episcopal function for-

bidden to be exercised till they had received them. CHAP. XIX. Pope's Domi-  
 nions. They assumed also an authority of licensing Bishops to remove from one See to another, and obliged them to receive their confirmation from Rome, for which a sum of money was exacted. They also made void the decisions of provincial synods, which reduced their authority to nothing. Pope GREGORY VII obliged the Bishops to take an oath of fealty to him; and decreed that none should dare to condemn any one who had appeal'd to the Pope. He sent Nuncio's or Legates also to every court, who in the name of the Pope exercised that authority which formerly belong'd to the respective Bishops, Metropolitans, and Provincial Assemblies: and not contented with the liberality and charity of Princes and Great Men, who had been very bountiful to the church and clergy, contrived various artifices to empty the people's pockets, such as saying masses for the living and the dead, purgatory, indulgencies, dispensations, pilgrimages, jubilees, and other fopperies; and his emissaries had always a watchful eye on such as were at the point of death, observing that men were then inclined to be most liberal. But nothing turn'd more to the Pope's advantage than the croisadoes, which were encouraged in the eleventh century; for in these expeditions, after people had received the sign of the cross, the Pope claimed the supreme command, and took the persons and estates of the adventurers under his protection, exempting them from the civil jurisdiction. The Pope's Legates also disposed of all the alms that were given for these expeditions, and levied the tenths on the clergy to support them, laying their commands on Kings and Princes to receive the cross themselves. This sacred militia were afterwards employed against such as they were pleased to declare hereticks or schismaticks, whose kingdoms and possessions they usually confiscated and bestowed on their most zealous sons.

The multiplying of monks and friars also very much advanced the strength and interest of the See of Rome; for these served not only to drain the purses of the laity, but to curb the Bishops and Clergy, for which reason the Pope supported them with all imaginable zeal in the tenth century, when they withdrew themselves from the jurisdiction of their Bishops, and submitted to the immediate authority of the Pope. These friars were a great grievance to the secular clergy, sharing with them in the legacies and burials of the rich, in the direction of their consciences, and the administration of the sacraments; from whence there arose perpetual feuds between the Bishops and their clergy and the monks, but the latter being supported by the Pope, had generally the best of it. If a Bishop attempted any thing against the Pope's authority, the friars ran him down with



CHAP. with clamour and noise, like so many hounds, XIX. and render'd him odious to the people, among Pope's whom they were in great veneration, on account Domi- of that outward appearance of sanctity they put on. nions. And this was one of the principal reasons why the Bishops who oppos'd the Pope's encroachments, could never make a great party among the common people. Some of them, 'tis true, were very well satisfied with the advancement of the Pope's power, as participating of the grandeur of their supreme head, and thereby being exempted from the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate, which was more dreadful to them than a foreign jurisdiction, exercised by those of their own order, from whom they had reason to expect more favour.

But surely nothing contributed more towards establishing the Pope's empire, than that opinion so industriously propagated by the Jesuits of his Infallibility; for if he alone was infallible, what need could there be for the future of a General Council? unerring wisdom needed no advice, and ought not to be subject to the controul of misguided mortals. All Princes and States therefore, who really believe him possess'd of this divine attribute, readily submitted to his dictates: but there were some, it seems, that would never come into this notion of the Pope's infallibility, unless it were in conjunction with a Council; and the schisms and double elections, which frequently happen'd, gave a great shock to their pretended claim of infallibility; for at these times all their faults and failings were ripp'd up, and they excommunicated and reviled each other without mercy. They were sometimes also obliged to submit their infallible understandings to the Princes who gave them their assistance: at others, their Holinesses were defeated, imprisoned, and deposed, and forced to return to a private life. The first schism happen'd about the year 1130, (according to PUFENDORF, but the reader will find several Anti-Popes before this in the following table) when INNOCENT II and ANACLETUS were both chosen Popes. After the death of ADRIAN IV, two Popes were again elected, viz. ALEXANDER III, and VICTOR IV; to the first France, England, and Sicily adhered, and to the latter the Emperor FREDERICK I, Germany, and the Roman clergy; and after the death of VICTOR his party chose three Popes successively, all whom ALEXANDER out-lived. But the greatest schism was after the death of BENEDICT X, when two Popes being elected, one resided at Rome, and the other at Avignon, which lasted through several successions near forty years; when they did not only excommunicate each other, but exercised the greatest cruelties on their adversaries: Both parties pretending to have the Saints on their side, producing sham miracles and revelations to induce

the people to believe they were approved by heaven, till at length they became the jest and contempt of Christendom; and instead of being deem'd infallible, it was held that a Council might depose them for male-administration. Succeeding Popes however so insinuated themselves into the good graces of the Princes of Europe, and gain'd such an ascendant over the common people, that they were become as absolute as ever a little before the Reformation; when that scandalous practice of selling indulgencies, and permitting people to be as wicked as they pleased, who had money to purchase the Pope's favour, provok'd LUTHER and some others, about the year 1517, to call their authority in question again: the consequence of which, was the utter abolishing of the Pope's supremacy in several of the kingdoms of Europe, which would probably have been universal, if the reformers had been conducted by any one chief, and had not split into so many sects and parties. What deter'd a great many prelates and ecclesiastics from joining with them, was their seizing and sequestering the lands and revenues of the church, and applying them to secular and profane uses: though on the other hand, 'tis said, that a view of seizing the benefices of the church was one great inducement to some temporal powers to embrace the Reformation. But however that matter be, it is evident the Pope in a little time regain'd his authority in those kingdoms, which were not fallen off to the Reformed; and of late has rather got than lost ground, for which several reasons are assign'd, as the Pope's treating sovereign Princes with more civility than formerly; his reforming the Bishops and Clergy, who do not now lead such scandalous lives as when LUTHER exclaim'd against them, and made this one of the principal grounds of separating from their communion. They are also become more learned, and have many excellent books and preachers amongst them, which they were destitute of at the Reformation. The Jesuits particularly apply themselves to learning, and the education of youth, and furnish their disciples with specious arguments at least for their adhering to Popery. There is not a court of the Romish communion in Europe, where this crafty generation have not a mighty influence, and we see them daily drawing off one Prince or other from our communion. But I proceed to give a catalogue of the Popes, in which I shall take notice of some of the most remarkable events that have happen'd since they possess'd the Roman See.

| A. D.                                          | Years. |
|------------------------------------------------|--------|
| 43. St. Peter, according to tradition, reign'd | 24     |
| 67. St. Linus                                  | 11     |
| 78. St. Cletus                                 | 12     |
| 91. St. Clement I,                             | 9      |
|                                                | 101    |



## CHAP. A. D.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Years.          | A. D. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------|
| XIX. 101. St. <i>Anacletus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 9               |       |
| Pope's 110. St. <i>Evaristus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 9               |       |
| Domi- 119. St. <i>Alexander</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 10              |       |
| nions. 130. St. <i>Sixtus I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 9               |       |
| 140. St. <i>Telesphorus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 11              |       |
| 152. St. <i>Higinus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 3               |       |
| 'Tis said he first order'd the consecration of churches, and god-fathers at baptism.                                                                                                                                                                    |                 |       |
| 156. St. <i>Pius I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 9               |       |
| He first ordered the celebration of Easter on the first Sunday after the fourteenth of the moon of March.                                                                                                                                               |                 |       |
| 165. St. <i>Anicetus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 7               |       |
| 173. St. <i>Soter</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 3               |       |
| 177. St. <i>Eleutherus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 15              |       |
| 192. St. <i>Victor I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 9               |       |
| He excommunicated the Bishops of Asia for celebrating Easter on the same day the Jews did, for which he was reprehended by several Bishops.                                                                                                             |                 |       |
| 201. St. <i>Zephyrinus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 18              |       |
| He is said to be the first Bishop of Rome who did not die a martyr.                                                                                                                                                                                     |                 |       |
| 219. St. <i>Calixtus I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 5               |       |
| 224. St. <i>Urban I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 6               |       |
| 231. St. <i>Pontianus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 4               |       |
| 235. St. <i>Anterus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | Some odd months |       |
| 236. St. <i>Fabian</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 15              |       |
| The learned are not agreed exactly about the time of the choice and decease of the preceding Popes. It is held that some of the first reign'd together, there being two Bishops, one of the converted Jews, and another of the Gentiles in some cities. |                 |       |
| 251. St. <i>Cornelius</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 2               |       |
| <i>Novatian</i> , a Priest, was chosen at the same time by the practice of <i>Novatus</i> , the author of the Novatian heresy, and this is look'd upon as the first schism in that church.                                                              |                 |       |
| 253. St. <i>Lucius</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 1               |       |
| 255. St. <i>Stephen</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 2               |       |
| 257. St. <i>Sixtus II.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 1               |       |
| 258. St. <i>Denys</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 12              |       |
| 270. St. <i>Felix I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 4               |       |
| 275. St. <i>Eutychianus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 8               |       |
| 283. St. <i>Gaius</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 12              |       |
| 296. St. <i>Marcellinus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 7               |       |
| He was martyred in <i>Dioclesian's</i> persecution, but afterwards repented, and reprehended <i>Dioclesian</i> for his cruelties, for which he was put to death.                                                                                        |                 |       |
| 304. St. <i>Marcellus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 4               |       |
| 309. St. <i>Melchius</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 2               |       |
| 311. St. <i>Melchior</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 2               |       |
| 314. St. <i>Melchior</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 22              |       |
| He was compell'd to leave Rome by <i>Maxentius</i> , but restored by <i>Constantine the Great</i> , and in his time the Council of Nice was held.                                                                                                       |                 |       |

Years.

A. D.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |                                               |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|----|
| 336. St. <i>Mark</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Eight months.                                 |    |
| 336. St. <i>Julius I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |                                               | 15 |
| 352. <i>Liberius</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                               | 15 |
| 356. St. <i>Felix II</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | set up against him, which made another schism | 1  |
| 365. St. <i>Damasus I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                               | 17 |
| <i>Ursinus</i> a Deacon was set up in opposition to him, but banish'd by the Emperor <i>Valentinian</i> in the second year of his usurpation. This Pope held the second Council against the Arians.                                                                                                                                                                                    |                                               |    |
| 385. St. <i>Siricius</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                               | 13 |
| He excommunicated the Manichees, and ordered priests who married a second time to be deprived.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |                                               |    |
| 398. St. <i>Anastasius</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                               | 4  |
| 402. St. <i>Innocent I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                               | 15 |
| He defended St. <i>Chrysostom</i> against the Emperor <i>Arcadius</i> , and condemn'd the errors of <i>Pelagius</i> , <i>Celestin</i> , and <i>Priscillian</i> , and order'd every Saturday to be kept as a fast.                                                                                                                                                                      |                                               |    |
| 417. St. <i>Zozimus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                               | 1  |
| This Pope also condemn'd the Pelagians.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                               |    |
| 418. St. <i>Boniface I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                               | 4  |
| He would not admit any one into Priests orders under thirty years of age. <i>Eulalius</i> the Archdeacon usurped the Papal chair in this reign, which occasion'd the fourth schism; but the difference was decided in favour of <i>Boniface</i> by the Bishops of Italy, Gaul, and Africa.                                                                                             |                                               |    |
| 423. St. <i>Celestine I.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                               | 8  |
| He took the part of St. <i>Augustin</i> against <i>Nestorius</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                               |    |
| 432. St. <i>Sixtus III.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |                                               | 7  |
| He bequeathed all his goods to the poor.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |                                               |    |
| 440. St. <i>Leo I.</i> , surnamed <i>the Great</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                               | 20 |
| He was sent for out of Gaul, and advanced to the papacy on account of his merit, as being the most able to defend the church in those distracted times against the Nestorians, Pelagians, and the barbarous nations. He so far insinuated himself into the favour of <i>Attila</i> the Hun, and <i>Genferick</i> King of the Vandals, that he preserved Rome from a total destruction. |                                               |    |
| 461. St. <i>Hilary</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                               | 5  |
| He call'd a Council at Rome to restore ecclesiastical discipline, and confirm'd the Councils of Nice, Ephesus and Chalcedon.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                               |    |
| 467. St. <i>Simplicius</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                               | 15 |
| He ordered church-benefices to be divided into four parts, the first for the incumbent, the second for other ecclesiasticks, the third for the repairs of the church, and the fourth for the poor.                                                                                                                                                                                     |                                               |    |
| 483. St. <i>Felix III.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |                                               | 8  |
| The dedication of churches, and the annual commemoration of such dedications, were first ordered in this pontificate.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                               |    |

Years. CHAP.

XIX.

Pope's

Domi-

nions.



| CHAP. A. D.                                                   | Years. | A. D.                                                     | Years. | CHAP.  |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------|--------|
| XIX. 492. St. <i>Gelasius</i>                                 | 4      | 571. St. <i>Benedictus</i> , named <i>Bonofus</i> ,       | 4      | XIX.   |
| Pope's 496. St. <i>Anastasius</i> II.                         | 1      | 577. <i>Pelagius</i> II.                                  | 12     | Pope's |
| Domi- 498. St. <i>Symachus</i>                                | 15     | In his time Italy was plundered by the Lombards,          |        | Domi-  |
| nions. He decreed that no Pope should be chosen until         |        | and the church distracted with schisms. He                |        | nions. |
| the See was vacant. <i>Laurence</i> the Archdeacon            |        | was at variance with JOHN Bishop of Con-                  |        |        |
| was set up against him, but <i>Theodorick</i> King            |        | stantinople, on account of his assuming the               |        |        |
| of the Goths determined in favour of <i>Symachus</i> ,        |        | title of Oecumenical.                                     |        |        |
| who made <i>Laurence</i> , his rival, Bishop of No-           |        |                                                           |        |        |
| cera. He excommunicated <i>Anastasius</i> the Em-             |        | 590. St. <i>Gregory</i> , surnamed <i>the Great</i>       | 13     |        |
| peror, who had opposed him, and incited the                   |        | He was first a soldier, and by his merit raised           |        |        |
| Bishops of the east to resist him.                            |        | himself to be Governour of Rome. He af-                   |        |        |
| 514. St. <i>Hormisdus</i>                                     | 9      | terwards enter'd himself in a monastery, and              |        |        |
| 523. St. <i>John</i> I.                                       | 2      | became as eminent among the clergy, till                  |        |        |
| Imprisoned by <i>Theodorick</i> the Goth for persec-          |        | at length he was elected Pope. He opposed                 |        |        |
| uting the Arians.                                             |        | the Bishop of Constantinople's taking upon                |        |        |
| 526. St. <i>Felix</i> IV.                                     | 4      | him the title of Universal Bishop: and was                |        |        |
| He succeeded by the interest of <i>Theodorick</i> King        |        | the first who introduced the doctrines of pur-            |        |        |
| of the Goths: first ordered extreme unction,                  |        | gatory, invocation of Saints, expiations by mas-          |        |        |
| and excommunicated the Patriarch of Con-                      |        | ses, processions, lustrations on the purification         |        |        |
| stantinople.                                                  |        | of the blessed Virgin, pilgrimages, &c. And               |        |        |
| 530. St. <i>Boniface</i> II.                                  | 2      | prohibited the eating flesh, milk or eggs on              |        |        |
| He ordered the people to be separated from                    |        | fast-days. He order'd Priests also to put away            |        |        |
| the clergy during divine worship. <i>Diocorus</i>             |        | their wives; but, 'tis said, upon finding great           |        |        |
| was set up against him, having obtained a great               |        | numbers of infants skulls in the Tiber, he re-            |        |        |
| interest by his money, but he was excommu-                    |        | voked that decree. His compliance with <i>Pho-</i>        |        |        |
| nicated by <i>Boniface</i> , and died eighteen days           |        | <i>cas</i> , who murdered the Emperor his <i>father</i> , |        |        |
| afterwards: this occasioned the sixth schism in               |        | is highly censured.                                       |        |        |
| this church.                                                  |        | 604. <i>Sabinus</i> Five months.                          |        |        |
| 532. <i>John</i> II, named <i>Mercury</i>                     | 2      | He first introduced the burning of lamps in               |        |        |
| He condemned the Monks call'd <i>Acemetæ</i> ,                |        | churches.                                                 |        |        |
| who maintained the errors of <i>Nestorius</i> ; but           |        | 606. <i>Boniface</i> III. Eight months.                   |        |        |
| were remarkable for devoting themselves to the                |        | He decreed, that those should be excommuni-               |        |        |
| service of God, singing psalms and anthems                    |        | cated who procured themselves to be advanc'd              |        |        |
| night and day, and scarce allowing themselves                 |        | to the Papal chair by bribery and corruption.             |        |        |
| any sleep.                                                    |        | He decreed also, that Bishops should be elected           |        |        |
| 535. St. <i>Agapetus</i> I. Ten months.                       |        | by the clergy and people, and confirm'd by the            |        |        |
| The processions round churches on Sundays are                 |        | Pope and Civil Magistrate: and procured an                |        |        |
| ascribed to him.                                              |        | order from the Emperor <i>Phocas</i> , that none          |        |        |
| 536. St. <i>Silverus</i>                                      | 4      | but the Pope of Rome should be stiled Uni-                |        |        |
| He was the son of Pope <i>Hormisdus</i> , and ap-             |        | versal Bishop.                                            |        |        |
| pointed by <i>Theodotus</i> the Goth, rather than e-          |        | 607. <i>Boniface</i> IV.                                  | 6      |        |
| lected by the Clergy and People, who were                     |        | 614. <i>Dens Dedit</i> .                                  |        |        |
| many of them against him. The Empress                         |        | 617. <i>Boniface</i> V.                                   | 7      |        |
| <i>Theodora</i> , the wife of <i>Justinian</i> , procured his |        | He decreed that the church should be a san-               |        |        |
| banishment, and set up <i>Vigilius</i> against him,           |        | ctuary for criminals.                                     |        |        |
| who imprison'd <i>Silverus</i> , and starved him to           |        | 626. <i>Honorius</i> I.                                   | 12     |        |
| death. This was the seventh schism.                           |        | 639. <i>Severinus</i> . Two months.                       |        |        |
| 540. <i>Vigilius</i> .                                        | 15     | He condemn'd the exposition made by the                   |        |        |
| This Pope resigned on the death of <i>Silverus</i> ,          |        | Emperor <i>Heraclius</i> in favour of the Arians.         |        |        |
| and was re-elected, but died afterwards in ba-                |        | 639. <i>John</i> IV.                                      | 1      |        |
| nishment.                                                     |        | Lent was first observed in England in his ponti-          |        |        |
| 555. <i>Pelagius</i> I.                                       | 3      | ficat.                                                    |        |        |
| He was elected by the interest of the Emperor                 |        | 641. <i>Theodorus</i>                                     | 7      |        |
| <i>Justinian</i> . He ordered Hereticks to be pu-             |        | He instituted the ceremony of blessing the wax-           |        |        |
| nished by the temporal powers, and added the                  |        | candle on the Saturday before Easter, and con-            |        |        |
| Mass to the office for commemorating the                      |        | demn'd two Patriarchs of Constantinople as                |        |        |
| dead.                                                         |        | Monothelites.                                             |        |        |
| 559. St. <i>John</i> III, called <i>Catilius</i> .            | 12     | 649. St. <i>Martin</i> I.                                 | 5      |        |
|                                                               |        | He condemn'd the Monothelites in a council at             |        |        |
|                                                               |        | Rome,                                                     |        |        |



| CHAP. A. D.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Years. | A. D.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Years. | CHAP.             |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|-------------------|
| XIX. Rome, whereupon the Emperor <i>Constantius</i> brought him prisoner to Constantinople, and banish'd him to the Chersonesus, where he died.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |        | This Pontif also excommunicated the Emperor <i>Leo</i> , for prohibiting the worship of images, but was attack'd by <i>Luitprand</i> King of the Lombards, who besieged him in Rome, and had taken the city, if <i>Charles Martel</i> Grand Master of France, the Pope's allie, had not interposed and prevented it.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |        | XIX. Pope's Domi- |
| nions. 655. <i>Eugenius</i> I. Five months.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |        | nions.            |
| 655. <i>Vitalianus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 13     | 741. St. <i>Zachary</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 10     |                   |
| He first order'd divine service to be perform'd in Latin, and introduced organs into churches.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |        | He encouraged the French in deposing their King <i>Childerick</i> , and advancing <i>Pepin</i> the son of <i>Charles Martel</i> to the throne.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |        |                   |
| 669. <i>Adeodatus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 7      | 754. <i>Stephen</i> II. Four days.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |        |                   |
| 676. <i>Domnus</i> , or <i>Domnionus</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 1      | 754. <i>Stephen</i> III.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 5      |                   |
| He reduced the church of <i>Ravenna</i> , the seat of the Emperor's Exarch or Vicar in Italy, under the subjection of the See of Rome.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |        | He was compelled to abandon Rome by <i>Astulphus</i> King of Lombardy, but his allie King <i>Pepin</i> defeated the Lombards, recover'd the exarchate of <i>Ravenna</i> , and conferred those territories on the Pope.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |        |                   |
| 678. St. <i>Agatha</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 3      | 757. <i>Paul</i> I.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 11     |                   |
| He ordered the decrees of the Roman See to be revered and obey'd as the decrees of St. <i>Peter</i> , and to be sealed with lead instead of wax.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |        | He begun to rebuild the church of St. <i>Peter's</i> in Rome; his election was disputed by <i>Theophilaet</i> for some time, which occasioned the ninth schism. The writing the lives of Saints was very much in vogue in this pontificate.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |        |                   |
| 683. St. <i>Leo</i> II. Ten months.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |        | 768. <i>Stephen</i> IV.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 3      |                   |
| He ordered baptism to be administred at all times in case of necessity.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |        | <i>Constantine</i> a lay-man was set up against <i>Stephen</i> , but was soon degraded, and his eyes put out; afterwards <i>Philip</i> a priest opposed <i>Stephen</i> , but submitted to him. This was the tenth schism.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |        |                   |
| 684. St. <i>Benedict</i> II. Eight months.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |        | 772. <i>Adrian</i> I.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 23     |                   |
| In this pontificate the Emperor forgave the money paid him on confirming a Pope, and excused them from applying to him by his Vicar or Exarch at <i>Ravenna</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |        | He was attacked by <i>Didier</i> , or <i>Desiderius</i> , the last King of Lombardy; but <i>Charlemain</i> march'd to his assistance, and having defeated <i>Didier</i> , and taken him prisoner, put an end to the kingdom of the Lombards: whereupon he acknowledged his right of appointing the Pope. <i>Charlemain</i> , on the other hand, confirm'd his title to the territories which his father <i>Pepin</i> had conferred upon him; and had so great a respect for this Pope, that he wrote his epitaph, which still remains in St. <i>Peter's</i> church. |        |                   |
| 685. <i>John</i> V.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 1      | 795. <i>Leo</i> III.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 20     |                   |
| 686. <i>Conon</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1      | He was opposed by a faction, and forced to fly to <i>Charlemain</i> in Germany, who confirm'd him in the chair; whereupon <i>Leo</i> crown'd his benefactor Emperor of the west, and acknowledg'd him his sovereign.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |        |                   |
| Two usurpers in the interregnum, which made the eighth schism.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |        | 816. <i>Stephen</i> V.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 1      |                   |
| 687. St. <i>Sergius</i> I.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 13     | 817. <i>Pascal</i> I.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 7      |                   |
| His former name was <i>Bocco de Porco</i> , or Swine's Snout, which he changed on his advancement to the chair to <i>Sergius</i> , which introduced the custom of the Pope's changing their names on an election. He crown'd <i>Lewis</i> , son to the Emperor <i>Lotharius</i> King of Italy.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |        | He prevailed with the Emperor to give up his right of appointing a Pope; and excommunicated <i>Leo</i> V, Emperor of the East, for opposing the worship of images. He crown'd <i>Lotharius</i> Emperor of the West.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |        |                   |
| 701. <i>John</i> VI.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 3      | 824. <i>Eugenius</i> II.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 3      |                   |
| 705. <i>John</i> VII.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 2      | He was opposed by <i>Zizinius</i> , which occasion'd the                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |        |                   |
| He first introduced images into churches.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |        |                   |
| 708. <i>Sisinius</i> Twenty days                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |        |                   |
| 708. <i>Constantine</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 6      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |        |                   |
| He was at variance with the Emperor because he prohibited the worship of images.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |        |                   |
| 714. <i>Gregory</i> II.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 16     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |        |                   |
| <i>Leo</i> <i>Isaurus</i> Emperor of Constantinople, having convened a Synod which condemned the worship of images, praying to the Virgin and other Saints, and the adoration of reliques, ordered all images to be burnt both in the Greek and Latin churches, and all pictures to be defaced. Whereupon the Pope call'd a Synod, which approved the worship of images, censured the Emperor's decree, and excommunicated him. He also encouraged the Italians to deny him his taxes, in levying whereof the Emperor's Vicar or Exarch at <i>Ravenna</i> was kill'd. |        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |        |                   |
| 731. <i>Gregory</i> III.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 10     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |        |                   |



CHAP. A. D.

Years.

XIX. Pope's Domi-  
nions. the eleventh schism. The worship of relicks being very much in vogue in this pontificate, he distributed great numbers of bones in France, Germany and England, said to belong to Saints and Martyrs.

827. *Valentinus* Forty days.

He was poison'd forty days after his election.

827. *Gregory IV.* 15

He refused to accept of the chair, 'tis said, till he had the Emperor's consent.

844. *Sergius II.* 3

847. *Leo IV.* 8

He defeated the Saracen fleet, and defended Rome against them. He prohibited laymen to enter the church in time of divine service, 'tis said.

852. Some place Pope *Joan* here by the name of *John VIII.* 'Tis said she was of English extraction; that she had her education at Athens, where having made a great progress in her studies, she went to Rome, and on *Leo's* death was advanced to the papal chair. But being with child, was delivered of a bastard as she was going to the church of St. John de Lateran. But I find the whole is look'd upon as a fiction by many Protestants.

855. *Benedict III.* 2

*Anastasius* an excommunicated Priest, opposed him, which occasion'd the twelfth schism.

858. *Nicholas I.* surnamed *the Great.* 9

He was call'd *the Great* on account of his maintaining his authority against *Michael* Emperor of the east, and excommunicating *Photius*, whom the Emperor had made Patriarch of Constantinople; in the room of *Ignatius*, whom he had deposed.

867. *Adrian II.* 4

He was chosen without the consent of the Emperor, and order'd that neither the Emperor, nor any layman should be concern'd in electing a Pope for the future.

872. *John VIII.* 10

He was made prisoner by the Marquis of Tuscany, but escaped into France, and returning to Italy, then infested by the Saracens, 'tis said, was forced to pay tribute to them. He was taken off by poison.

882. *Marin, or Martin II.* 2

884. *Adrian III.* 1

885. *Stephen VI.* 6

He first appointed the sign of the cross.

890. *Formosus.* 6

He was opposed by *Sergius*, a Cardinal Deacon, which occasion'd the thirteenth schism.

897. *Stephen VII.* 3

Opposed by *Boniface*, who is by some placed in the number of Popes; but was forced to quit the title in fifteen days.

A. D.

901. *Theodorus II.* Twenty days.

901. *John IX.*

905. *Benedict IV.* Some few months.

906. *Leo V.* Forty days.

One of his domesticks usurp'd the See, and threw him into prison, where he died.

906. *Christopher* Seven months.

He govern'd tyrannically, and was imprison'd in a monastery.

907. *Sergius III.* 3

Having imprison'd his predecessor, he obtain'd the chair by force; after which he threw the corps of Pope *Formosus* into the Tiber, who had formerly been his competitor for the pope-dom. He cohabited with a Lady of quality, by whom he had a bastard, that afterwards came to be Pope by the name of *John X.*

910. *Anastasius III.* 2

912. *Landon* Some months.

913. *John X.* 15

He succeeded by the interest of his mother, who was concubine to *Sergius III*, but was deposed, and strangled in prison by the procurement of her daughter, to make room for *John XI*, her bastard son.

928. *Leo VI.* Six months.

929. *Stephen VIII.* 2

931. *John XI.* 4

936. *Leo VII.* 3

939. *Stephen IX.* 3

He was set up by the Emperor *Otho*, but opposed by the people, who assaulted him, and so disfigured his face that he could never appear in publick.

943. *Marin or Martin III.* 6

949. *Agapetus II.* 9

955. *John XII.* 9

He call'd the Emperor *Otho* to assist him against the tyrant *Berengarius* and his son, and swore allegiance to him; but on some misunderstanding join'd his enemies; whereupon *Otho* procured him to be deposed, setting up *Leo* a Deacon, whom he maintain'd in the papal chair two years, which occasion'd the fifteenth schism: But *John* was afterwards restored by the interest of the ladies, whose votary he had been. He was murder'd by one with whose wife he had been too free.

962. *Leo VIII*, the usurper, is by some placed in the catalogue of Popes 3

964. *Benedict V.* 1

965. *John XIII.* 6

He was elected by the interest of the Emperor, but expelled by the Romans; and being afterwards restored, used his enemies barbarously. He first appointed the blessing of bells.

972. *Domnus or Dominion II.* Two months.

972. *Benedict VI.* 1

He

Years. CHAP.

XIX.

3 Pope's Domi-  
nions.



## CHAP. A. D.

Years.

XIX.  
Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.

He was imprison'd and afterwards strangled by the procurement of *Boniface* the Cardinal Deacon, who usurped the papacy, and occasion'd the sixteenth schism; but *Boniface* having plundered the church of St. *Peter's*, retired to Constantinople.

975. *Benedict VII.* 9  
He attempted to reform the clergy, and was deposed.

984. *John XIV.* 1  
He was imprisoned and starved to death by *Boniface* the Antipope, who returned to Rome and usurped the chair about four months; after which dying suddenly, he was dragg'd naked about the streets.

985. *John XV.* 10  
He was at perpetual variance with his clergy; driven from Rome, and restored again by the Emperor; but at last was famish'd in the castle of St. Angelo, as 'tis said.

996. *Gregory V.* 2  
He was the son of *Otho* Duke of Suabia, and first created Electors in the Empire. *Crescentius*, a nobleman of Rome, set up *John* Bishop of Piacenza against him, who held the See sixteen months, which occasion'd the eighteenth schism.

999. *Silvester II.* 4

1003. *John XVII.* Some few months.

1003. *John XVIII.* 5  
He appointed the festival in commemoration of the dead.

1009. *Sergius IV.* 2

1012. *Benedict VIII.* 12  
He defeated the Saracens who were then masters of part of Italy.

1024. *John XIX.* 9

1034. *Benedict IX.* 10  
He procured the chair by force and bribery, and led a very scandalous life; he was several times deposed and restored again.

1044. *Gregory VI.* 2  
He purchased the chair of *Benedict*, who resumed his pretensions notwithstanding. Two others also usurp'd the chair about this time, which occasion'd the twentieth schism. *Gregory* bought out the other competitors, but was afterwards carried prisoner into Germany by the Emperor *Henry III.*, where he died.

1046. *Clement II.* Nine months.  
He was set up by the Emperor, but poisoned by *Bernard IX.*, in the tenth month of his pontificate.

1048. *Damianus II.* Twenty-three days.  
He was also set up by the Emperor, and poisoned by *Bernard IX.*

1049. *St. Leo IX.* 5

1054. *Victor II.* 2

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1057. *Stephen X.* Eight months.

He subjected the church of Milan to that of Rome, which till this time had disputed its supremacy. He was advanced to the chair by the interest of the Emperor, as three or four of his immediate predecessors had been. The faction that opposed him fell upon him, and so disfigured his face, that he could not appear in publick for some time.

1058. *Nicholas II.* 2  
He directed that the Pope should be elected by the Cardinals and the Emperor. The Bishop of Velitri was his competitor, but obliged to relinquish his pretensions.

1061. *Alexander II.* 11  
He was chosen by the Cardinals, but opposed by *Honorius* who was set up by the Emperor, between whom several bloody battles were fought: But *Honorius* was at length obliged to submit. This Pope assisted *William the Conqueror* in his enterprize against England.

1073. *Gregory VII.* 12  
He was elected by the Cardinals without the Emperor's consent, and decreed that the investiture of Bishops, &c. should not belong to the Emperor. He excommunicated the Emperor *Henry IV.*, cited him to appear at Rome, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and set up *Rodolphus* of Suabia against him; but the Emperor having defeated *Rodolph*, who was kill'd in the field of battle, march'd into Italy, besieged and took Rome, compelling *Gregory* to fly to Salerno; whereupon he advanced *Clement* to the papal chair, which occasion'd the twenty-third schism, that lasted above twenty years.

1086. *Victor III.* Ten months.  
He was poison'd by his Subdeacon at the sacrament.

1087. *Urban II.* 11  
He excommunicated the Emperor, and was oblig'd to fly into France for protection.

1099. *Pascal II.* 18  
He excommunicated *Clement* the Antipope, and contested with the Emperor and the King of England about the investiture of the bishopricks, &c. The Emperor *Henry V.* imprisoned him, and made him relinquish the investiture, and confirm this agreement by taking the sacrament; but he afterwards promoted an insurrection against the Emperor in Germany, and obliged him to give up the right of investiture again. *Clement* the Antipope dying, *Paschal* ordered his corps to be dug up and treated ignominiously: after which four other Antipopes set up against him, which occasion'd the twenty-fourth schism.

1118. *Gelasius II.* 1

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He was obliged to leave Rome by the Emperor *Henry V*, (who set up *Gregory* against him) and to fly into France; whereupon happen'd the twenty-fifth schism, *Gregory* keeping possession of the See for three years.

1119. *Calixtus II.*

5

He was of the blood royal of France, and succeeded on the death of *Gelasius*. He excommunicated the Emperor, and imprison'd *Gregory* the Antipope, and held the first general council of Lateran, in order to accommodate matters with the Emperor.

1124. *Honorius II.*

4

Being illegally chosen, he resign'd, in order to be elected canonically, as he was.

1130. *Innocent II.*

13

*Anaclete* was set up against him by the Italians, whereupon he was obliged to fly for refuge into France; but afterwards accommodated matters, and held the second General Council of Lateran.

1143. *Celestine II.* Five months.1144. *Lucius II.* Eleven months.

He persuaded the Emperor *Conrad* to undertake a croisado against the Saracens.

1145. *Eugenius III.*

8

He was several times driven from Rome, but was at length successful against those who opposed him, and promoted a croisado.

1153. *Anastasius IV.*

1

1154. *Adrian IV.*

4

He was an Englishman, named *Nicholas Breakspear*, of Abbots Langley in Hertfordshire, his father a lay-brother of St. Albans. He travel'd to Arles in France, and being admitted into the abbey of St. *Ruff*, became their Abbot. He afterwards travel'd into Norway, and planted Christianity there; for which service he was made a Cardinal by Pope *Eugene III.* He excommunicated the Emperor *Frederick Barbarossa*, for not acknowledging the Empire to be a fee of the See of Rome, abolish'd the Roman Senate, and excommunicated the citizens. He was afterwards reconciled to the Emperor, and crown'd him in St. *Peter's* church.

1159. *Alexander III.*

21

He had continual wars with the Emperor *Barbarossa*, being supported by the Venetians and other powers. *Victor* was set up against him, and took him prisoner; but he made his escape into France, where he was forced to remain three years, which occasion'd the twenty-seventh schism in the church. *Paschal* and *Calixtus* were set up against him after *Victor*; but he extricated himself out of all his difficulties, and compelled the Emperor to submit to him, who 'tis said was contented to let the Pope tread upon his neck, to procure the liberty of

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the Prince his son, who had been made prisoner by the enemy. The Pope on this occasion insolently made use of that passage of scripture, *Thou shalt tread on serpents and scorpions*. He held the third Lateran council at Rome for the reformation of the clergy.

1181. *Lucius III.*

4

He was driven from Rome upon his attempting to lay aside the Consuls and Patricii; but being assisted by the neighbouring powers, the Romans were obliged to submit to him. He also disputed the right of investiture with the Emperor.

1185. *Urban.*

1

In this pontificate Jerusalem was taken by the Saracens.

1187. *Gregory VIII.*

Two months.

He promoted a croisado for the recovery of the Holy Land.

1188. *Clement III.*

5

He promoted the croisado's, prohibited the celebrating Mass with common bread or in wooden vessels.

1191. *Celestine III.*

6

He took part with *Richard I*, King of England, against his Barons, and invited him to undertake a croisado. Upon his crowning the Emperor, he struck the crown off again with his foot, intimating that he had power to depose him, says my author.

1199. *Innocent III.*

18

He first appointed auricular confession; excommunicated the Emperor *Otho*, and set up *Frederick II* against him; *John* King of England made his dominions tributary to the Pope in this pontificate.

1216. *Honorius III.*

10

He ordered kneeling at the elevation of the Host, and excommunicated the Emperor *Frederick II*.

1227. *Gregory IX.*

14

He was in continual wars with the Emperor *Frederick II*, excommunicated him and attempted to depose him; but the Emperor proving successful, 'tis said, broke the Pope's heart.

1241. *Celestine IV.*

Twenty-eight days.

He was poison'd.

1243. *Innocent IV.*

11

He excommunicated the Emperor *Frederick II*, and defeated his army; but the Emperor afterwards getting an advantage of him, the Pope fled to France for refuge, where he remain'd till the Emperor's death, and then return'd to Rome. He was the first who appointed the Cardinals to wear red hats.

1254. *Alexander IV.*

6

In this pontificate Italy was distracted by the

Ggg

two



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XIX. two factions of Guelphs and Gibelines, the Pope's first being espoused by the Pope, and the other by the Emperor.

1261. *Urban IV.* 3  
 1265. *Clement IV.* 3  
 1271. *Gregory X.* 4  
 1276. *Innocent V.* Five months.  
 1276. *Adrian V.* Twenty-nine days.  
 1276. *John XXI.* Nine months.  
 1277. *Nicholas III.* 2  
 1281. *Martin IV.* 3  
 1285. *Honorius IV.* 2  
 1287. *Nicholas IV.* 4

After his death there was an interregnum of two years and three months.

1294. *St. Celestine V.* Five months.

He was chosen out of an hermitage, and after a reign of five months, chose to resign and return to his hermitage again.

1295. *Boniface VIII.* 8

He excommunicated *Philip* the French King, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and gave his kingdom to those who could recover it; whereupon *Philip*, in a Synod and Parliament of that kingdom, condemned the Pope for simony, murder, usury, atheism, adultery, and a confederacy with the Saracens, and sent an army into Italy, which took the Pope prisoner, and 'tis said he died raving mad in their hands.

1303. *Benedict X.* Nine months.

*The See removed from Rome to Avignon.*

1305. *Clement V.* 8

He was a Frenchman, elected after a long vacancy, and crown'd at Lyons. He resided at Avignon, as his successors did after him for seventy years, which the Romans called the Babylonish Captivity.

1316. *John XXII.* 18

In this pontificate *Lewis* of Bavaria and *Frederick* of Austria being competitors for the Empire, *John* excommunicated *Lewis*, whereupon *Lewis* set up a Cordelier against the Pope under the name of *Nicholas V.*, which occasion'd the twenty-eighth schism, which lasted two years; but *Nicholas* being defeated and taken prisoner, died in prison.

1334. *Benedict XII.* 7

He was the son of a French miller; he excommunicated *Lewis* of Bavaria the Emperor.

1342. *Clement VI.* 10

He ordered the Jubilee to be held once in fifty years.

1352. *Innocent VI.* 12

He was a Frenchman also, and perpetually at war with one Prince or other. He burnt

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*Joannes de Rupe* for his interpretation of the Revelations, in which he called the Pope Antichrist.

1364. *Urban V.* 5

He was the first who wore the triple crown, condemn'd pluralities and non-residency, and prohibited the Cardinals making their palaces sanctuaries for villains.

1370. *Gregory XI.* 7

He went from Avignon and took up his residence at Rome, after the See had been removed seventy years.

*The See resettled at Rome.*

1378. *Urban VI.* 11

The Romans threatened to set fire to the Conclave, unless an Italian was elected; whereupon *Urban* was elected; but the Cardinals afterwards set up *Clement VII* against him, which occasion'd the twenty-ninth schism, that lasted thirty years.

1378. *Clement VII.* lived till 1394, but is reckon'd by some among the Antipopes.

1389. *Boniface IX.* 14

He was the first who assumed the absolute government of Rome, and took upon him to appoint all the magistrates. Before he could accomplish the design, he had several warm skirmishes with the citizens, in one of which he was driven out of Rome, and was very near being kill'd. He excommunicated several sovereign Princes for conferring benefices on Clerks without his approbation, and pronounced a sentence of deposition against the Emperor *Wenceslaus*.

1404. *Innocent VII.* 2

He was elected on condition that he would quit the chair again, if *Bennet* the Antipope, who resided at Avignon, would do the like: But refusing afterwards, and being reprehended by the Romans for it, he caused several of them to be beheaded, and their bodies thrown into the streets; whereupon the citizens call'd in *Ladislaus* King of Naples to their assistance, who drove him from Rome, but he return'd thither afterwards and died there.

1406. *Gregory XII.* 2

He was chosen also upon condition he should resign the pontificate if *Bennet* the Antipope did; which they refusing, the Cardinals met at Pisa, and resolved that both of them had forfeited the See, and elected *Alexander*.

1409. *Alexander V.* Ten months.

He deposed King *Ladislaus* for invading the dominions of the church.

1410. *John XXIII.* 5

He was elected on condition also that he should resign

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nions. resign again, if *Gregory XII* and *Bennet* would do the same; but he refusing, a council was call'd by the Emperor at *Constance* anno 1415, and this Pope taken and sent prisoner to *Heidelburgh*, after which the council deposed him and the other competitors, and elected *Martin V.* who afterwards upon *John's* submission, made him Dean of the Cardinals, and gave him the bishoprick of *Frescati*.

1417. *Martin V.* 13

He was chosen, as has been said, by a committee of the council of *Constance*, and made an excellent Governour. He repair'd the city of *Rome*, which was almost destroy'd during this schism, and reformed the manners of the Clergy and Laity, preferring none but men of merit, and was much lamented when he died.

1431. *Eugene IV.* 15

He call'd a council at *Basil*, but afterwards revoked his letters of summons, and held a council at *Ferrara*. The council of *Basil* however met, and summon'd the Pope before them, and on his refusing to appear, deposed him, and set up the Duke of *Savoy*, *Felix V.* which schism lasted above nine years. *Eugene* however maintain'd himself at *Rome* till his death.

1447. *Nicholas V.* 8

*Felix V* resigning his pretensions, put an end to the schism in this pontificate.

1455. *Calixtus III.* 3

1458. *Pius II.* 5

He is esteem'd one of the most learned men that ever was advanced to this See.

1464. *Paul III.* 6

1471. *Sixtus IV.* 13

He endeavoured to ruin the *Venetians* and the house of *Medicis*, and even hired assassins to murder two of the Princes of *Medicis* at church, one of whom was kill'd, and the other escaped. He proceeded so far as to excommunicate the *Venetian* republick, but they maintain'd their liberties against all his thunder; which proved such a disappointment to him, that 'tis said it contributed to his death.

1484. *Innocent VIII.* 7

He permitted the *Norwegians* to celebrate Mass without wine, upon their alledging that it was not sometimes to be had in their country. He is said to be remarkable for his incontinence, and enriching his base sons.

1492. *Alexander VI.* 11

He obtained the chair by bribery, and 'tis said broke through all the Laws of God and Man to advance his base son *Cesar Borgia*, besides whom he had several others. He and his son *Cesar* poison'd several of the Cardinals, and designed to have poisoned others at an entertainment, for which purpose a bottle of poi-

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son'd wine was provided, but by mistake the servant gave a glass of the poison to the Pope, which killed him. The French King *Charles VIII* was provoked to enter into a war with him, and took *Rome*, and brought the Pope to terms.

1503. *Pius III.* Twenty-six days.

He was poison'd, as it is supposed, by his successor, before he had reigned a month.

1503. *Julius II.* 9

He entered into a war with the French, in which he was unsuccessful; and excommunicated several sovereign Princes who had opposed his election.

1513. *Leo X.* 8

A war with the Turks being resolved on in this pontificate, the Pope issued his indulgences in order to raise money to maintain it, which gave occasion to *Luther* to enquire into this and other errors of the church of *Rome*, and ended in the throwing off the Pope's authority in several kingdoms of Europe. He gave King *Henry VIII* of England, the title of *Defender of the Faith*, for writing against *Luther*.

1522. *Adrian VI.* 1

He endeavoured to drive the French out of Italy, but his councils being betray'd, he could not effect it, and was poisoned in the second year of his reign.

1523. *Clement VII.* 10

He insulted the Emperor *Charles V.* who thereupon sent an army into Italy, besieged *Rome*, and took the Pope prisoner, obliging him to pay forty thousand crowns of gold for his ransom. But matters were afterwards accommodated between him and the Emperor. In this pontificate, *Henry VIII*, King of England, divorced his Queen, without applying to the Pope; whereupon his Holiness excommunicated the King, and his Majesty on the other hand threw off the Pope's supremacy, which laid the foundation of the reformation in England.

1544. *Paul III.* 15

He convened the council of *Trent*, established the inquisition, and approved the order of *Jesuits*, but condemned the *Interim* which *Charles V* had contrived, in order to accommodate matters with the Protestant Princes and States of Germany. He cited King *Henry VIII* to appear at *Rome*, to answer the charge of adultery, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance, which only confirm'd them in their aversion to the See of *Rome*.

1550. *Julius III.* 5

1555. *Marcellus II.* Twenty-one days.

1555. *Paul IV.* 4

He treated the Ambassadors with great insolence,



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lence, who came from King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, to beg absolution in the name of the people of England, and to desire a reconciliation with the See of Rome; the reason of which is supposed to be the ill treatment he met with from the Spaniards when they took Rome by storm. He join'd with the French and Swiss also against Spain, and making Italy the seat of war, reduced it to great misery. He opposed the resignation of the Emperor *Charles V.*, and would never acknowledge *Ferdinand* the Emperor, because he was not consulted in it. He was a zealous promoter of the Inquisition, and recommended it on his death-bed as the principal support of the Papacy.

1559. *Pius IV.*

5

He put a conclusion to the council of Trent, order'd the antiquities in Rome to be preserv'd, and encouraged magnificent buildings.

1566. *Pius V.*

6

This Pope, with his confederates the Spaniards and Venetians, defeated the Turks in a great naval engagement near Lepanto. He assisted *Charles IX.*, of France, against his Protestant subjects; conferred the title of Great Duke of Tuscany on the family of Medicis; excommunicated *Elizabeth* Queen of England, absolved her subjects from their allegiance, and transferr'd her dominions to the King of Spain.

1572. *Gregory XIII.*

12

He encouraged fine buildings in Rome, and particularly caused a college to be built for the English, and reformed the Calendar, from hence called the *Gregorian Calendar*.

1585. *Sixtus V.*

5

He was the son of a cottager, and his first employment keeping of swine; but being taken into a monastery, he appeared an excellent genius, and had an education given him suitable to it, but would not have been advanc'd to the Papacy so soon, if he had not pretended to be more infirm and old than he really was: immediately after his election he appeared to be one of the most vigorous active men that had sat in that chair. He reformed the courts of justice, and entirely suppress'd the banditti. He rebuilt the Vatican library, and adorned Rome with more magnificent structures than any of his predecessors, and recover'd several obelisks, pillars, and other noble antiquities which had been long buried in rubbish, giving the city a perfect new face. He repaired the fortifications of the towns belonging to the church, and increased their garrisons to twenty thousand men, and was dreaded both by the French and Spaniard. He encouraged the great attempt of the Spaniards against England

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with their Armada in 1588, designing, as it is said, at the same time to have surprized the kingdom of Naples. He laid new taxes on his subjects, and increased the revenues of the Roman See six hundred thousand crowns per annum, and at his death, it is said, left five millions of crowns behind him, of which he appropriated great part for the defence of the church, enjoining that it should not be touch'd on any other occasion: Among other acts of charity, he employ'd two hundred thousand crowns to prevent a scarcity in Rome, when the rest of Italy was grievously distress'd by famine. He is supposed to have been poisoned by the Spaniards, who did not admire his conduct.

1590. *Urban VII.* Thirteen days.1590. *Gregory XIV.* Ten months.1591. *Innocent IX.* Two months.1592. *Clement VIII.*

13

He united the duchy of Ferrara to the See of Rome; he corrected the Bible set out by *Sextus V.*, in two thousand places, and forbid confession by Letters.

1605. *Leo XI.* Twenty-five days.1605. *Paul V.*

15

He excommunicated the Venetians, and laid their country under an interdict, for trying an ecclesiastick in the secular courts, and making statutes of Mortmain to prevent the Laity leaving their lands to the church. The Venetians on the other hand expell'd the Monks, Jesuits, and all religious orders, who refused to celebrate divine service. And the Pope found himself under a necessity at last to accommodate matters with the Venetians, and yield up every point he had insisted on. He condemned the oath of allegiance which the crown of England required of the subject, and declared no Catholick could take it with a safe conscience. In this pontificate arose the dispute between the Dominicans and Jesuits concerning the immaculate conception of the blessed Virgin. He equalled any of his predecessors in beautifying and adorning the city of Rome.

1621. *Gregory XV.*

2

He founded the congregation *de Propaganda Fide*.

1623. *Urban VIII.*

20

He was extremely devoted to the Angel St. *Michael*, whose image he erected in St. *Peter's* church, and his own in a posture of adoration before it, with this inscription, viz. *I worship thee morning and evening*. He solemnized a Jubilee in the year 1625, when the Spanish Ambassador, in a compliment, subjected all his master's dominions to him, as the Vicar of Christ, promising to defend the Holy See with all

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- CHAP. XIX. Pope's Dominions.**
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- all his power. He order'd the State of Venice to be treated with the same honours as crown'd heads; condemn'd *Galileo* for affirming the sun stood still and the earth moved; and had an intention to have made one of his nephews King of Naples, but did not succeed in it. He put some persons to death for attempting his life by witchcraft, and forming an image of him in wax, which they wounded with pins and needles.
1644. *Innocent X.* 10  
He is charged with cohabiting with his brother's wife *Donna Olympia*, and being govern'd by her. He protested against the treaty of Munster, because church-lands were yielded up, and transferred to temporal Princes, and others who had gotten possession of them at the Reformation; and because liberty of conscience was allow'd to Protestants in many countries; and Monsieur *Moulin* suggests, that he promoted the murder of *Charles I.* King of England.
1655. *Alexander VII.* 12  
The French King insulted him, and he made a very mean submission. He condemn'd the Jansenists, and determined the controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin in her favour.
1667. *Clement IX.* 2  
In this pontificate the island of Candia was taken by the Turks, which, 'tis said, broke the old gentleman's heart.
1670. *Clement X.* 6
1676. *Innocent XI.* 13  
He assign'd *Christina* Queen of Sweden, who resided at Rome, a pension of twelve thousand crowns per annum. He had great disputes with the French King about disposing of benefices and church-lands, and his Holiness was so highly incensed against his most Christian Majesty on this account, that he enter'd into a confederacy with the Emperor, England, and Holland against him, who stipulated that they would not make peace with France, 'till the Pope had received satisfaction for the wrongs done to the Holy See by his most Christian Majesty; and from this alliance with the Protestant powers he obtain'd the name of the Protestant Pope.
1690. *Alexander VIII.* 1  
He seem'd to dread the French King's power as much as his predecessor, and therefore was no great enemy to the Confederates, tho' most of them were Protestants.
1691. *Innocent XII.* 9  
He was of the noble family of Pignatelli in Naples, and having been Nuntio in the greatest courts of Europe, was extremely well qualified for a Governour when he was elected to the papacy. He declar'd against nepotism, and ag-
- A. D. Years.**
- grandizing his relations, and acted accordingly. He built him a magnificent tomb in his lifetime, in which he was interr'd, only he order'd his Confessor to send his heart to the Great Duke of Tuscany.
- Nov. 20, 1700. *Clement XI.* 20  
It was three days before the Cardinals could persuade him to accept the chair; and then he declared he would not have done it, but to free himself from some scruples they had rais'd in his mind concerning the sin of refusing it.
- He had indeed a very difficult part to act, the crown of Spain being in dispute during this pontificate. He was thought to be more inclin'd to the French than the Imperialists, but insulted however by both of them in their turns; his towns surpriz'd, and soldiers quarter'd in his territories. The thunder of the Vatican had now lost its force; neither the Emperor or France would be terrified by his threats.
- May 8, 1721. *Innocent XIII.* 2  
He protested against the Emperor's granting the investiture of the duchies of Parma and Placentia to Don *Carlos* Prince of Spain, claiming them as fees of the church.
- May 29, 1724. *Benedict XII.*
- Pope INNOCENT XIII dying on the seventh of March 1724, the Cardinals enter'd the conclave on the twentieth of the same month, where after having been shut up two months and nine days they resolv'd unanimously to chuse for Sovereign Pontiff his Eminence Cardinal VINCENZO MARIA ORSINI of the Dominican order, who thereupon took upon him the name of BENEDICT XIII. He was the first that had been chosen of a monastical order for near two hundred years. He is a Neapolitan by birth, and senior Cardinal of the sacred college, being in the seventy-fifth year of his age at the time of his election. He is said to have more humility and integrity than most of his predecessors, and is a person of extraordinary temperance. On his advancement he would not suffer his domesticks to wear any thing but coarse purple cloth without lace, and order'd all the rich hangings and furniture of the Vatican to be taken down, and plain to be put up in their room. He prohibited all ecclesiasticks wearing perukes; and as to his own person, is so mortified, that he wears nothing but woollen next him in the hottest weather. At the first consistory he held, several of the Cardinals and Prelates appear'd with their bald pates without perukes, in conformity to the Pope's order, and the rest excused themselves on account of their health. An admirer of this Pope gives him the following character: He is, says this gentleman, the mildest, most friendly, and most engaging
- CHAP. XIX. Pope's Dominions.**
- The character of the present Pope,



CHAP. engaging person in the world, obligingly gracious  
XIX. to every body, of the most easy access, and ex-  
Pope's ceeding affable; especially to the poor. Though  
Domi- he is nicely frugal as to himself, he is beneficent  
nions. to others to a degree of magnificence. When he

was Archbishop of Benevento he bestow'd all the revenues of that See, and his own patrimony, which were very great, upon the publick. The monuments of his abundant charity must shine as long as the city of Benevento stands. When that town was in a manner destroy'd by a terrible earthquake in June 1688, and sixteen hundred persons buried in its ruins, and the remaining inhabitants were about to abandon the place, and settle elsewhere, the good Archbishop prevented them by his liberality. He assisted them to repair their private houses, and rebuilt the cathedral, parish-churches, hospitals, and religious houses at his own charge; insomuch that the city makes a much better figure than it did before that calamity happen'd. But by the account the Pope himself gives of his miraculous escape, he appears to have a pretty deal of superstition and enthusiasm in his composition.

The present  
Pope's escape  
from an  
earthquake.

He relates, ' That on Saturday the fifth of June, 1688, at the hour of Vespers, being then with a gentleman in one of the uppermost rooms of his palace, the same was thrown down, together with the apartment underneath, and part of the main roof; so that he fell with the above-mention'd gentleman down into a vault of the cellar, where they were cover'd with the stones and beams of the shatter'd apartments. His friend was crush'd to pieces, but he was preserv'd by means of some rafters, which fell in such a manner that they form'd a kind of roof, and gave him room enough to breathe in; and, to his unspeakable comfort, " there fell also with him a chest of drawers, in which he kept the pictures of the principal actions of his glorious protector St. PHILIP of Neri, which though it was lock'd, burst open, and the pictures placed themselves round him; one of them particularly fell upon his head, which was the picture of the Saint praying and looking towards the blessed Virgin, who with her sacred hand supported the main beam of the church of Vallicella, which was split out of its place." He lay under these ruins an hour and a half, but did not think it had been above a quarter of an hour, when he was dug out by some of the Monks of his order. They carried him out of the gate of the city, wounded as he was, in his head, his right hand, and right foot, but he felt no pain, and the same night he preach'd to the people with the host in his hand. The favours he received from the abovesaid Saint, to whose intercession he ascribes his deliverance, he says, were not confined to his person, but extended to his

whole family; for though his palace was entirely ruin'd, he did not lose one of his domesticks, or any officer of his court, except one footman: so that he could say, to the glory of that Saint, that he was pleas'd in his favour to renew the miracle which happen'd, anno 587, at Antioch, in a terrible earthquake, wherein sixty thousand persons lost their lives, and their Bishop GREGORY was preserv'd with all his family, though his palace, as well as that of Benevento, was entirely demolished. " The Saint also had preserved all the records and writings belonging to his church; and upon going to visit his heart, which lies in the church of the Fathers of the Oratory at Naples, he continued his goodness so far, that he was cured of all his wounds before he had well got out of the chapel." And concludes as follows: " In order to perpetuate the memory of so great a miracle, which God, by the intercession of St. PHILIP of Neri, wrought for me a miserable sinner, and to augment the devotion of believers towards so distinguish'd a benefactor, and so amiable a protector, I cause this relation to be register'd, and confirm it with my own subscription and seal, that none may doubt the truth of the facts it contains.

Done at Naples at my convent of St. CATHERINE DE FORMELLE, this present Tuesday the 22d of June, 1688.

F. VINCENT MARIA Card. ORSINI,  
Archbishop of Benevento.

From this specimen of the present Pope's bigotry and superstition, notwithstanding his intended reformatations in the church, and his permitting the bible to be translated, few people will believe him in danger of being infected with the northern heresy; though there were some wise men amongst us so sanguine as to believe him a Protestant in his heart, about the time of his accession to the triple crown. The Pope indeed had been used to a retired monastick life, and did not seem to relish either the business or splendor of a court; nay, he would gladly have retired to his bishoprick of Benevento again, and left the administration of the government to the Cardinals, if he had not been dissuaded from this project by his relations; and yet he may not be less zealous for his religion than his predecessors. But some men are of opinion, that a Roman Catholic cannot be endued with any Christian or moral virtues, but immediately they suppose he is turning Protestant; as if virtue were confined to the people of that denomination, when God knows we may have as little of that kind to boast of at this day, as any persuasion whatever. But to proceed: The Pope considering the shortness of human life, decreed, that a great jubilee should for

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Domini-  
nions.



CHAP. XIX. Pope's Dominions. for the future be celebrated every five and twenty years, instead of fifty, which it was formerly limited to; when the people should be entitled to plenary indulgences, upon condition nevertheless that every person should be obliged to visit four churches every year fifteen times on foot, between the beginning of Lent and the twenty-seventh of May. In pursuance of which new regulation, the Emperor, attended by his whole court, visited the four principal churches of Vienna lately, whether they went on foot over boards laid along the streets for that purpose. Nor does the Pope wholly neglect secular affairs; for they tell us he is about making Civita Vecchia and Ancona free ports, in order to promote a foreign trade in the ecclesiastical State.

Having thus given a catalogue of the Popes, and an abstract of their history, I shall here add a list of the Antipopes, and the years of their respective usurpations, though I find authors are not entirely agreed which were real Popes, and which Antipopes.

## ANTIPOPEs and SCHISMS.

A. D.

- 251. *Novatian*, stiled the Arch-heretick.
- 367. *Ursicinus*, or *Urcimus*.
- 418. *Eulalius*, Archdeacon.
- 498. *Laurence*, Archdeacon.
- 530. *Dioscorus*.
- 686. *Peter* and *Theodorus*.
- 687. *Theodorus* and *Paschal*.
- 757. *Theophylact*, Arch-priest.
- 768. *Constantine*.
- 824. *Zinzimus*.
- 844. *John*, the Deacon.
- 890. *Sergius* and *Boniface VI*.
- 897. *Romanus Gallefinus*.
- 962. *Leo VIII*.
- 990. *John XVI*.
- 1013. *Gregory*.
- 1043. *Sylvester III*. and *John XX*.
- 1059. *John Minceus*, called *Benedict*.
- 1061. *Cadolus*, called *Honorius II*.
- 1080. *Guidert*, called *Clement III*.
- 1118. *Maurice Burdin*, called *Gregory VIII*.
- 1124. *Thibaut*, called *Calixtus III*.
- 1130. *Peter de Leon*, called *Anacletus II*.
- 1138. *Gregory*, called *Victor*.
- 1159. *Octavian*, called *Victor IV*.
- 1164. *Guy de Creme*, called *Paschal III*.
- 1170. *John*, Abbot of *Struma*, called *Calixtus III*.
- 1378. *Clement VII*, look'd upon as Antipope.

A. D.

- 1394. *Peter de Lune*, called *Benedict XIII*.
- 1424. *Gillus*, called *Clement VIII*.
- 1439. *Amadeus VIII*, Duke of Savoy, called *Felix V*.

It is observable, that no Pope, unless St. PETER, has reign'd four and twenty years: and it seems there is a prophetic tradition, that no Pope's reign shall ever extend beyond those limits. Some there are, 'tis true, which have come pretty near it; as St. SILVESTER, who died anno 336, in the twenty-third year of his pontificate: ADRIAN I, who died anno 795, in the twenty-fourth year of his pontificate: LEO III, who died anno 816, in the twenty-first year of his pontificate: ALEXANDER III, who died anno 1181, in the twenty-second year of his reign: Pope URBAN VIII, who died anno 1623, in the twenty-first or twenty-second year of his reign: And lastly, Pope CLEMENT XI, who died anno 1721, in the twenty-first year of his reign.

This tradition, that no Pope shall govern the See of Rome above four and twenty years, is so firmly believed in that court, that we find Cardinal TANARA, Sub-dean of the sacred college, when he complimented Pope CLEMENT XI, on the anniversary of his creation, anno 1720, on his entering into the twenty-first year of his pontificate, using this expression, *Sanctissime Pater, non superabis annos Petri*, Most holy Father, you shall not out-live the years of St. PETER; intimating, that as St. PETER, according to their tradition, was Pope of Rome four and twenty years, and none of his successors had reign'd so long, he ought to prepare himself for his departure: which was but a melancholy compliment to the Pontiff, just recovering from a fit of sickness, and was by some thought to have had an ill effect upon his health, for he soon after relapsed, and died within three months. It may be thought strange, that no Pope of Rome should in the space of seventeen hundred years reign twenty-four, when we find Princes in every kingdom, who have sat upon their thrones forty, fifty, and some sixty years: but the wonder will abate, when we consider that they generally elect one of the eldest Cardinals in the sacred college, who have lived the ordinary age of men before they are advanced to that dignity, whereas other Princes are frequently crown'd in their infancy: and perhaps rather than spoil the prophecy, That no Pope shall exceed the years of St. PETER, they may be induced to practise Italian arts upon him, if he presume to advance beyond those limits.

CHAP. XIX. Pope's Dominions.



## CHAP.

## XX.

Pope's  
Domini-  
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## CHAP. XX.

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WHEN the Pope dies, notice is immediately given to the sacred college, to the nobility, and courts of justice; and the same or the succeeding day, the Cardinal Chamberlain dress'd in purple, and attended by the clerks of the chamber, and some members of the Council, comes and views the corps, and calls out to the deceased by his Christian name, OTTOBONI, or PIGNATELLI, as his name is, *sei morto?* art thou dead? and after a short pause answers again, *Ottoboni e morto*, OTTOBONI is dead. Then taking the seal call'd *L'anello del piscatore*, the fisherman's ring, he breaks it, and the great bell of the capitol, which is never moved but on this occasion, is ordered to be rung, to give notice to the citizens of Rome of the Pope's death; and Expresses are sent to all Roman Catholick Princes and States, and particularly to the absent Cardinals, to summon them to the election of another Pope. The Cardinal Chamberlain has the administration of the civil government during a vacancy, and even coins money, according to MOTRAYE, with his own arms on one side, and two cross keys on the reverse, and is attended by the guards of the deceased Pope. The Cardinals of his creation are dressed in violet-coloured serge during the vacancy, and those of his predecessors creating wear green habits faced with red; and the maces carried before the Cardinals on all solemn occasions are reversed. The corps being wash'd and embalm'd, the next day is carried to St. PAUL's chapel in the Vatican, and dress'd in the pontifical habit, from whence they attend it to St. PETER's, and place it in the chapel of SIXTUS V, on a magnificent bed of state, surrounded by a vast number of wax lights, which burn night and day; the Priests all the while praying for the repose of the deceased's soul: which surely must be unnecessary, for he who in his life-time could give ease to all the souls in purgatory, can never want it himself. As the feet of the dead Pope are set close to the iron balustrade which opens into the chapel, multitudes of people croud hither to kiss them, especially the women, not doubting but their paying this piece of respect to GOD's Vicar on earth, will exalt them to heavenly mansions. On the ninth day the corps is put into a coffin, or rather coffins, the first of cedar, and the second of lead, with sixty of the late Pope's coronation medals, twenty of gold, twenty of silver, and as many of brass; after which, the funeral being solemniz'd, the

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CHAP. XX. Pope's Dominions.



**CHAP. XX.** *nocentius*, according to the name he chuses. Then the Pope putting on the robes he appears in at the Pope's greatest solemnities, and a mitre on his head, goes to St. PETER's, where he is seated on the high altar, and publickly ador'd by the Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Canons of that church; which being over, he is attended to his apartment in the Vatican. Some days after is performed the ceremony of his coronation, before St. PETER's church, where a throne is erected for that purpose, when his mitre is taken off, and the tiara (a raised cap) encircled with three crowns one above another, and embellish'd with jewels, is put on his head. This triple crown, says my author, declares his sacerdotal and imperial dignity, and represents him as the supreme Judge and Legislator of all Christians. LEWIS I of France first sent the Pope a crown of gold adorn'd with jewels, he wearing till then only a mitre. BONIFACE VIII added the second crown, about the year 1296, after having asserted his dominion over the temporal powers; and BENEDICT XII added the third about the year 1340. There is a splendid cavalcade some time after the coronation, when the Pope goes to take possession of the cathedral church of St. JOHN de Lateran, as he is Bishop of Rome. At this solemnity the Cardinals march in order before him, and he is attended by all the foreign Ambassadors, Nobility, and persons of distinction, ecclesiastical and secular, in and about Rome. When he comes to the church he knocks three times at the door, which is thereupon open'd by the Arch-priest, who presents him with two keys, one of gold and the other of silver, and afterwards, with the rest of the Canons, kisses his slipper. Then the Pope advances to the high altar, where he sits enthron'd, and the Cardinals and the rest of the clergy are admitted also to kiss his slipper. After some other ceremonies his Holiness blesses the people, and returns to his palace in the same state he came.

### CHAP. XXI.

#### *Treats of the Pope's ecclesiastical power and government.*

Of the Pope's ecclesiastical power and government.

**T**HOSE who have treated of the Pope's power and the constitution of the Papal State, constantly distinguish and divide them into ecclesiastical and temporal. The ecclesiastical is extended throughout the world, wherever the Roman Catholick religion has gain'd admittance: the temporal is confined to the Pope's territories in Italy. The motives made use of to procure a submission to his ecclesiastical sovereignty, are the strongest that the wit of man could devise: Some Princes, as PUFFENDORFF observes, have gain'd themselves and their government a great authority by

**CHAP. XXI.** pretending to be the offspring of the gods, and that their institutions were the dictates and commands of heaven, and on these accounts have been adored and placed among the gods after their deaths: but the Pope has gone farther, and persuaded the people that he is the Lieutenant of Christ, who has all power in heaven and earth, and can dispense the merits of our Saviour to whom he pleases; and those who refuse to acknowledge this prerogative are incapable of eternal salvation. And as nothing can so strongly enforce our obedience, and induce us to submit to all sorts of hardship as the fear of God's displeasure and eternal damnation, it is evident, that if the people once believe the Pontiff possessed of this power of saving and damning whom he pleases, they will readily conform to his dictates in every other instance; consequently his subjects are as numerous, and indeed the very same with those who acknowledge his vicarious power. Whatever ties and obligations they are under to the civil powers where they live, they will cancel them all, when their duty to the Pope comes in competition with that to their temporal Sovereigns: nay, when this article was more generally believed than it is indeed at present, the people were frequently spirited up to depose their natural Sovereigns, and transfer their allegiance to the Pope, or to whomsoever he was pleased to assign their kingdoms; consequently the Princes of that communion have but a very precarious title to their crowns, where this article is firmly believ'd. It is the apprehension of this independent jurisdiction also, the setting up an empire within their empires, that has deterr'd the Sovereigns of Japan, China, and Turkey, from encouraging the disciples of the Romish communion, and been an inconceivable prejudice to Christianity in general in those parts of the world. It is not the doctrine of a crucified Saviour, as the Jesuits suggest, that prevents the gospel's gaining ground in China; but the notions they infuse into the people, that the Pope is rather to be obey'd than the civil Magistrate, which sets all the Magistrates of the East against them, and has occasion'd their being massacred and cut in pieces more than once. The Japonese, who apprehend that all Christians teach the same doctrine, will not suffer a Christian to set his foot on their shores, unless the Dutch, who are content to trample upon the cross, and renounce their Saviour, that they may engross this branch of trade.

And though of late years many temporal Princes, and their lay-subjects of that communion, have disputed the Pope's supremacy, yet the Monks and regular Clergy, if not the secular, in every country still remain entirely devoted to the Roman See, and are ready to oppose and distress the civil powers by all the ways imaginable, whenever the Pope's authority is called in question; and



CHAP. XXI. Pope's Dominions. and these, though exceeding numerous, amounting as 'tis computed to two millions of souls, are more formidable than any other militia of the like number would be; inasmuch as there is scarce a Prince's court, or great family in Europe, but they have a considerable influence on, and are all subsisted at the charge of the people, of those very people to whom they preach this slavish doctrine, without being any burthen to their great ecclesiastical Sovereign or General. And that which renders them the more independent on their respective Princes and States where they reside, is the state of celibacy, which is strictly required of them all; for having none of those domestick pledges of their fidelity, a wife or children, as other subjects have, they are always disencumber'd and at liberty to obey the Pope's orders, whenever he requires their service. They serve also to drain the several countries where they live of their wealth and treasure, and convey them from the impoverish'd natives to Rome, the seat of this spiritual Empire: and according to a late calculation, the stated constant revenues of the Romish clergy thus dependent on the Pope, amounts to more than twenty millions sterling per ann. and the casual profits arising from offerings, and the superstitious bounty of the people, amounts to full as much: add to these the moveable ornaments and utensils in their churches, the gold and silver crosses, chalices, pattens, lamps, candlesticks, and shrines enriched with diamonds and other precious stones, especially those of St. PETER's and Loretto, and the treasure of the church will appear inestimable. And what may not be effected by a court of such refined politicks as that of Rome, thus powerfully supported? It is observed that their missionaries gain ground every day, and not a year passes but some Sovereign Prince is reconciled to their communion. Nor can this be thought strange by those who reflect on the immense sums the church is possessed of, and with what address it is applied to promote her interests. Were it not that many of the best families in Europe have great part of their revenues out of the sequester'd church-lands and tythes, and that the Protestants are in continual dread of the Inquisition, the Pope would soon unite the Christians of every denomination to the See of Rome; few, very few would stand out on principle, could he find a way to remove their fears of persecution and the loss of their estates, the most zealous opposers of his supremacy might be taken off, according to the modern phrase, and be induced to wave their clamours against Popery.

It seems to be now as under the Jewish dispensation, the people are most effectually wrought upon by temporal motives; as the milk and honey, the wine and oil of the land of Canaan, had a much greater influence on that people, than the distant prospect of eternal rewards; and a temporal captivity was more dreaded by them than everlasting misery. In these respects there may be a pretty near resemblance between the antient Jews and the Christians of the present age. But to proceed: Suitable to the power and grandeur of the Sovereign Pontiff are the honours and titles that are given him: the respect that is paid him, according to a late traveller, is greater than was ever paid to mortal man: those that approach him kneel three times, viz. at the entrance of the hall of audience, in the middle, and before his throne, where they kiss his slipper, or rather a little embroider'd cross on the toe of it. The greatest Roman Catholick Princes are not exempted from this submission, and when they speak to him, they stile him Most Holy Father. Some of the principal prerogatives he assumes as God's Vicar on earth, are, 1. The canonization of those who have deserved well of the Holy See, placing them in the number of Saints, and decreeing them those honours which they call Doulia, being pray'd to and honour'd afterwards as so many subordinate deities. 2. The making of Cardinals, to whom he says at their creation, 'My most beloved sons, 'You have received the greatest and highest honour; You are called into the Council of the 'Apostles; You shall be our Counsellors, and 'with us judge the universe, and sit round the 'throne as successors to the Apostles.' 3. Excommunication, that spiritual thunder which hath formerly made the greatest Princes in Europe tremble, who after this sentence have been driven from their thrones, and their dominions transferred to others. On their subjects this power is frequently exercised by inferiour Bishops and Priests, who holding in their hands lighted tapers till they are extinguish'd, fling them down and trample them under their feet, using at the same time the most terrible execrations against the party excommunicated that can be imagin'd, whereupon he is cut off from all communion with the church, and excluded from all society with men, assign'd to the flames in this world, and to everlasting fire in the next. And from hence I very naturally proceed to enquire in what instances the Roman Catholick religion differs from that of the Church of England, or at least the most material points.

CHAP. XXI. Pope's Dominions.



## CHAP.

## XXII.

Pope's

Domi-

nions.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Contains an enquiry into the principal points wherein the church of Rome differs from the church of England.*

The points wherein the church of Rome differs from the church of England. Infallibility.

**T**HE church of Rome has added so many articles to the primitive creeds, that she carries a very different face from the rest of the Christian world, of which the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility is the most monstrous, and indeed the mother of all the rest; for admitting this one article, we must of course submit our judgment to whatever he is pleased to dictate. It would be the highest arrogance and folly to dispute with unerring wisdom. But the Roman Catholics themselves, I find, are not agreed in whom this infallibility is lodg'd: Some hold that the Pope alone is possess'd of it; others are of opinion it is in the Pope and a general council; and a third place it in a general council without the Pope: and accordingly, we find that the Council of Constance, held about the year 1415, deposed all the contending Popes, and placed MARTIN V in the chair, declaring that a general council lawfully call'd only was infallible, and had the supreme authority in the church next under Christ. Notwithstanding this decision, the Pope alone is held infallible at this day by many of that communion, and especially the Jesuits. But as there is no colour in Scripture or Antiquity to induce us to believe that the successors of the Bishop of Rome are more infallible in their judgments than the successors of any other primitive Bishop, and that the Roman Catholics themselves are not agreed in whom this unerring wisdom resides, we may fairly suspend our belief of this article for the present: and there seems to be such a connexion between his supremacy and infallibility, that if we deny one, we shall not easily admit the other, the greatest motive to acknowledge his supremacy being a belief of his infallibility. A man will make but little scruple to obey him as God's Vicar on earth, who believes he is infallible and divinely inspired.

Purgatory.

2. The second doctrine I shall mention is that of purgatory; supposed to be an unquenchable fire, where the souls of those who have been guilty of venial, or involuntary transgressions, burn till they are purified from their dross and guilt, not having had time or opportunity to perform the penances enjoyn'd them on earth. Of which they produce just as much evidence as of the former.

Indulgencies.

3. The doctrine of indulgencies, which supposes that the Pope has power to remit the pu-

nishments due to sinners, and exempt them from the pains of hell and purgatory.

4. Limbo, or the confines of hell, in which they suppose the souls of infants who die without baptism are confin'd; and though they are not punished by fire, are however excluded from the beatifick vision.

5. The doctrine of worshipping Saints and Angels, and begging their mediation and intercession with God, and the adoring their reliques and images.

6. The sacrifice of the Mass, which they hold to be a propitiatory sacrifice, both for the living and dead, which every Priest usually offers once a day, and twice on Christmas-day and other solemn occasions. If it be a Low Mass, he is assisted by one or two laymen, called Respondents; and it is called a Low Mass from the being celebrated in a low voice, such as is used in common conversation. At High Mass he is assisted by Deacons and Subdeacons, and the service is sung or chanted aloud, from whence it is called High Mass. This service is perform'd in Latin, and after the Priest has used these words of consecration, *Hoc est enim Corpus meum*, For this is my body; the members of this church believe the body of Christ descends invisibly from heaven, and the bread is imperceptibly changed or transubstantiated into his flesh and blood in such a manner, that though the appearances and accidents continue to make the same impression upon all the senses after the pronouncing those words as before, yet there is none of their real substance remaining, but that the sole and natural body of Christ, with all its parts and blood, is as entire in the least particle of bread, as it was upon the cross before his death.

The words of consecration of the cup are the same as those used by our church; but this is never communicated to the Laity, because, say their Doctors, the body of Christ being entire in every particle, and there being no living body without blood, the cup is superfluous. But we might demand on this occasion, If the cup be superfluous, why do their Clergy drink of it? And why indeed was it instituted by our Saviour? These Masses, they give out, will shorten the pains of the souls in purgatory; for which reason their votaries usually give large legacies to the church at their deaths, to have Masses said for them; and some of them in their health settle lands in perpetuity, that the Priests may say Masses for themselves and families from generation to generation.

Tradition, is another doctrine of the church of Rome, which Protestants do not come into. This is an unwritten law, which some of the Roman Catholics prefer to the written law, or Scripture

CHAP. XXII. Pope's Dominions. Limbo.

Worship of Saints, &c.

Transubstantiation.

Tradition.



CHAP. XXII. Scripture it self; for they alledge that these books have been corrupted by the several translators, Pope's either through design or ignorance; especially by the authors of heretical or schismatical sects. To prove which, they shew the several different versions and copies amongst them, the abridgments and omissions in some, and the additions in others. They alledge farther, that several parts of the written law which was owned as such at least by the primitive Christians, is entirely lost; and observe that the version of the Septuagint, makes the world fifteen hundred years older than the Hebrew text: and tradition, they say, is a kind of errata and supplement, which supplies whatever is imperfect or defective in Holy Writ. They dissuade their disciples therefore from reading those books; and the better to prevent it, keep them locked up in the dead languages; and lest those who understand them should be guided by their private judgments in the interpretation of the Scriptures, the inquisition was established to prevent all disputes, and to compel them to believe as the church believes.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*Treats of the court of Rome, and the Pope's temporal government.*

The court  
and temporal  
government  
of Rome.

THE Pope consider'd as a temporal Prince, is one of the most absolute Monarchs in Europe; he holds indeed a consistory of Cardinals frequently, who are his council in ecclesiastical affairs, but are not permitted to intermeddle in the civil government. They are seventy in number when compleat, and their present title that of Eminence. Their election depends solely on the Pope's pleasure, and they look upon themselves equal to sovereign Princes of the second class at least. Six of them are Cardinal-Bishops, fifty Cardinal-Priests, and fourteen Cardinal-Deacons. The Pope has of late years been very cautious in electing persons of high birth, who are related to sovereign Princes, on account of the disturbances that have been occasion'd sometimes by their too potent interests; and if such persons do obtain a Cardinal's cap, they seldom are advanc'd to the Papal chair, lest they should endeavour to fix it in their families. And the Popes having been Italians for several centuries, take care that there never want a great majority of the natives of Italy in that body to strengthen their interest against foreigners, who being advanced to the Papal See, would naturally be partial to their respective countries, and perhaps give up the prerogatives of the church in favour of their natural Sovereigns. Such Cardinals as have not a competent subsistence of their own, which seldom hap-

pens, are allow'd, 'tis said, a stipend of seven thousand Roman crowns per annum, out of the Apostolick chamber.

The Pope's chief minister is the Cardinal-Patron, usually one of his nephews, or a nearer relation, to whom he gives an opportunity of amassing prodigious sums, if the Pontificate be of a long duration; and these nephews have been the founders of some of the greatest families in Italy. The second minister is the Pope's Vicar, who is always a Cardinal, and has the jurisdiction of the secular and regular Clergy, Lay-communities, Hospitals and Jews, and has a Lieutenant of civil and another for criminal affairs, and a Bishop for his Vicegerent in matters belonging to his episcopal function. 3. The Chancellor, who is always a Cardinal also. 4. The Cardinal Chamberlain. 5. The Prefect of the signature of justice, who is a Cardinal. 6. The General who commands the troops and fortified places of the State. 7. The Penitentiary. 8. The Master of the sacred Palace. 9. The Sacristan, or Vestry-keeper. 10. The Pope's Secretary, who is always a Cardinal, and frequently one of his nephews. There are besides twenty-four Secretaries for briefs. 11. The Governour of Rome, who has cognizance of civil and criminal causes in the city, with a power to stay the proceedings of other courts. 12. The Treasurer General. 13. The Marshal of Rome, who has the cognizance of causes between the citizens and strangers; he is always a foreigner, and wears a robe like an ancient Roman Senator in the execution of his office. 14. Four Masters of the ceremonies. 15. The Major Domo, or Steward of the household. 16. The Chamberlains of honour. 17. The Master of the stables. 18. The General of the Pope's guards.

The principal courts in Rome, next to the consistory of Cardinals, are, 1. The congregation of the Holy Office, consisting of twelve Cardinals, and several Prelates and Doctors, who are the supreme courts of inquisition. 2. The Apostolical chamber, which consists of the Cardinal-Chamberlain, the Treasurer-General, and other inferior officers, who manage the revenues of the ecclesiastical state. 3. The court of Rota, consisting of twelve Prelates, who take cognizance of all causes ecclesiastical and civil relating to Clergymen, which come before them by way of appeal, the canonization of Saints, ceremonies of the church, disputes about precedence, &c. This court takes its name, it is said, from the pavement of the chamber where they sit, on which there is the resemblance of a wheel. 4. The court of Datary, which consists of a Datary, Subdatary and Prefect; who have the disposal of all vacant benefices, except those call'd Consistorial, or under four hundred ducats per

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Pope's  
Domini-  
ons.



CHAP. per annum, which are conferred without the  
XXIII. Pope's knowledge, but the grants of benefices of  
Pope's a greater value must be signed by the Pope him-  
Domi- self. 5. The court of the Penitentiary, which  
nions. takes cognizance of all bulls and dispensations in  
cases of conscience, which are generally sealed  
up and sent to some confessor.

The Campania of Rome is under the immediate government of the Pope, the other provinces of the Ecclesiastical State are govern'd by Legates or Vice-legates, besides which there is a Commander in chief of the forces in every province, and every city hath its Governour deputed by the Pope; but as to the Podesta's, or Judges, and other inferiour Officers, they are elected by the inhabitants. The great oppression complain'd of in the Pope's territories, is his engrossing all the corn in the country, obliging the owners and occupiers of lands to sell his agents their corn at a very low rate, and retailing it out again at double the price; insomuch that some gentlemen chuse to let their lands lie uncultivated, rather than manure them, the charges of ploughing and sowing exceeding the profits they make. But it can hardly be supposed that this is generally the case; for if the People were discouraged in this manner from ploughing their grounds, the Sovereign must lose the duty arising by corn, which is one of the best branches of his revenue: neither does he hold up the price of grain so very high as some suggest when he retails it out; for travellers all agree that bread-corn is very reasonable at Rome; and tho' there have been some oppressors among the Roman Pontiffs, there have been others who have distributed great quantities of grain to the poor *gratis*; so that to say with some, that the government is mild, and with others, that it is oppressive, is ridiculous. It is by all allow'd to be despotical, and varies according to the disposition and temper of the Pontiff who happens to be upon the throne. Only thus much is observed in general, that there is more liberty allow'd in Rome to those of a different communion than in any other Roman Catholick city whatever.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

*Contains a description of the rest of the towns, and remarkable places in the Campania of Rome, and the other towns and provinces of the Pope's dominions.*

Tivoli.

THE city of Tivoli, the antient *Tibur*, said to be built by the Greeks, is situated on the brow of a hill near the river Anio, or Teverone, about twenty miles to the eastward of Rome. The hill is covered with olive-trees for five or six miles together, and adorn'd with beau-

tiful villa's or palaces; from hence there is a glorious prospect over the Campania as far as Rome it self. In the time of the ancient Romans it was esteem'd one of the most healthful, as well as pleasant situations in Italy: on which account they had their villa's, or summer's retirements here. HORACE was so pleased with the situation, that he wishes it might be the retreat of his old age. The Teverone forms a cascade, or rather cataract, near this town, falling from a rock; in one of the cavities whereof is said to be the grotto of LEUCOTHEA, the Tiburtin Sibyl, from whence she utter'd her oracles. Here are also the ruins of an antient round building surrounded with marble pillars, supposed to be the temple of HERCULES SAXANUS. One of the greatest modern curiosities is the palace belonging to the family of ESTE or Modena, admired for its architecture, sculpture, paintings, gardens and water-works. The gardens lie on the side of a hill, divided into four parts. The walks, labyrinths, grotto's, fountains and statues, admirably disposed; and there is a wilderness where artificial birds are made to fly and sing, being put in motion by a stream of water. The Girandola, representing a storm of thunder, hail and rain, surprizes all that view it. There is not a place in Italy which affords so great a variety of curiosities of this kind. Mr. ADDISON admires the prospect from the hill of Tivoli above all things, which opens, he observes, on one side into the Campania, where the eye loses itself in a smooth spacious plain. On the other side is a more broken and interrupted scene, made up of an infinite variety of inequalities and shadowings, that naturally arise from an agreeable mixture of hills, groves and valleys; but the most enlivening part of all is the river Teverone, which is seen at about a quarter of a mile distance, throwing it self down a precipice, and falling by several cascades from one rock to another, till after a turbulent noisy course of several miles, it gains the bottom of the valley, where the sight would be quite lost if it did not sometimes discover it self through the breaks and openings of the woods that grow about it; from hence it flows gently on till it falls into the Tiber. Tivoli is now reduced to a very little town, surrounded with an ordinary wall; but is still the See of a Bishop. Not far from it is the rivulet of Salsorata, formerly *Albula*, from whose waters there arises a sulphureous stench, which may be smelt at a good distance. The little lake from whence this river issues, is one of the greatest natural curiosities about Rome: it lies in the very bottom of the Campania, and is the drain of these parts; the sides are cover'd with a kind of stony crust, and in it are several floating islands, twenty or thirty yards over, supposed to be form'd originally

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Pope's  
Domi-  
nions.



CH A P. XXIV. Pope's Domi-  
 nions. ginally by parcels of rarified sulphureous earth cast up by the water, which sticking to rushes and herbs have been augmented by degrees to this bigness. This lake is unfathomable, and yet not above a mile in compass at present; but Mr. ADDISON supposes the banks have grown over it in the same manner the islands have been form'd in it, and that in time the whole surface will be crufted over, as the islands are enlarged, and the banks close in upon them; for all round the lake where the ground was dry, they discover'd it to be hollow by the trampling of the horses feet. Near Tivoli also are the stone-quarries from whence they fetch that stone used in their buildings at Rome, call'd Tiburtine stone, of which great part of St. PETER's is built, not comparable to Portland stone, of which the churches in London are built.

Palestrina. Palestrina stands about nine miles to the eastward of Tivoli, and twenty-eight east of Rome; at the foot of the same mountain on which the antient *Præneste* stood, famous for the Temple of Fortune, where the *Sortes Prænestinae* were kept; there are still great pillars of granite and other ruins of this antient temple, but the most considerable remnant of it is a very beautiful Mosaic pavement, the finest, says Mr. ADDISON, that I have ever seen in marble; the parts are so well join'd together, that the whole piece looks like a continued picture. In it are the figures of elephants, a rhinoceros, and several other animals, with little landships, which look very lively, and well painted, tho' they are made out of the natural colours and shadows of the marble.

Frescati. Frescati is a little town, situated on the brow of a hill, twelve miles to the eastward of Rome, the prospects from whence are not so delightful as formerly, when the Campania was set thick with towns, villa's, and plantations. The Tusculum of Cicero, call'd *Grotto Ferrate*, is about two miles from hence, tho' it is generally placed at Frescati. There are several houses of pleasure in it, of which the three principal are Monte Dracone, belonging to the Prince BORGHESE; Belvidere, belonging to the Prince PAMPHILIO; and the Villa Ludovisia, to the family of COLONNA. Mr. ADDISON is a great admirer of Frescati also. Here, says he, I had the satisfaction of seeing the first sketch of Versailles in the walks and water-works: but MISSON, who is a native of France, despises them to the last degree, insinuating that there is no comparison between the one and the other. I am sorry, says MISSON in one of his letters, that I cannot relate to you so many wonders of Tivoli and Frescati, as you seem to expect. They are indeed very pleasant places, and rather than give offence, I will venture to call them very fine. But if once this maxim be establish'd, that when we consider

things which are reputed beautiful, we ought to proportion the esteem we have for them by comparing them one with another; I must sincerely acknowledge, that if we compare Frescati to Versailles, or to several other pleasant seats in France, which are not Royal houses, I dare positively affirm that the celebrated wonders not only of Frescati, but also of Tivoli, and all the most beautiful palaces about Rome, as to the gardens and water-works, deserve no higher title than that of Pretty Things. Monte Dracone is a pretty large house, situated on a rising ground, from whence we may see Rome and the whole extent of the plain; but the city is at too great a distance to be seen from hence with pleasure. The avenues to this house also are very difficult: nor are there at present fountains or gardens about it that merit a particular description. The situation of Belvidere is not unlike that of Monte Dracone: there is a pretty cascade in it, and a grotto, in which are the figures of APOLLO with the nine Muses on Mount Parnassus, where the several statues play on instruments when the water-works are in order. The cascade at the Villa Ludovisia is the principal ornament of that garden also. The furniture of all the three houses was mean, and every thing about them appear'd neglected when I was there in 1688. But whether things were put into a better condition when MISSON visited them afterwards, or he was in a better humour than at first, he gives us a very different account of the Roman villa's within a very few pages. The Villa Borghese, says that gentleman, pag. 68. of the second volume, is in my opinion kept in better order than any that I have hitherto seen. 'Tis certainly a very pleasant place, and fit for a great Prince: the house is almost cover'd over on the outside with basso-relievo's, which are disposed in so natural an order, and with so much symmetry, that you would be tempted to think they had been purposely made to fill those places where they are now set. The principal statues, with which the apartments are replenish'd, are, the JUNO of porphyry, ROMULUS's she-wolf of fine red marble of Egypt; the busts of HANNIBAL, SENECA and PERTINAX, the hermaphrodite; the old SILENUS holding BACCHUS in his arms; but especially the Gladiator, of which there was a copy at the head of the canal in St. JAMES's Park, till the late King WILLIAM removed it. Here are also DAVID wounding GOLIAH with a stone; AENEAS with his father ANCHYSES on his back, and the transformation of DAPHNE. And my author is so exceeding indulgent to the Villa Borghese at this time, that he says, he cannot forbear repeating once more, *That it is a delicious place*: And if all the royal magnificence which adorns some other places (the French palaces he means) does not

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 nions.



CHAP. not appear in this with so much splendour, yet  
XXIV. it must be acknowledg'd, that it has beauties no  
Pope's less soft and charming, such tender and natural  
Domi- beauties as touch our hearts very sensibly, if they  
nions. do not inspire us with some awe. Adding, that

Rome being the source of antique statues and sculptures, some of which are reputed inimitable, all the world must yield the precedency in this point to a Roman Prince.

In the Villa Ludovisia there is also a prodigious multitude of antient statues, among which the expiring Gladiator, known by the name of the dying MYRMILLO, is invaluable. The poor Prince to whom it belongs was once about mortgaging of it for fifteen thousand crowns. The groupe, call'd Concord, the statues of FULVIUS, ESCULAPIUS, ANTONINUS PIUS, the two APOLLO'S, FAUNUS and VENUS, are admirable pieces. The gardens of the Villa Pamphilia, says the same Gentleman, would be the fairest that I have seen, if they were kept in order; for here is more design, more symmetry, and a more regular disposition of the parts than any where else. The house is adorn'd on the outside with fine antique basso-relievo's, like that of the Villa Borghese, and no less replenish'd within; but the best statues were much disorder'd by the following accident: A young Prince of this family having a Jesuit for the governour of his conscience, who exclaim'd loudly against the indecency of those naked marble figures which he kept in his palace, the poor young gentleman, to humour his confessor, caused all the statues with nudities to be plaister'd over; only little BACCHUS had the good fortune to escape this holy fury: but the Prince returning to a better mind, and preferring the conversation of a Princess to the society of the Jesuits, order'd these fine statues to be uncover'd again, when he found several parts of them had been broken by the workmen who were employ'd to cover them to make the clay stick the faster, to his irreparable damage. Fregati is a Bishop's See, who is suffragan of Rome, and usually possess'd by one of the six eldest Cardinals.

Castel Gandolpho.

Castel Gandolpho stands about ten miles south-east of Rome, near a lake of the same name, and is most considerable for a Villa or palace of the Pope's, where he resides for some time in the Spring and Autumn.

Albano.

Albano, built out of the ruins of the antient *Alba longa*, is situated twelve miles south-east of Rome, famous for its excellent wine, and the ruins of an antient mausoleum, which according to the tradition of the place belong'd to ASCANIUS; but nothing is more remarkable at Albano than the prospect from the Capuchins garden, which for the extent and variety of pleasing incidents, Mr. ADDISON says, is one of the most

delightful he ever saw. It takes in the whole CHAP  
Campania of Rome, and terminates in a full view XXIV.  
of the Tuscan sea; you see at the same time part Pope's  
of the Alban lake, which lies close by it in an oval Domi-  
figure, about seven miles in circumference, and nions.  
by reason of the high mountains which encompass it, looks like the area of some vast amphitheatre. This, together with the several green hills and naked rocks within the neighbourhood, makes the most agreeable confusion imaginable. Not far from Albano lies Nemi, which takes its name from the *Nemus Dianæ*, the whole country about it being still overspread with woods and thickets. The lake of Nemi lies in a very deep bottom, so surrounded on all sides with mountains and groves, that the surface of it is never ruffled with the least breath of wind, which with the clearness of the waters, my author supposes, gain'd it the name of DIANA'S Looking-Glass,

—*Speculumque Dianæ.*

VIRG.

The places abovemention'd in the Campania were all of them formerly the cool retirements of the Romans, where, in my author's phrase, they used to hide themselves among the woods and mountains during the excessive heats of summer (as Baia was the general winter rendezvous) according to the Poet,

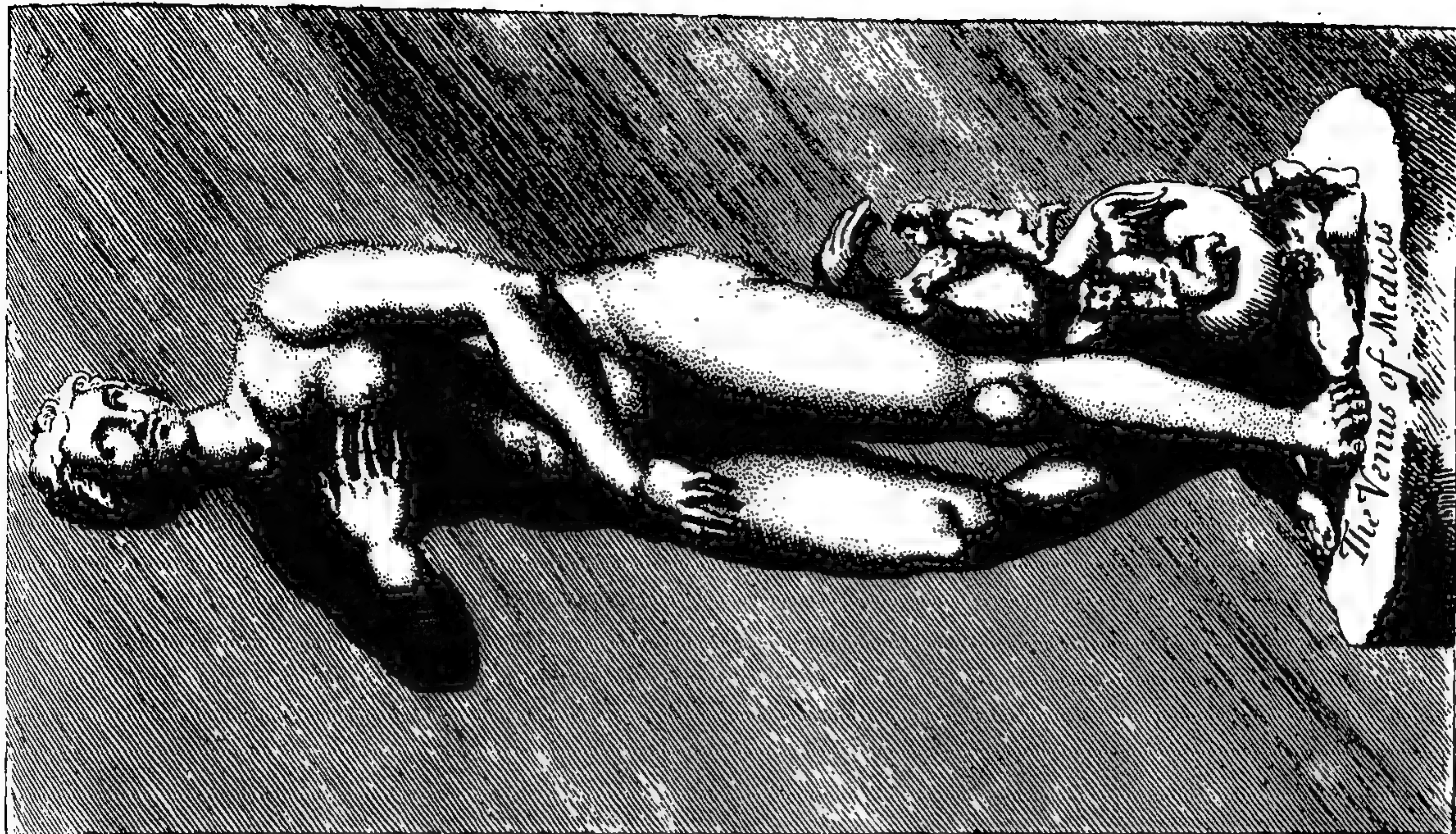
All shun the raging dog-star's sultry heat,  
And from the half unpeopled town retreat;  
Some hid in Nemi's gloomy forests lie,  
To Palestrina some for shelter fly:  
Others to catch a breeze of breathing air,  
To Tusculum or Algidio repair:  
Or in moist Tivoli's retirement find  
A cooling shade, and a refreshing wind.

On the contrary, as Mr. ADDISON observes, Rome is never fuller of nobility than in summer, for the country towns are so infested with unwholesome vapours, that it is dangerous residing there during the heats; tho' the air of Campania no doubt would be as healthful as formerly, if there were as many fires burning in it, and as many inhabitants to manure the soil. Albano is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Rome, and held by one of the six eldest Cardinals.

Velitri is situated on a fruitful hill, eighteen miles south-east of Rome, antiently a considerable city of the Volsci, and is at this day a handsome little town, well inhabited, surrounded with a wall, and the See of a Bishop, who is also Bishop of Ostia. The great AUGUSTUS was nurs'd, if not born near this place, and the Romans had such a veneration for his memory, that they made it unlawful for any man to set his foot within the doors of that house.

Cisternæ is a castle between Velitri and Sermoneta,





*Myrmillo expiring*





CHAP. XXIV. Sermonieta, near which are the three taverns mentioned by St. PAUL, where the primitive Christians, according to tradition, used to receive the communion.

~~~~~ Sermonieta is a little town which gives title to a Duke of the family of CAJETANO, and is situated on a hill near the Palus Pontina, about thirty miles south-east of Rome.

Anagni. Anagni, antiently the capital of the Hernici, is situated upon a hill about two and thirty miles south-east of Rome. It is now a ruinous place and ill inhabited, but is however a Bishop's See.

Ferentini, &c. Ferentini, Alatri and Veroli, are only considerable for being the Sees of as many Bishops.

Piperno. Piperno is situated in a fruitful country about thirty five miles from Rome, in the road to Naples.

Terracina. Terracina, *olim Anxur*, stands about fifty miles south-east of Rome, and fifteen north-west of Gaeta, on the same road, near the sea, about two miles to the westward of the kingdom of Naples. The place is small, and but thinly inhabited on account of the badness of the air, occasion'd by the Palus Pontina which lies about it; but is still a Bishop's See.

Nettuno. Nettuno, the *Antium Navale* of the antients, situate on the Tuscan sea, about thirty miles to the southward of Rome, and formerly a good harbour; but is now almost deserted also on account of the badness of the air.

Ostia. Ostia, situate at the mouth of the Tiber, twelve or fifteen miles to the westward of Rome; formerly a good port, but the harbour being choak'd up, it is now an inconsiderable place, and only remarkable for its being a Bishop's See, united to Velitri.

The patrimony of St. PETER. The second province of the Pope's dominions I proposed to describe, was that which goes by the name of the Patrimony of St. PETER, comprehending the duchy of Castro, and the territory of Orvieto, bounded by Tuscany and Umbria towards the north and east; by Sabina, and the Campania on the south-east, and by the Tuscan sea towards the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Viterbo. 2. Montefiascone. 3. Bolsena, or Volseno. 4. Vitorchiano. 5. Orta. 6. Citta Castellana. 7. Fiano. 8. Nepi. 9. Sutri. 10. Corneto. 11. Civita Vecchia. 12. Bracciano. 13. Bagni de Bracciano. 14. Ronciglione. 15. Caprarola. 16. Castro. 17. Castel Farnese. 18. Toscanella. 19. Montalto. 20. Orvieto. And, 21. Aquapendente.

Viterbo. Viterbo, the capital of this province, antiently called Tetrapolis, as it consisted of three towns united in one, is situated at the foot of mount Cyminus, about forty miles to the northward of Rome. The town is moderately large, built for the most part of stone, and defended by a wall and some antique square towers of no great

strength. It is beautified with several handsome fountains, among which some are medicinal. It is a Bishop's See, and hath been the residence of several Popes: the cathedral is a fine old church, but not equal to those already described. Near Viterbo stands the castle of Soriano on an eminence, esteem'd one of the strongest fortresses in Italy.

~~~~~ Montefiascone is situated on a little fruitful hill near the lake of Bolsena, about eight miles north-west of Viterbo, and taken notice of by most travellers for its excellent Muscatello-wine, which grows in the neighbourhood. They show the tomb of a Dutchman here who was so fond of this liquor, that he kill'd himself in a few hours with it, as appears by his epitaph.

Bolsena, or Volseno, the antient *Volsinium*, is situated on a lake of the same name, five miles north of Montefiascone. It was one of the twelve cities of Etruria, and, according to PLINY, reduced to ashes by lightning. It is now a little inconsiderable place, most taken notice of for the neighbouring lake, which is of an oval figure, and near forty miles in circumference.

Civita, or Citta Castellana, is a little town situated fifteen miles south-east of Viterbo; remarkable for little but its being a Bishop's See, suffragan to Rome.

Civita Vecchia. Civita Vecchia is situated on the Tuscan sea, about thirty miles north-west of Rome, being the port of that city, and one of the best harbours on the coast; and the Pope, in order to draw the trade that way, has made it a free port. It is defended by a castle and other works, and is the station of the Pope's galleys. The great obstacle to the trade of this place was the want of good water, and the unhealthfulness of it on that account: but the government have been at the charge of conveying water thither by aqueducts of late; whether it will answer their expectations, time must discover: but the Duke of Florence seems to be apprehensive of its drawing the trade from Leghorn, and did what lay in his power to divert the Pope from making it a free port.

~~~~~ Bracciano is the capital of a duchy to which it communicates its name, and belongs to the family of URSINI. It is situated on a hill near a lake of the same name, fifteen miles north-west of Rome. From this lake, which is of a circular figure, and about four miles over, issues the river Arone, which falls into the Tuscan sea.

Bagni di Bracciano. Bagni di Bracciano is a little town situated on the same lake, famous for its baths; called by the antients *Stiglianæ Thermae*.

Ronciglione. Ronciglione is the capital of a territory of the same name, about twenty-five miles north of Rome; a town of good trade; and one of the richest in this province: it belonged to the Duke of Parma till the year 1649, when Pope INNO-

CHAP. CENT X made himself master of it, and his successors have kept it ever since.

Pope's Caprarola is a little town situated on the brow of a hill, four miles to the northward of Romigione, and belongs to the Duke of Parma, having one of the finest castles in Italy for its defence.

Caprarola.

Castro.

Castro is the capital of a duchy which belonged to the Duke of Parma, till Pope INNOCENT X deprived him of it in the year 1649, when he demolish'd the place, and remov'd the bishoprick to Aquapendente. It lies about forty miles north of Rome, on the confines of Tuscany.

Castel Farnese.

Castel Farnese is a little town two miles north-east of Castro.

Tuscanella.

Tuscanella, antiently call'd Tuscia and Tyrrhenia, situate on the confines of Tuscany, and supposed to have communicated its name to that country.

Orvieto.

Orvieto, the capital of a territory call'd the Orvietan, is a large strong city, situated on a high hill of a steep ascent, near the river Paglia, about five and forty miles to the northward of Rome, and fifteen north-east of Viterbo; the See of a Bishop suffragan of Rome, and has one of the finest cathedrals in Italy.

Aquapendente.

Aquapendente is a large well-built town, situated on the top of a rock, from whence there falls a cascade of water, which is thought to be the occasion of its name. It was made a bishoprick upon the destruction of Castro, but is still a poor place, considerable only for the earthen ware made there.

The province of Sabina.

The province of Sabina is bounded by that of Umbria on the north-east; by the kingdom of Naples on the south-east; by the Campania of Rome on the south-west; and by the Patrimony on the north-west: being about twenty-five miles in length, and twenty in breadth, part of the antient kingdom of the Sabins, and exceeding fruitful in wine and oil; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Magliano. 2. Vicovaro. And, 3. Correse.

Chief towns.

Magliano.

Magliano, or Manliana, is situated on an eminence near the river Tiber, about twenty miles north-east of Rome; the capital of the province, and made the See of the Bishop of Sabina by ALEXANDER VI, anno 1405, and is usually possess'd by one of the eldest Cardinals.

Vicavaro.

Vicavaro is situated on a mountain near the river Tiverone, not far from the confines of Naples, and gives the title of Duke to a branch of the family of URSINI.

Correse.

Correse, *olim Quiris*, from whence the Romans were call'd *Quirites*, is at present a small place, situate on a rivulet, about twenty miles to the eastward of Rome.

The province of Umbria, or Spoleto.

The province of Umbria, or duchy of Spoleto,

is bounded by the duchy of Urbino and the CHAP. marquisate of Ancona on the north-east; by the XXIV. kingdom of Naples on the south-east; and by the Pope's Patrimony of St. PETER and Sabina towards the Domi- west and north; being sixty miles and upwards nions. in length from east to west, and forty in breadth from north to south, and had its name of Umbria from the river UMBER. The country is diversify'd with hills and plains, and produces wine, oil, fruits, and plenty of corn. The chief towns are, 1. Spoleto. 2. Trevi. 3. Foligno. 4. Ponte. 5. Spello. 6. Assiso. 7. Bevagna. 8. Montefalco. 9. Todi. 10. Aqua Sparta. 11. Amelia. 12. Otricoli. 13. Narni. 14. Cesis. 15. Terni. 16. Rieti. 17. Norcia. 18. Perugia. 19. Castiglione. And, 20. Passignano.

Chief towns

Spoleto is situated on the declivity of a hill, near the brook Tessino, about five and forty miles north-east of Rome, almost surrounded by rocks and mountains, on one of which stands the castle, of very difficult access, much stronger by nature than art, and antiently repulsed the victorious HANNIBAL, after he had defeated the Romans near the lake of Trasimene, which great event is still commemorated by several inscriptions in the place. It is but a poor city at this day, indifferently built and thinly peopled, and of a very uneven situation. The cathedral is a noble old fabrick, the front adorn'd with Mosaic work on a golden ground, and the pavement inlaid. The chapel of the Madona of St. LUKE is very fine, and has some excellent marble statues in it. There are also some fragments of antiquity in the place, as part of a triumphal arch, and some remains of an amphitheatre; and there is an aqueduct three hundred and fifty paces in length, which joins the mountain of St. FRANCIS to that of Spoleto, lying seven hundred feet above the valley over which it runs. This town was terribly shaken by an earthquake in the year 1703.

Spoleto city.

Foligno, or Foligno, is situated ten miles north-east of Spoleto, in one of the most fruitful plains of Italy, built upon the ruins of the *Forum Flaminii*, the little river Tupino running through it. It is a populous trading place, their principal manufactures are cloth, silk, gold and silver lace.

Foligno

Narni is situated on the side of a mountain near the river Nera, surrounded almost with hills, and makes a pretty appearance as we approach it from Terni. On the top of the hill on which it is built stands the castle, the residence of the Governour. It is very troublesome walking in the city, people being obliged to go perpetually up or down hill. The houses also are indifferently built, and their tatter'd paper windows make them look still worse. On the other hand, it stands in a fruitful soil, and their fruits are excellent in their kind: they have also some mineral

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remains but one entire, the top of the largest is
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hundred and fifty feet high, and two hundred
broad, much larger than the famous arch of the
Rialto in Venice.

Cefis, or Cæsum, eight miles north-east of
Narni, remarkable for the cold winds that issue
from the mountains in the neighbourhood, espe-
cially in summer. They lie between Gemini
and Terni, and are a chain of hills about
eight miles long from east to west, all huge rocks,
wonderfully placed by nature one above another.
The surface of these rocks is full of holes and
chinks, from whence those cold blasts issue du-
ring the heat of summer, and at no other time;
and the natives have a way by Pipes and canals
to convey it into their cellars, to cool their wines
and preserve their fruits.

Terni, *olim Interamnina*, is situated seven miles
north-east of Narni, in a fine fruitful plain, en-
compass'd by two branches of the river Nera,
from whence it derives its antient name, and is
said to have been founded not long after Rome.
It has a brisk trade in oil of olives, with which
the country abounds, making, 'tis said, three hun-
dred charges of oil every day for six months in
the year, every charge weighing six hundred
pounds. Near this place is the famous cascade, or
water-fall from mount Marmore, where the river
running with a prodigious swift current, throws
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high, and falls into the cavity of another rock,
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the fall, and falls again in a perpetual rain over
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forms with the sun an infinite number of rain-
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other, and dance about according to the various
spouting and reboundings of the water, and as
the watry sinoak happens to be thicker or thin-
ner. At length they fall into an abyss hollow'd
by their own weight, from whence they break
forth again impetuously through the jaws and
crevices of the rock, from whence they run mur-
muring on a little way, and then mingle with
the river Nera, which they enlarge above two
thirds. Terni is a well-built populous town, and
a Bishop's See, who is suffragan to Rome.

Rieti, or Reate, is situated on the river Veli-
no, about twenty miles to the eastward of Terni,
on the confines of the kingdom of Naples. It

is a place of some trade, but has a very bad air, CHAP.
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the Romans were defeated by HANNIBAL.

Castiglione del Lago, the capital of a territory Castiglione.
call'd Il Contado di Castello, is a fortified town
on the frontiers of Tuscany, fourteen miles to
the westward of Perugia.

The marquisate of Ancona is bounded by the Ancona
duchy of Urbino on the north; by the gulph marquisate,
of Venice on the north-east; by the kingdom
of Naples on the south-east; by the province of
Umbria or Spoleto on the south-west; and by
Tuscany on the north-west; being about seventy
miles in length from east to west, and fifty in
breadth from north to south: the chief towns
whereof are, 1. Ancona. 2. Loretto. 3. Os-
mo. 4. Recanati. 5. Macerata. 6. Fermo. 7.
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of the Pope's dominions, producing plenty of
corn, wine, flax, hemp and fruits.

Ancona stands on a promontory in the Adri- Ancona city.
atick sea, on two little steep hills, about an hun-
dred and twenty miles to the eastward of Rome;
and sixty south-east of Urbino, having a good
harbour, and a citadel which commands both that
and the town. It makes a tolerable figure at a
distance, but the streets are narrow and uneven,
and neither the publick or private buildings equal
to those of other great towns in Italy. Their
trade also is at a very low ebb, but possibly may
revive again now the Pope has made it a free
port, as well as Civita Vecchia. Provisions, tra-
vellers complain, are dear and scarce here, tho'
the town stands in a plentiful country; one
reason whereof may be, that it is a common
thorough-fare from the north of Italy to Loretto,

CHAP. CENT X made himself master of it, and his successors have kept it ever since.

Pope's Caprarola is a little town situated on the brow of a hill, four miles to the northward of Romagnone, and belongs to the Duke of Parma, having one of the finest castles in Italy for its defence.

Castro. Castro is the capital of a duchy which belonged to the Duke of Parma, till Pope INNOCENT X deprived him of it in the year 1649, when he demolish'd the place, and remov'd the bishoprick to Aquapendente. It lies about forty miles north of Rome, on the confines of Tuscany.

Castel Farnese. Castel Farnese is a little town two miles north-east of Castro.

Tuscanella. Tuscanella, antiently call'd Tuscia and Tyrhenia, situate on the confines of Tuscany, and supposed to have communicated its name to that country.

Orvieto. Orvieto, the capital of a territory call'd the Orvietan, is a large strong city, situated on a high hill of a steep ascent, near the river Paglia, about five and forty miles to the northward of Rome, and fifteen north-east of Viterbo; the See of a Bishop suffragan of Rome, and has one of the finest cathedrals in Italy.

Aquapendente. Aquapendente is a large well-built town, situated on the top of a rock, from whence there falls a cascade of water, which is thought to be the occasion of its name. It was made a bishoprick upon the destruction of Castro, but is still a poor place, considerable only for the earthen ware made there.

The province of Sabina. The province of Sabina is bounded by that of Umbria on the north-east; by the kingdom of Naples on the south-east; by the Campania of Rome on the south-west; and by the Patrimony on the north-west: being about twenty-five miles in length, and twenty in breadth, part of the antient kingdom of the Sabins, and exceeding fruitful in wine and oil; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Magliano. 2. Vicovaro. And, 3. Correse.

Magliano. Magliano, or Manliana, is situated on an eminence near the river Tiber, about twenty miles north-east of Rome; the capital of the province, and made the See of the Bishop of Sabina by ALEXANDER VI, anno 1405, and is usually possess'd by one of the eldest Cardinals.

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is bounded by the duchy of Urbino and the marquissate of Ancona on the north-east; by the kingdom of Naples on the south-east; and by the Patrimony of St. PETER and Sabina towards the west and north; being sixty miles and upwards in length from east to west, and forty in breadth from north to south, and had its name of Umbria from the river Umber. The country is diversify'd with hills and plains, and produces wine, oil, fruits, and plenty of corn. The chief towns are, 1. Spoletto. 2. Trevi. 3. Foligno. 4. Ponte. 5. Spello. 6. Assiso. 7. Bevagna. 8. Montefalco. 9. Todi. 10. Aqua Sparta. 11. Amelia. 12. Otricoli. 13. Narni. 14. Cesis. 15. Terni. 16. Rieti. 17. Norcia. 18. Perugia. 19. Castiglione. And, 20. Passignano.

Spoletto is situated on the declivity of a hill, near the brook Tessino, about five and forty miles north-east of Rome, almost surrounded by rocks and mountains, on one of which stands the castle, of very difficult access, much stronger by nature than art, and antiently repulsed the victorious HANNIBAL, after he had defeated the Romans near the lake of Thrasimene, which great event is still commemorated by several inscriptions in the place. It is but a poor city at this day, indifferently built and thinly peopled, and of a very uneven situation. The cathedral is a noble old fabrick, the front adorn'd with Mosaick work on a golden ground, and the pavement inlaid. The chapel of the Madona of St. LUKE is very fine, and has some excellent marble statues in it. There are also some fragments of antiquity in the place, as part of a triumphal arch, and some remains of an amphitheatre; and there is an aqueduct three hundred and fifty paces in length, which joins the mountain of St. FRANCIS to that of Spoletto, lying seven hundred feet above the valley over which it runs. This town was terribly shaken by an earthquake in the year 1703.

Foligno, or Foligno, is situated ten miles north-east of Spoletto, in one of the most fruitful plains of Italy, built upon the ruins of the *Forum Flaminii*, the little river Tupino running through it. It is a populous trading place, their principal manufactures are cloth, silk, gold and silver lace.

Narni is situated on the side of a mountain near the river Nera, surrounded almost with hills, and makes a pretty appearance as we approach it from Terni. On the top of the hill on which it is built stands the castle, the residence of the Governour. It is very troublesome walking in the city, people being obliged to go perpetually up or down hill. The houses also are indifferently built, and their tatter'd paper windows make them look still worse. On the other hand, it stands in a fruitful soil, and their fruits are excellent in their kind: they have also some mineral

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and sixty south-east of Urbino, having a good
harbour, and a citadel which commands both that
and the town. It makes a tolerable figure at a
distance, but the streets are narrow and uneven,
and neither the publick or private buildings equal
to those of other great towns in Italy. Their
trade also is at a very low ebb, but possibly may
revive again now the Pope has made it a free
port, as well as Civita Vecchia. Provisions, tra-
vellers complain, are dear and scarce here, tho'
the town stands in a plentiful country; one
reason whereof may be, that it is a common
thorough-fare from the north of Italy to Loreto,

CHAP. a place as much frequented by pilgrims and tra-
 XXIV. vellers as any in Europe, either out of devotion
 Pope's or curiosity. The harbour was made by the Em-
 Domi- peror TRAJAN, on which account there was a
 nions. triumphal arch erected to his honour by the sea-
 side, which still remains almost entire, and looks
 white and fresh, being exposed to the winds and
 salt sea-vapours, which by continual fretting it,
 in Mr. ADDISON's opinion, preserves it from
 that mouldy colour which others of the same ma-
 terials have contracted. There was some distinc-
 tion made by the Romans, my author thinks, be-
 tween these honorary arches erected to Emperors,
 and those that were raised on account of some vic-
 tory, and were properly triumphal arches; but
 he does not hint wherein the difference consisted;
 only commends the wisdom of the Romans, who
 to encourage their Emperors in their inclinations
 of doing good to their country, gave the same
 honours to the great actions of peace which turn'd
 to the advantage of the publick, as to those of
 war; and this, he observes, is very remarkable
 in the medals that were stamp'd on the same oc-
 casions. The medal struck for TRAJAN in me-
 mory of his beneficence to Ancona, is still very
 common, on the reverse whereof is a port with
 a chain running cross it, and a boat, with this in-
 scription, *S. P. Q. R. optimo Principi S. C.*

The habits of the people of Ancona, according
 to MISSEN, are very particular. He observed
 on one of their festivals, he says, when they
 were better dress'd than usual, that the principal
 citizens wore black cloaks lin'd with green, blue
 stockings, shoes whited with chalk, and tied with
 colour'd ribbon; their waistcoats were unbutton'd,
 and the facing of the sleeves embroider'd; their
 shirts full, and hung over their fingers ends. The
 ordinary citizens wives and daughters had head-
 dresses with long fringes hanging over their faces;
 the body of their gowns of red and yellow silk,
 laced before and behind, and on both sides, and
 overlaid with galloon like a livery; their petti-
 coats short, and of forty different colours. The
 Ladies of quality were dress'd after the French
 mode, but so awkwardly, that they made a more
 ridiculous figure than their inferiours in their na-
 tive dress, how fantastical soever it might appear
 to foreigners. The exchange where the mer-
 chants meet is a handsome square portico, in
 which is an equestrian statue of TRAJAN, and
 four other figures at the four corners, repre-
 senting religion, faith, hope, and charity: but
 an earthquake which happen'd not many years
 since, has done considerable damage to these sta-
 tues, by breaking or overturning them. Ancona
 is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Rome. It
 is observable here that the tide does not rise a-
 bove a foot, though it rises above four feet at
 Venice and the bottom of the gulph, and in that

part of the gulph of Venice which lies next the CHAP
 Mediterranean there is no tide at all to be dis- XXIV.
 cern'd.

The city of Loretto, *olim Lauretum*, taking its
 name from a grove of laurel there, is situated on
 an eminence three miles to the westward of
 the gulph of Venice, fifteen south of Ancona, and
 an hundred and forty-five to the eastward of Rome,
 in a pleasant fruitful soil; but there cannot be
 worse roads for the poor pilgrims to wade through,
 than there are near this celebrated place. The
 city is small, consisting only of one large street
 within the gate, and another without; and is
 defended by a wall and other fortifications, which
 may be sufficient to prevent a sudden surprize,
 but would not be able to hold out a long siege.
 Some have wonder'd, says Mr. ADDISON, that
 the Turk never attacks this place, where so vast
 a treasure is repositied, since it lies so near the
 sea-shore, and is so weakly defended: But be-
 sides that he has formerly attempted it without
 success, the Venetians keep too watchful an eye
 over him at present, to suffer him to enter the
 Adriatick. It would, as that gentleman observes
 farther, be an easy matter for a Christian Prince
 to possess himself of it, who has ships continually
 passing by; especially if he had a party in the
 town disguised like pilgrims: for 'tis computed
 there have been no less than an hundred thou-
 sand pilgrims in this place in the compass of a
 day's time; but 'tis probable that their veneration
 for the Holy House, and the horror of an action
 that would be resented by all Catholick Princes,
 will be as great a security to the place as the
 strongest fortification. And there is no doubt but
 the Pope would make use of these treasures in
 case of an unfortunate war with the Turk, or a
 powerful confederacy among the Protestants a-
 gainst the Holy See. The vast heaps of wealth
 amass'd together here and in other religious places
 in Italy, may be look'd upon as so many hidden
 reserves and magazines of the church, that she
 would open upon any pressing occasion for her last
 defence and preservation. But I proceed to give
 an account of the Holy House, which drew so
 great a treasure hither.

It is called here, *Sacratissimo Sacello. Gloriosa
 Cella. Domus Aurea. Domus Sapientiae. Vas In-
 signe Devotionis. Sanctuarium Dei. Propitiatori-
 um Altissimi. Civitas Refugii. Putens Aquarum
 Viventium. Terror Daemonum. Spes Desperantium.
 Gloria Jerusalem. Tabernaculum Foederis. Solium
 Glorae Dei. Sacrarium Divinitatis. Sacrosancta
 Casa, &c.*

The history of the translation, or transporta-
 tion, of this house from the Holy Land to Loret-
 to, is hung up in the cathedral of Loretto in
 several languages; the substance whereof is as
 follows, viz. That this was the blessed Virgin's
 chamber

The Lady of Loretto.



CHAP. chamber near Jerusalem, in which she was born XXIV. and saluted by the angel ; that she conceived and Pope's brought up her son JESUS here till he was twelve Domi- years of age ; that after the ascension of our Sa- nions. viour, the Apostles consecrated it to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, and St. LUKE drew a picture of her, which is preserved here to this day : that the natives apostatizing from the faith of Christ, and becoming the disciples of MAHOMET, the angels carried it into Dalmatia, and placed it on a mountain there call'd Tersatto, near the Gulph of Venice ; (but as to the time of this memorable event, they are not perfectly agreed, whether it was on the ninth, tenth, or the twelfth day of May 1291, or in the year 1294) But the people of the country not expressing a due veneration for it here ; three years and seven months after, the Angels transported it over the sea to a wood in the territory of Recanati (which is about three miles from Loretto) the territory belonging to a noble Lady named Loretto, from whence it obtain'd the name of *Our Lady of Loretto*. After it had remain'd here eight months, on account of the wickedness of the natives, it was remov'd a third time to the hill where it stands at present ; but a controversy arising between two brothers to whom the ground belong'd, four months after it was remov'd a little farther into a highway ; and here they built over it a magnificent church, the present cathedral, under the middle of the cupola whereof it now remains. They also erected four walls of white Parian marble, which surrounded the Holy Chamber at the distance of half a foot, the better to preserve it. Here, says my author, all the beauties of sculpture and architecture may be seen, the greatest artists in Italy having been employ'd in the work. It is of the Corinthian order, with excellent bas-reliefs, in which the history of the Virgin is represented ; and there being two rows of niches one above another between the double columns, in the ten below are the statues of ten Prophets, and in those above the images of ten of the Sibyls, who prophesy'd of our Saviour's birth. There remains no more now of the Virgin's chamber than the four walls, composed of a reddish stone, which the legend says is no where to be found but near Nazareth. The roof has been remov'd to give light within, and a door made on each side ; nor is there any of the foundation. The chamber is about forty foot long, twenty broad, and about twenty in height. My author says, he view'd the wall on the inside, which they were prevented from doing without by the marble enclosure ; and whatever they may pretend, it appears to be built of brick. Misson also relates, that he has examin'd the matter, and that they have on purpose made choice of bricks of different shapes and unequal bigness, together with some flat greyish and red-

dish stones, which are common every where, and CHAP. that the cement is common lime and sand, as in XXIV. other ordinary houses, but ill join'd and fitted together ; which seem to evince that the work was Pope's done in haste. But to go on with the tradition Domi- concerning this house, which the Roman Catho- nions. licks believe as firmly as their creed : They say, that it was not known from whence it came till the blessed Virgin appeared to a devout man in his sleep, and declar'd the manner of its removal in the year 1296, who discovering it to the Governor and other considerable men of the province, they sent sixteen persons of good reputation to Nazareth, who measur'd the foundations from whence it was taken, and found them to be exactly of the same dimensions with the walls of the Holy House. They saw also an inscription on an adjoining wall, which signified that it had left that place ; which demonstrated to them, that this was the chamber of the Virgin MARY : and it has been reverenc'd by Christians accordingly, and many miracles wrought there, says the legend. PAUL SILVA a hermit of great sanctity, who liv'd in the neighbourhood, also declar'd, that going there constantly to mattins for ten years on the eighth of September annually, two hours before day, he saw a light descend from Heaven upon the Holy House, which was the blessed Virgin, who shewed herself there on the day of her nativity. Another man of credit, named PAUL RENALDUCI, attested, that his Grandfather saw the Angels convey it over the sea, and place it in the wood, where he had often visited it. One FRANCIS PRIOR also attested, that his Grandfather's Grandfather, being an hundred and twenty years old, had much frequented it in the same place, and that in his time it was carried from thence to the mountain of the two brothers.

The Holy House is situated east and west. Towards the east is the little chimney of the chamber, and over it stands the Lady of Loretto, with a little Jesus on her right arm : the image of our Lady is said to be of cedar wood, the workmanship of St. LUKE, and brought hither with the house. It is about four foot high, and adorn'd with a particular kind of veil (of which they have several of various colours for change) all rich and glittering with precious stones ; one of these, LASSELS relates, has six rows of diamonds down before, to the number of three thousand ; and is wrought over with a kind of embroidery of little pearl, set thick every where within the flowers, with great round pearl, to the number of twenty thousand pearls in all. Her triple crown, cover'd with precious stones, was the present of Lewis XIII, King of France. The crown on the head of our Saviour, also is set with diamonds. Before the breast of the blessed Virgin hangs a roval toison or fleece of rich jewels ; a collar of rubies, pearls and

CHAP. and diamonds, and a rich cross hanging at it. XXIV. And round the niche where the statue stands, is Pope's a close row of precious stones of several kinds and Domi- lustres of great bulk and value, forming a kind of nions. rainbow of various colours. Before the image of our Lady hang twelve lamps of beaten gold, each as big as a man's head : all the rest of the chapel is loaden with the rich vows and presents of great Princes. The altar is of pure beaten silver, scarce any thing of less value is to be seen here. There is still remaining some ancient paintings, said to be done in the primitive times, particularly several pictures of the Virgin, with our Saviour in her arms. On each side of the Virgin's image are presses fill'd with her ancient ornaments, and on another in the south side they preserve some earthen dishes and household utensils, said to be used by the Virgin and her family, many of which are cover'd with gold plate. Over against the image of our Lady, at the end which looks westward, is the window at which, 'tis said, the Angel enter'd when he brought her the joyful tidings of being the mother of our Saviour ; this window is about three foot high, and almost the same breadth ; and according to tradition, the Virgin was telling over her beads when the Angel appear'd to her.

As for the old roof of the house, and the little steeple, with which it is painted in ancient pictures, they can give no account of them ; the present vaulted roof they acknowledge to be a modern fabric, but the old bells they pretend to have, which are never used for fear of wearing them out : they add, that the altar made by the hands of the Apostles, and the stone on which St. PETER said his first mass, were transported hither with the house, which are now cover'd with silver. The pavement consists of square pieces of red and white marble ; but this also is modern : for the old floor they say was left at Nazareth with the foundation of the house. The entrance of this chapel is by three doors at present, viz. one on each side, and one behind the altar, tho' originally there was but one. The place between the altar and our Lady's shrine is called the sanctuary : upon this altar mass is celebrated from four in the morning to one in the afternoon ; and before it hangs a lamp of gold as big as two men can carry ; there are also all round the chapel lamps, statues, busts, and other figures of gold and silver, and particularly eight and twenty large silver candlesticks gilt. The last rich offering is always laid before the shrine of our Lady for some time, and then remov'd into the treasury. All round the walls that inclose the house are a great number of candlesticks and branches ; and these walls the pilgrims surround on their knees, some five, some seven, and others twelve times, as they are disposed, saying over their Pater-Nosters and Ave-Marias, and telling their beads, all endeavouring

to get as near the wall as they can ; and as some CHA surround it one way, and others the contrary, this XXIV occasions frequent jostling, and must not a little Pope disturb their devotions ; but this is never done Dom when there are great numbers of Pilgrims assembled. From the Sancta Casa foreigners are led nions to view the treasury, in comparison of which, says Misson, all the riches of the Holy House are but of small value. It is a gallery with a rich vaulted roof, forty paces long, and fifteen broad, on one side of which are large presses with folding-doors, which serve instead of wainscoat when shut. The silver works are not thought worthy to be admitted into these presses, but are laid in heaps in other repositories, while the presses are filled with pure gold, rich jewels, or vessels and ornaments more precious than gold ; being the votive donations of Emperors, Kings, Popes, Princes, and other persons of distinction, for several hundred years past. Here are whole services for the altar of amber, agate, lapis lazuli, coral and crystal, Priests vestments adorn'd with pearl and precious stones. A spread eagle cover'd with diamonds, several crowns of gold enrich'd with pearls and diamonds, a heart set with diamonds, and a great emerald in the middle of it of an excessive bigness. Several single diamonds of an immense value ; images of our Saviour and the Samaritan woman in gold ; a golden dove with two crowns above it cover'd with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones ; a cup of Lapis Lazuli, with a lid of rock crystal, on the top whereof is an Angel in relievo, having a lily set with diamonds in his hand : the border of this lid is adorn'd with four large diamonds, and as many rubies : the foot is oriental jasper and gold artfully intermix'd and embellish'd with precious stones ; three Satyrs of gold sitting upon it glittering with rubies and diamonds, intermix'd with pearls ; and there are three golden Syrens for the basis, holding each of them a child, with this distich,

*Ut quæ prole tua mundum Regina beasti,
Et Regnum & Regem prole beare velis.*

This glorious cup HENRY III of France offer'd to our Lady for a successor. And here are two crowns in form of Tiara's, which LEWIS XIII of France offer'd on the same account.

These are both of gold embellish'd with diamonds and pearls, which 'tis said, cost eighty thousand crowns. Another present the same King offer'd after the birth of LEWIS XIV, being an Angel of silver with a young infant of gold in his arms, which he presents to the Virgin. Among the golden statues are those of the Duke of Savoy, with a royal mantle on his knees, and that of STANISLAUS King of Poland : and there is an altar-cloth presented by the

CHAP. XXIV. Pope's Dominions. the Lady of the Great Chancellor of Poland ; the jewels whereof are computed to be worth an hundred and fifty thousand crowns, with a multitude of other valuable presents ; among which I must not forget one that *Misson* says was sent by King *JAMES II's* Queen in 1688, viz. an Angel of gold, holding a heart bigger than an egg covered with diamonds of great value, which, he says, she offer'd to the Virgin just before she became pregnant of the Chevalier. On the other side of the gallery is a range of windows, between every one of which are the plans of several great towns in bas-relief in silver. But not to weary the reader with a tedious enumeration of more particulars, I shall conclude the description of this treasure in the words of Mr. *Addison* : The riches in the Holy House and treasury, says that gentleman, are surprizingly great, and as much surpass'd my expectation as other sights have fallen short of it : silver can scarce find admission, and gold it self looks but poorly among such an incredible number of precious stones. There will be in a few ages more the jewels of the greatest value in Europe, if the devotion of its Princes continues in its present fervour. The last offering (when he was there) was made by the Queen Dowager of Poland, and cost her eighteen thousand crowns.

The church, in which the Holy House stands, is a magnificent fabrick, built in the form of a cross, with a cupola in the middle, adorn'd with stucco work and exquisite paintings by the greatest hands ; particularly in the chapel of the Annunciation, is the history of her visitation and marriage ; and in the chapel of St *John Baptist* an incomparable picture of our Saviour's baptism. In the great square before the church is a vast marble fountain, with the brazen statue of Pope *Sixtus V* ; and four other statues representing the cardinal virtues. All the doors of the church are of brass, and have several histories engraven upon them. The cellars belonging to the house are very spacious, and replenish'd with variety of wine, not only for the service of the Bishop's palace, but for all those numerous bodies of Pilgrims which resort hither, to whom they are always open. After the cellar strangers are shewn the Apothecaries shop, where all pilgrims are furnish'd with such medicines as they want ; but the pots which contain them are the greatest curiosity here, having been painted by the admir'd *Raphael Urbin*, and containing several pieces of sacred and prophane history. The palace where the Governour, the Bishop, and Penitentiaries of all nations reside, is large and commodious ; and here are apartments always ready for the reception of Princes, Cardinals, and other persons of distinction, whose devotion brings them hither. In the square of this palace

is an octangular fountain of brass thirty foot high, consisting of three stories one above another : into the uppermost four Eagles throw the water ; four Dragons pour it into the second ; and four Tritons mounted on the backs of dolphins convey it to the third. The inhabitants of Loretto, notwithstanding the vast concourse of pilgrims hither, are not rich, most of them being maintain'd by the charity of the house, and laying out but little money, unless it be in beads, crosses, and medals, the making whereof are the principal employment of the inhabitants. *Turcellinus*, in his history of Loretto, relates, that in some years between Easter and Whitsuntide there have resorted hither five or six hundred thousand pilgrims ; and in the space of two days in September, when they celebrate the feast of the Virgin's nativity, not less than two hundred thousand. These pilgrims set out in bodies from the several Catholick cities of Italy, and other parts of Europe, each body or society being distinguish'd by the arms of the city they come from, and by the colour of their clothes : they wear a kind of linnen frock with a cowl, which quite covers their heads, leaving only three holes for their eyes and mouth ; they have large chaplets of beads, girdles, pilgrims staves, and the arms of the society painted or embroidered before and behind, on the back and breast of every brother. The men usually ride on asses, probably in imitation of our Saviour, which animals, says my ludicrous author, on account of their frequent journeys to the Holy House, are suppos'd to have some smack of Sanctity. They are very sure-footed, and travel better in that uneven country about Loretto than horses would. As to the female pilgrims, their habits are the richest they can procure, and they fasten to the body of their gowns a little pilgrims staff of gold, silver or ivory, some of them set with pearls or precious stones ; and these being about six inches long, says the same merry writer, give occasion for many pretty thoughts, serving for diversion for the company on the way. The Ladies usually ride in calashes and chaises, surrounded with a croud of Gentlemen mounted on asses, and dress'd in the manner above describ'd, who show a thousand antick tricks, and sing merry songs for their diversion, which must make the women extremely fond of these expeditions in a country where they are never permitted to converse with the men but on such occasions ; tho' there are few of them but have a governante, a brother, or some other relation near them, who serve as spies to see that they do not carry their gallantry too far. But to return to Loretto, besides the jewels, plate and ornaments already mention'd, it is supposed there are vast sums of ready cash laid up in the treasury of the Holy House, for no pilgrim scarce comes thither but gives something to

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CHAP. XXIV. Pope's Dominions. the Lady of the Great Chancellor of Poland, the jewels whereof are computed to be worth an hundred and fifty thousand crowns, with a multitude of other valuable presents; among which I must not forget one that *Misson* says was sent by King *JAMES II's* Queen in 1688, viz. an Angel of gold, holding a heart bigger than an egg covered with diamonds of great value, which, he says, she offer'd to the Virgin just before she became pregnant of the Chevalier. On the other side of the gallery is a range of windows, between every one of which are the plans of several great towns in bass-relief in silver. But not to weary the reader with a tedious enumeration of more particulars, I shall conclude the description of this treasure in the words of Mr. *Addison*: The riches in the Holy House and treasury, says that gentleman, are surprizingly great, and as much surpass'd my expectation as other sights have fallen short of it: silver can scarce find admission, and gold it self looks but poorly among such an incredible number of precious stones. There will be in a few ages more the jewels of the greatest value in Europe, if the devotion of its Princes continues in its present fervour. The last offering (when he was there) was made by the Queen Dowager of Poland, and cost her eighteen thousand crowns.

The church, in which the Holy House stands, is a magnificent fabrick, built in the form of a cross, with a cupola in the middle, adorn'd with stucco work and exquisite paintings by the greatest hands; particularly in the chapel of the Annunciation, is the history of her visitation and marriage; and in the chapel of St *John Baptist* an incomparable picture of our Saviour's baptism. In the great square before the church is a vast marble fountain, with the brazen statue of Pope *Sixtus V*; and four other statues representing the cardinal virtues. All the doors of the church are of brass, and have several histories engraven upon them. The cellars belonging to the house are very spacious, and replenish'd with variety of wine, not only for the service of the Bishop's palace, but for all those numerous bodies of Pilgrims which resort hither, to whom they are always open. After the cellar strangers are shewn the Apothecaries shop, where all pilgrims are furnish'd with such medicines as they want; but the pots which contain them are the greatest curiosity here, having been painted by the admir'd *Raphael Urbin*, and containing several pieces of sacred and prophane history. The palace where the Governour, the Bishop, and Penitentiaries of all nations reside, is large and commodious; and here are apartments always ready for the reception of Princes, Cardinals, and other persons of distinction, whose devotion brings them hither. In the square of this palace

is an octangular fountain of brass thirty foot high, consisting of three stories one above another: into the uppermost four Eagles throw the water; four Dragons pour it into the second; and four Tritons mounted on the backs of dolphins convey it to the third. The inhabitants of Loretto, notwithstanding the vast concourse of pilgrims hither, are not rich, most of them being maintain'd by the charity of the house, and laying out but little money, unless it be in beads, crosses, and medals, the making whereof are the principal employment of the inhabitants. *Turcelinus*, in his history of Loretto, relates, that in some years between Easter and Whitsuntide there have resorted hither five or six hundred thousand pilgrims; and in the space of two days in September, when they celebrate the feast of the Virgin's nativity, not less than two hundred thousand. These pilgrims set out in bodies from the several Catholick cities of Italy, and other parts of Europe, each body or society being distinguish'd by the arms of the city they come from, and by the colour of their clothes: they wear a kind of linnen frock with a cowl, which quite covers their heads, leaving only three holes for their eyes and mouth; they have large chaplets of beads, girdles, pilgrims staves, and the arms of the society painted or embroidered before and behind, on the back and breast of every brother. The men usually ride on asses, probably in imitation of our Saviour, which animals, says my ludicrous author, on account of their frequent journeys to the Holy House, are suppos'd to have some smack of Sanctity. They are very sure-footed, and travel better in that uneven country about Loretto than horses would. As to the female pilgrims, their habits are the richest they can procure, and they fasten to the body of their gowns a little pilgrims staff of gold, silver or ivory, some of them set with pearls or precious stones; and these being about six inches long, says the same merry writer, give occasion for many pretty thoughts, serving for diversion for the company on the way. The Ladies usually ride in calashes and chaises, surrounded with a croud of Gentlemen mounted on asses, and dress'd in the manner above describ'd, who show a thousand antick tricks, and sing merry songs for their diversion, which must make the women extremely fond of these expeditions in a country where they are never permitted to converse with the men but on such occasions; tho' there are few of them but have a governess, a brother, or some other relation near them, who serve as spies to see that they do not carry their gallantry too far. But to return to Loretto, besides the jewels, plate and ornaments already mention'd, it is suppos'd there are vast sums of ready cash laid up in the treasury of the Holy House, for no pilgrim scarce comes thither but gives something to

CHAP. XXIV. Pope's Dominions.

CHAP. the box ; and to incite them to be liberal, they
 XXIV. deliver out printed papers, wherein they suggest
 Pope's that the revenues of this church amount to but
 Domi- twenty seven crowns per ann. and that in their
 nions. charges in maintaining the clergy and officers
 which belong to the Holy House, and the pil-
 grims who resort hither, they annually expend a-
 bove thirty eight thousand crowns, so that there is
 a deficiency of eleven thousand crowns every year;
 from which representation they endeavour to
 move the compassion of devout pilgrims ; tho' 'tis
 suppos'd the lands and revenues appropriated to
 Loretto, are much beyond what they are pleas'd
 to discover. 'Tis true, the numerous clergy who
 constantly attend here, must occasion a very great
 expence ; there being above an hundred and twen-
 ty masses founded to be said every day in the
 church and chapel, besides casual ones celebrated
 for particular persons ; for which purpose only
 they maintain near fourscore extraordinary Chap-
 lains ; and the Madona or Saint her self is conti-
 nually serv'd by twenty Canons, thirteen Ecclesi-
 asticks, call'd Incumbents, twelve Clerks, and o-
 ther inferior officers. SIXTUS V first made
 Loretto a City and Bishoprick ; and so great is
 the dignity of this place (say the Catholics) so
 sublime is its majesty, that before all the holy
 places under heaven, the chapel of Loretto is to
 be preferr'd.

Osimo. Osimo is a small city, about fifteen miles west
 of Loretto, remarkable only for being a Bishop's
 See, suffragan to Rome.

Recanati. Recanati, the antient *Helvia Recina*, united
 to the See of Loretto, is situated on the top of a
 hill, about three miles south-west of Loretto.
 In the territories of this city it was that the Holy
 House first rested on its transportation from Dal-
 matia.

Macerata. Macerata is situated on a hill between Loretto
 and Tolentino, twenty miles south of Ancona.
 It is a Bishop's See, united to Tolentino, suffra-
 gan of Fermo, and has a little University.

Fermo. Fermo is situated on a rising ground near the
 gulph of Venice, fifteen miles south of Loret-
 to, a large place, and made an Archbishop-
 rick by SIXTUS V, who had been Bishop of this
 city.

Ripa,
 Transone,
 Montalto,
 Tolentino,
 &c. The cities of Ripa, Transone, Montalto, As-
 coli, Tolentino, Camerino, and Jesi, are all Bi-
 shops Sees ; but do not deserve a particular de-
 scription.

Fabriziano. Fabriano, on the confines of the duchy of Ur-
 bino, is taken notice of for a manufactory of fine
 paper there.

Urbino
 duchy. The duchy of Urbino, including the Repub-
 lick of St. Marino, is bounded by the province
 of Romania, and the gulph of Venice, towards
 the north and east ; by the marquise of An-
 cona towards the south ; and by the duchy of

Florence or Tuscany and Perugia towards the CHAP
 west : being about seventy miles in length from XXIV.
 the south-east to the north-west, and of a Pope's
 very unequal breadth, in some places fifty, and Domi-
 in others scarce twenty, particularly that part of nions.
 it which lies between Tuscany and the gulph of
 Venice is very narrow. The chief towns are,
 1. Urbino. 2. St. Angelo. 3. Urbane. 4.
 Cagli. 5. Fombrone. 6. Fano. 7. San Leo.
 8. Penna de Billi. 9. Gubio. 10. Senigaglia.
 And, 11. Pesaro.

Urbino, the capital city, is situated on a Urbino
 hill near the River Foglia, about twenty miles city.
 south-west of the gulph of Venice, and an
 hundred north-east of Rome ; a little well-peo-
 pled city, and hath some handsome buildings in
 it, particularly the Ducal Palace, Pope URBAN
 VIII being an intimate friend of the last Duke's,
 and having, among other favours, given him an
 hundred thousand ducats, so entirely won the
 Duke's heart, that he bequeath'd this city,
 and the whole duchy belonging to it, to the See
 of Rome about the Year 1630, and it has ever
 since been part of the Ecclesiastical State. In this
 city the famous Painter RAPHAEL was born,
 from hence call'd RAPHAEL URBIN. It was
 made an Archbishoprick, by Pope PIUS IV, anno
 1563.

Sinigaglia, or Senegallia, said to take its name Sinigaglia.
 from the Galli Senones, is a little pleasant town,
 situate in a plain near the gulph of Venice, a-
 bout twenty miles north-east of Ancona, and
 has a harbour of no great consequence.

San Leo is a fortress situated on a mountain San Leo.
 fifteen miles north of Urbino, capital of the
 county of Montefeltro, which has its name from
 its mountainous situation.

Cita de Castello is the capital of a county of Cita de
 the same name, situated about twenty miles south- Castello.
 west of Urbino, a little fortified town, and the
 See of a Bishop, suffragan to Rome.

Fano. Fano is situated on the gulph of Venice, about
 twenty miles to the eastward of Urbino, antient-
 ly called *Fanum Fortunæ*, or the Temple of For-
 tune, on account of a temple erected to the honour
 of that Goddess here, of which there is nothing
 remaining but the ruins at present. There is also
 here a magnificent triumphal arch, pretty much
 defac'd, consisting of three arches of marble, the
 loftiest that are to be met with any where, each
 of them, as 'tis said, being thirty cubits high ;
 the plan of it, with all its inscriptions, is neatly
 cut upon the wall of a neighbouring building. In
 this, as in almost every other town in this part of
 Italy, is a beautiful marble fountain, where the
 water runs continually thro' several little spouts,
 which, my author observes, looks very refreshing
 in this hot country, and gives a coolness to the air
 about them.

Pesaro

CHAP. XXIV. **Pesaro** is pleasantly situated also upon the gulph of Venice, about ten miles north-east of Fano; and was the capital of a territory, governed by its own Princes till the year 1631, when it came under the dominion of the See of Rome. It is one of the largest and best-peopled towns in the Pope's dominions; and has a very good trade; the churches and houses are for the most part modern and well built. Pope **CLEMENT XI**, who was a native of this place, built a magnificent cathedral here, whose Bishop is suffragan to Urbino. The country about Pesaro is exceeding fruitful, and every thing extremely cheap, but the air is bad in summer-time.

Gubio. Gubio is the capital of a little mountainous territory, situate near the foot of the Apennine, about thirty miles south-west of Urbino, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of that city.

Fombrone. Fombrone, or Fossombrone, is situated about ten miles south-east of Urbino, and about as much to the westward of Fano, and is the See of a Bishop, Suffragan of Urbino.

St. Angelo, &c. St. Angelo, Urbanea, Cagli and Penna de Belli, are Bishops Sees, but remarkable for little else; and indeed every town of Italy almost of the bigness of an English market-town is a Bishop's See.

The republic of St. Marino. The territories of the Republic of St. Marino are situated on the north part of the duchy of Urbino, near the confines of Romania. They consist of one mountain, and some neighbouring hillocks which lie scatter'd about the bottom of it, being about three miles over, and about ten in circumference, containing one little city of the same name, four or five villages, eight corn-mills, and two powder-mills, in which little State there are about six or seven thousand souls. There is not a spring or fountain, according to Mr. ADDISON, in their dominions, which defect is supply'd by vast cisterns or reservoirs of rain-water. Their wine that grows towards the bottom of the mountain is the best on the north side of the Apennines.

St. Marino city. The town of St. Marino stands on the top of the mountain, which is exceeding high and steep, it is generally hid among the clouds, and lay under snow, says Mr. ADDISON, when I saw it, though it was clear and warm weather in all the country about it. The city is wall'd on one side, and defended by a dreadful precipice on the other, on which stand three towers or castles on a line. The streets are narrow, and the houses but indifferently built: There are five churches and four convents in their limits, but not considerable enough to deserve a particular description. There is a suburb at the foot of the hill, where they have a good weekly market, and four annual fairs, in which great herds of live cattle are bought and sold. Their principal fair is on the feast of St. BARTHOLOMEW, when all the natives that are fit for

military service are under arms, to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred. There are but two ascents from the suburbs to the city, by one of which, winding about, a coach may get up to the gate; the other is very steep; and there is a law that none shall enter the town by any other paths, lest new ones should be worn on the sides of the mountain, and foreigners find an access to it. The town stands about nine miles south of Rimini, twenty north of Urbino, and five or six west of the gulph of Venice. This little republick has continu'd twelve or thirteen hundred years; and was founded by St. MARINO, a hermit who retir'd hither, and practis'd such rigours and austerities upon himself, as gave the people of the neighbourhood a great opinion of his sanctity. It being given out at length that heaven had conferr'd on him a power of working miracles, the Princess of the country gave him the mountain he had chosen to erect his hermitage upon; and his reputation soon drew people enough thither to people it, who form'd themselves into a republick, which has been ever since call'd by the name of their founder, whose statue stands on the high altar in their principal church, which is dedicated to him. He holds a mountain in his hands, crown'd with three castles, which is the arms of the common-wealth. They attribute to his protection the long duration of their state, and esteem him the greatest Saint next to the blessed Virgin.

The sovereign power was originally lodg'd in the Arengo, or great council, wherein every house had its representative, but was afterwards devolv'd on the council of sixty, or rather forty, for it consists of no more at present, of which one half are of noble families, as they are call'd, and the other half plebeians, and all matters are decided in this assembly by ballotting. By these are all ministers and officers of the common-wealth appointed, and no sentence is executed which is not confirm'd by two thirds of this council. The two principal officers of the common-wealth are stiled Capitaneo's, which our writers resemble to the Roman Consuls; these are elected every six months. The next officer is the Judge in civil and criminal matters, and because of the many alliances, friendships and intermarriages, as well as the personal feuds and animosities which must of necessity happen among so small a people, and might obstruct the course of justice if one of their own number was possess'd of this post, they always entrust a foreigner with the administration of justice, who is a Doctor of law, and has a reputation for his integrity; they change him every three years. The fourth man in this petty state is the Physician, who is also a foreigner, and maintain'd by a publick salary, and chang'd also every three years. A fifth officer, who makes no small figure in the republick, is the school-master, and the natives in general, 'tis said,

K k k

have

CHAP. have some smattering of learning. They are esteem'd
 XXIV. an honest well-meaning people, and according
 Pope's to some of our modern travellers, live much more
 Domi- happy and contented among their rocks and snows
 nions. than any other Italians do in the most fruitful val-
 leys. Nothing, says Mr. ADDISON, can be a
 greater instance of the natural love mankind have
 for liberty, and of their aversion to an arbitrary
 government, than to see such a savage mountain
 cover'd with people, when the Campania of Rome
 (under a Monarch) in the same country, is destitute
 of inhabitants. From which and many other in-
 stances it is evident, that Mr. ADDISON preferr'd
 a republican form of government to any other,
 and insinuates, that no such thing as liberty can be
 expected under a monarchy. But it is to be ob-
 serv'd, that these very people lie in the midst of
 the Pope's dominions, are under his protection,
 and so much in his power, that he might at any
 time put an end to their boasted liberties if he saw
 fit. And after all, why people should be happier
 under forty tyrants or governours than one, is not
 easy to be conceived. Nor does it proceed so
 much from the excellency of their constitution, as
 from the poverty of their country, and their cold
 uncomfortable situation, that they have so long
 remain'd a state. The richest and the happiest
 countries ever suffer the most frequent revolutions.
 It is not worth any Prince's while to make a con-
 quest of a mountain eternally cover'd with snow,
 tho' 'tis very natural for people to have an esteem
 and fondness for their native place, how miserable
 soever. At the island of St. Helena, which is
 but twenty miles in circumference, and above five
 hundred from any continent, where the natives
 are of British extraction, and subject to a Gover-
 nour appointed by the East-India company, who
 acts as despotically as any Prince upon earth, the
 natives seem no less contented than these are re-
 presented to be at St. MARINO, and will tell you
 that they have very little inclination to remove to
 any other part of the world. They represent that
 their small fortunes that maintain them in necessa-
 ries here, would probably be spent before they
 could fix themselves to any advantage elsewhere;
 that they and their families must run great hazards
 and suffer many hardships in the attempt: But
 what is more than all, they have such a fondness
 for the spot of earth where they were born and
 bred, that they cannot think of leaving it, any
 more than the mountaineers of Marino can of
 descending into the rich vales about them; not on
 account of the mildness of the government, but
 for some such reasons as keep the natives of St.
 Helena at home. And indeed, it is no easy mat-
 ter for poor people to leave their country with their
 families and fix in other places, whatever the na-
 ture of the government may be they live under,

or whatever oppressions or hardships they may suf-
 fer from their Governours. And that the rest of
 the people of Italy are not less contented than
 those of Marino, how miserable soever some tra-
 vellers may represent them, or they may in reality
 be in our opinion, appears from MOTRAYS, Vol.
 I. p. 74. The picture several travellers have drawn,
 says that gentleman, of the meanness and poverty
 of the Italian peasants, render'd so by their rich
 masters, is apt to make any one look upon
 them who bear the burthen to be as miserable as
 those who impose it seem to be happy; but as the
 felicity of people consists chiefly in being content-
 ed with their condition, or more in believing them-
 selves happy than in being really so, they complain
 less themselves than travellers do for them; they are
 born for the most part with their chains, (as we
 denominate them) which grow habitual and light
 by education. *They are taught to expect a true hap-
 piness in the next world from the very sacrifice of
 riches and wealth in this; from their observance of
 religion, contributions to the church, and submission
 to their superiours. And being born in great plenty
 of all things necessary to life, in the midst of so many
 sorts of delicious wines, they are always more sober
 by choice, more quiet, and better content with what
 is sufficient, than those of other nations, who in the
 midst of riches, even to a superfluity, are tyranniz'd
 over by the love of money, slaves to their ambition, ne-
 ver pleased, but always uneasy with their masters.* It
 is surprizing, says the same author, how much these
 people give to the church in proportion to what
 they have, and this very willingly, notwithstand-
 ing what they are obliged to pay to the tem-
 poral power, of which they complain but little.
 The peasant pays religiously tythes to his curate,
 and has masses said for his health, for the ferti-
 lity of his lands, and for the souls of his deceased
 relations; nor does he refuse a part of his corn,
 wine and fruit to the Mendicant Fryars, though
 without making any vow of poverty, he lives
 poorer than they that do it. And though these
 people should be deem'd to have fallen into one
 extreme, both in their religion and politicks, yet
 whether the contrary extreme, where people deny
 any subjection to the ecclesiastical or civil Magi-
 strate, but when they act suitably to their own
 whimsies, be not the more troublesome and dan-
 gerous of the two, will scarce be made a question
 by any considering man. But 'tis time to pro-
 ceed in the description of the rest of the Pope's
 dominions.

The province of Romania, or Romandiola, in The pro-
 vince of
 which I include the Bolognese and Ferrarese, is
 bounded by the territories of Venice towards the
 north; by the gulph of Venice on the east; by
 the province of Urbino and Tuscany on the
 south; and by Modena and Mantua towards the
 west;

CHAP.
 XXIV.
 Pope's
 Domi-
 nions.

CHAP. west ; being about fourscore miles in length from
XXIV. east to west, and near as much in breadth from
Pope's north to south.

Romania Proper, call'd antiently *Æmia Re-*
gio, and *Flaminia*, is bounded by the Ferrarese
on the north ; by the gulph of Venice on the
east ; by Urbino and Tuscany on the south ; and
by the Bolognese on the west ; and is about sixty
miles in length from east to west, and forty in
breadth from north to south. It is diversified with
hills, woods, arable, meadow and pasture, and a-
bounds in corn, wine, oil, figs and other fruits : but
the salt-pits are its principal riches. Here are also
several good rivers, as the Savio, Santerna, Pi-
satello and Rubicon ; the last of which will be
remember'd as long as JULIUS CÆSAR, who by
passing it with his army, manifested his design of
subduing the Roman republick. This province was
part of the antient *Gallia Cispadana*, and said to
be call'd Romania from its firm adherence to the
Roman Empire, and not from its being in the
neighbourhood of Rome, for it lies on the op-
posite side of Italy, at above an hundred and forty
miles distance from that city. The chief towns
are, 1. Ravenna. 2. Cervia. 3. Rimini. 4.
Sarcina. 5. Sefena. 6. Bertinora. 7. Forlim-
popoli. 8. Forli. 9. Faenza. 10. Castel Bolog-
nese. And, 11. Immola.

Ravenna is situated in a flat country, three
miles west of the Adriatick sea ; an hundred
north-west of Ancona ; and fourscore south of
Venice, being encompass'd with two small ri-
vers. Its antient situation is said to have been
like that of Venice, upon certain islands, when
it was one of the best harbours the Romans had
on this side ; but the waters are retired above
three miles from it, and these plains which for-
merly were under water, are now some of the
most fruitful grounds in Italy. It was the resi-
dence of the Emperor HONORIUS, and of many
of the Gothick Kings, and afterwards the capi-
tal of the eastern Emperors dominions in Italy,
where their Viceroy or Exarch held their courts
from the year 568, to the year 728. It was ta-
ken by the Lombards in 752, and by PEPIN
King of France, anno 756, who gave this city,
with most of the territories belonging to the
eastern Emperors in Italy, to the Pope ; but it
never suffer'd more than when it was storm'd by
the French about the year 1512, ever since which
it has been in a declining condition. The build-
ings are generally mean, the magnificent churches
and palaces which it antiently contain'd, are now
run to ruin, its trade lost, and the place but
thinly peopled. Good water was always so scarce
here, that it was preferred to wine, according
to MAR. 1. 5.

*Sit cisterna mihi quam vinea malo Ravennæ,
Cum possim multo vendere pluris aquam.*

Lodg'd at Ravenna, water sells so dear,
A cistern to a vineyard I prefer. ADDIS.

*Callidus imposuit nuper mihi caupo Ravennæ
Cum peterem mixtum vendidit ille merum.* Ibid.

By a Ravenna Vintner once betray'd,
So much for wine and water mix'd I paid ;
But when I thought the purchas'd liquor mine,
The rascal fobb'd me off with only wine. *Ibid.*

The place which is shewn for the haven is level
with the town at present, and is supposed to have
been fill'd up by sand and dirt brought thither by
the sea ; for all the soil on that side of Ravenna,
it is observ'd, has been made by the sea dischar-
ging it self upon it for ages past. The ruins of
the Pharos, or light-house, stand about three miles
from the sea, and two from the town, the foun-
dations whereof were cover'd several yards deep.
It was a square tower, about twelve yards in
breadth, as appears by that part of it which still
remains entire. Without the town, on that side
where the antient harbour is supposed to have
been, is the Mausolæum which Queen AMALA-
SUNTHA erected for her father THEODORICK,
King of the Ostrogoths, who kept his court at
Ravenna. This building is now converted into
a little church which they call the Rotunda ; the
most remarkable thing in it is the roof, which
consists of one large stone, hollow'd almost into
the form of a cupola, with a round hole to let
in the light. Mr. MISSON says, he measured this
stone, and that it was thirty-eight feet in diame-
ter, and fifteen in thickness ; but I suppose he
means that the cavity or cupola was fifteen feet
deep, for Mr. ADDISON says, the stone is but
four feet thick, so uncertain are the accounts we
receive sometimes from those who pretend they
have been eye-witnesses. On the outside of this
little cupola was placed the porphyry tomb of
THEODORICK above-mention'd, surrounded by
the statues of the twelve apostles, but it was bro-
ken in pieces by a cannon-ball when LEWIS XII
besieg'd it. The same shot, 'tis supposed, made a
flaw in the cupola ; though, according to the tra-
dition of the place, it was crack'd by thunder.
The cathedral is an ancient fabrick, the nave
whereof is supported by fifty-six pillars of Gre-
cian marble, which form a double row on each
side of it, and the roof of the choir is inlaid
with fine Mosaick work. Another curiosity in
this church is the great door, which is made of
the planks of vines, some of them twelve feet in
length, and five in breadth. The soil which has
been made by the sea is so agreeable to vines,
that they grow to an incredible size here. In the
church of the Theatins, travellers are shewn a
little window over the high altar, with the figure

CHAP. of a white pidgeon in the middle of it, which
 XXIV. was placed there as a memorial, that after the
 Pope's death of St. APOLLINARIUS, the first Bishop
 of Ravenna, the Priests being assembled to chuse
 Domi- a successor, the Holy Ghost in form of a dove
 nions. (as they say) came in at this window, and sat up-
 on the head of him who was to be elected; and
 that the same thing happen'd afterwards at eleven
 elections successively. In the churches of St. VI-
 TALIS, St. APOLLINARIUS, St. ROMOAL-
 DUS, and St. ANDREW, are some very fine pie-
 ces of marble and porphyry, supposed to be brought
 from Greece during the time of the exarchate.
 In the church of St. CELSUS is a noble tomb of
 GALLA PLACIDIA, sister to the Emperors AR-
 CADIUS and HONORIUS; and in the great square
 a fine brazen statue of Pope ALEXANDER VII.
 Upon two columns in the same square were set
 the patron and arms of Venice formerly, when
 Ravenna was in the possession of that state; but
 the Pope has since placed the statues of St. VIC-
 TOR and APOLLINARIS, the patrons of Raven-
 na, on the same pillars. This city is the See of
 an Archbishop, but is neither considerable for its
 bulk or fortifications at present.

Rimini.

Rimini, the antient *Ariminum*, stands in a plain
 near the coast of the Adriatick Sea, at the mouth
 of the river Ariminus, about four and twenty
 miles south-east of Ravenna, and twenty north-
 west of Pesaro. Between Ravenna and Rimini
 runs the famous river Rubicon, which some take
 to be the modern *Pisatello*, and others another
 small stream near it; but however that be, the
 Rubicon was the boundary between Gaul and I-
 taly, and it was made treason either for the Ro-
 man officers or soldiers to pass this river in their
 military habits. This it was that made JULIUS
 CÆSAR halt here for some time in his march
 towards Rome, but having weigh'd the conse-
 quence, he cried out at length, *EATVR, QVO*
DEORVM OSTENTA, ET INIMICORVM
INIQVITAS VOCAT: IACTA EST ALEA.

Jam gelidas Cæsar cursu superaverat Alpes
Ingentesque animo motus, bellumque futurum
Cæperat ut ventum est parvi Rubiconis ad undas.

LUCAN.

This river, says Mr. ADDISON, who takes it
 to be the modern *Pisatello*, is not so very con-
 temptible as it is generally represented, and was
 much increased by the melting of the snows when
 CÆSAR pass'd it, according to the same Poet:

Fonte cadit modico parvisque impellitur undis
Punicus Rubicon, cum fervida conduit æstas,
Perque imas serpit valles, & Gallica certus
Limes ab ausonis determinat arva colonis.
Tunc vires præbebat hyems atque auxerat undas,
Tertia jam gravida pluvialis Cynthia cornu,
Et madidis Euri resolutæ flatibus Alpes. LUCAN.

While summer lasts the streams of Rubicon
 From their spent source in a small current run,
 Hid in the winding vales they gently glide,
 And Italy from neighbouring Gaul divide.
 But now with winter storms increas'd they rose,
 By watry moons produc'd and Alpine snows,
 That melting on the hoary mountains lay,
 And in warm eastern winds dissolv'd away.

ADDISON.

Rimini is in a declining condition at present,
 having neither trade nor harbour, for both which
 it was considerable antiently; but the sea is re-
 tired a mile from it, and, according to Mr. AD-
 DISON, it has nothing modern to boast of. The
 antiquities are, 1. A marble bridge of five arches,
 built by AUGUSTUS, as appears by the inscription,
 viz. *Cæsar. Divi F. Augustus Pontifex Maxim.*
Cos. 14. Imp. XX. Tribunitiæ potest. XXVII. p. p.
 On the other side, *Ti. Cæsar Divi Augusti F. Divi*
Julii N. August. Pontif. Maxim. Cos. 4. Imp. 8.
Trib. potest. 17 Dedere. 2. A triumphal arch e-
 rected by AUGUSTUS, which makes a noble gate
 to the town; on which is the following inscrip-
 tion, viz. *Cos. sept. Designat. Octavum V Celeber-*
rimis Italiæ Viris Consilio Senatus pop. Ta. CS. US.
Nileis. Here are also the ruins of an amphithe-
 atre, and they pretend to shew the *Suggestum*
 on which JULIUS CÆSAR stood when he ha-
 rangued his officers after he had pass'd the Rubi-
 con. Rimini is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Ra-
 venna.

Cervia, the antient *Phyocle*, stands in a morass
 near the sea, about ten miles to the southward
 of Ravenna; considerable on account of the salt-
 pits about it; and for its being a Bishop's See,
 suffragan to Ravenna: but is not very well peo-
 pled, on account of the badness of the air.

Faenza is situated on the river Amone, about
 twenty miles west of Ravenna, a little neat
 town, and a Bishop's See suffragan to Ravenna,
 most considerable on account of its manufacture
 of earthen ware.

Sarcina, Bertinoro, Forlimpopoli, Forlì and
 Imola, are only remarkable as they are the Sees
 of so many Bishops.

The province of Bologna, or the Bolognese, is
 bounded by the Ferrarese on the north; by Ro-
 mania proper on the east; by Tuscany on the
 south; and by the Modenese on the west; being
 about forty miles in length from east to west, and
 five and twenty in breadth from north to south;
 and is water'd by the rivers Reno, Saveno and
 Quadraco: being a fruitful country, abounding
 in corn, wine, oil, flax and fruits. It was an-
 tiently part of Lombardy, and afterwards of the
 exarchate of Ravenna, and given to the Pope by
 King PEPIN and CHARLEMAIN. The chief
 towns

CHA
XXIV
Pope
Domi
nions

Cervia

Sarcina,
Forlì, &c.The pro-
vince of Bo-
logna.

CHAP. towns whereof are, 1. Bologna. 2. Budri. 3. XXIV. Bentivoglio. 4. Fort Urbin. And, 5. Castel-Pope's Franco.

Domi- Bologna, or Bolonia, in Latin *Bononia*, and
nions. antiently *Felsina*, is usually surnamed the *Fat*,
Bologna city. from its standing in one of the most fruitful
plains in Italy. It is situated upon several little
rivulets and a navigable canal, by which it has a
communication with Ferrara, and a branch of the
Po; lying about seven or eight miles to the north-
ward of the Apennines, which in the way from
Florence sink gradually into little mounts or emi-
nences till we arrive at the plain in which Bologna
stands. This city is about sixty miles north-west of
Florence, and something more than two hundred
north-west of Rome, thirty south-west of Ferrara,
and an hundred and thirty south-east of Milan. The
country between Florence and Bologna is as bar-
ren as the country on the side of Lombardy is
fruitful, being one continued chain of the A-
pennine mountains, over which the road would be
intolerable if the Italians did not take more care
of their highways than any nation in Europe,
in which they imitate their ancestors the old Ro-
mans; but this road is still so incommodious for
wheel-carriages, that those who travel between
Bologna and Florence chuse either litters or mules
to ride on, rather than calashes in which they
travel in the plain country. Bologna is of a round
figure, about five or six miles in circumference,
surrounded with a single wall of very little
strength; for 'tis said, when they put themselves
under the Pope's protection about the year 1278,
they stipulated particularly against citadels and
fortifications, lest they should be used as a con-
quer'd people; and the Popes have religiously ob-
served this part of the treaty to this day. The
town is remarkable for its magnificent monaste-
ries and churches, and the riches and fine paint-
ings in them. The streets are tolerably wide,
and have piazza's on each side: the private hou-
ses are not lofty, or comparable to those of Ve-
nice or Genoa, but are handsome and conveni-
ent enough; they are either built of stone or
brick plaister'd over in imitation of stone. They
have several fine squares with noble fountains in
them; and all manner of provisions are extremely
plentiful; but what they are most remarkable
for are their hams and sausages, in which most
towns in Europe endeavour to imitate them. The
wealth of Bologna, says Dr. BURNET, ap-
pears in every corner of the town; there are
many noble palaces all over it, and the churches
and convents are incredibly rich. The inhabi-
tants are computed to amount to seventy thou-
sand souls. The place is much colder in winter
than those towns to the southward of the Apen-
nines, which, Mr. ADDISON supposes, is the rea-
son that their wines are not so good; so sweet

I suppose he means, for they have excellent white CHAP. wine, and they do not lie so cold as France and XXIV. some other countries, where we meet with the Pope's best of wines: and, according to MISSION, the Domi- heats are almost as troublesome here in the sum- nions.
mer as they are to the southward, accordingly
they use ice with their wine, and all manner of
cooling liquors; the men also have fans as well
as the women all over the country, and little
machines at table to drive off the flies. Here
MISSION takes an opportunity to acquaint us,
that they drive away the flies from the Pope's
face (when he is carried in publick on men's
shoulders, seated in a chair of state) in hot wea-
ther with an engine, call'd *Muscaria Pavonina*,
being a kind of open fan, made with the fea-
thers of a peacock, and fastned to the end of
a gilt staff about six foot long, and adorn'd with
several toys; two officers on each side hold these
implements near his face to drive away the flies,
they serve also instead of a fan, producing with
a little motion a gentle gale of wind. But how-
ever this may be look'd upon as an extravagant
piece of state in Europe, it is no more than e-
very gentleman and tradesman in the East-In-
dies has whenever he goes abroad; the East-In-
dia company's factors have their men to run by
them and beat off the flies as they travel, and
others with umbrellas to screen them from the
sun; as MISSION observes the Pope also has,
upbraiding him that St. PETER, whom he pre-
tends to succeed, was never thus attended. But
to return to Bologna, their trade consists chiefly in
silks and velvets, in which manufactures, and those
of flax and hemp, 'tis said, there are not less than
four hundred mills employ'd to put the machines
in motion with which they are wrought. One
of these kinds of mills, I am inform'd, is erected
on a stream at Derby, which saves abundance of
hands, and were they more general in England,
our silks might be afforded much cheaper: the
Italians, French and Dutch underwork us more
by the machines they employ, than by their fru-
gal living. Bologna is also most famous for its
soap, snuff and perfumes; but there is one species
of goods almost peculiar to this town, and that
is Lap-dogs for Ladies, which it seems are very
small, and sold at an excessive price here. One
of these was presented to some of the Bishop of
Rochester's family by the Chevalier's people, as
'tis said, and was an evidence of the Bishop's
correspondence with that court. There is another
thing almost peculiar to Bologna, and that is their
boiling their wines, which I presume is in or-
der to make them keep, for some of their wines
grow sour as soon as small cyder: but I must not
forget their olives, which are excellent in their
kind, and bought up as much as their white
wine. I proceed now to be a little more par-
ticular

CHAP. ticular in the description of the publick buildings
XXIV. in Bologna : To take a full prospect of the town,
Pope's says my author, you must go a little out of it, to
Domi- the convent of St. MICHAEL in Bosco, which
nions. stands upon a neighbouring hill, and is it self one
of the most magnificent monasteries in Italy :
there are few sovereign Princes whose palaces are
near so beautiful, nor are the monasteries of the
Dominicans, and that of St. SAVIOUR inferiour
to this. In the church of the Dominicans is a glo-
rious monument of St. DOMINICK their founder,
of fine alabaster, beautified with bass-reliefs, con-
taining the history of his life ; and the picture of
St. DOMINICK over the tomb, is an exquisite
piece done by the famous GUIDO RHENI ; but
as for the inlaid work of the choir, so much ad-
mired by travellers, MISSON observes, that the
modern performances of that kind are much bet-
ter done, now they have found out the art of
imprinting natural colours on wood. The church
of St. PETRONIUS is the largest in the city, in
which the most remarkable thing is CASSINI's
meridian line, which is drawn on a copper-plate,
set in the pavement two hundred and twenty
two foot long ; directly over the noon-point of
this line is a little hole in the arch'd roof of
the nave, at which a ray of the sun enters, and
marks the solstices and equinoxes upon the line.
At the church of Corpus Domini they shew an
embalm'd body, which is black and dry like a
mummy, and pretend that it is the body of a
deceased Nun, call'd KATHERINE DE VIGRI,
who died about the year 1463, which frequently
works miracles ; she sits in a chair clothed in a
Nun's habit, a crown of gold on her head, rings
on her fingers, a crucifix in her right hand, and
a book of her own composing in her left ; her
hair and nails, as her votaries pretend, grow as
when she was alive, and are often cut : Mr. MIS-
SON says, she is a dismal spectacle, and can't be
look'd upon without horror. At the church of St.
SALVATOR, amongst abundance of exquisite paint-
ings, the best are an assumption and a picture of
our Saviour. At St. GIOVANNI del Monte is an
admirable picture of St. CECILIA, a master-piece
of the divine RAPHAEL, as he is call'd, and
esteem'd one of the greatest treasures of the ci-
ty. The church of the Mendicants also abounds
in fine paintings, the principal and most beauti-
ful pieces are the calling of St. MATTHEW, a
dead Christ, and the re-establishment of JOB's
fortunes. The Religious of this city have a pro-
found veneration for an image of our Lady, which,
according to tradition, was drawn by St. LUKE,
and go in procession annually five miles out of
town to the mount La Guardia to bring her hi-
ther ; and they are making a kind of piazza, or
cover'd way, from the city to the mount, that
they may never be interrupted in their procession

by the weather. When they have brought this CHAP.
image of our Lady into the city, they carry it XXIV.
about with all imaginable pomp : all the compa- Pope's
nies in the corporation, the fraternities, convents, Domi-
parishes, Magistrates, Gonfalonier, and the Pope's nions.
Legate, all assist at the solemnity ; and as the Ma-
dona passes by, who is carried under a rich cano-
py, the spectators fall upon their knees, and ex-
press the utmost devotion. As to the palaces of
Bologna, that of General CAPRARA is esteem'd
the finest in the city, where are shewn abun-
dance of rich plunder which he took from the
Turks. In the palace of the State, or the Pope's
palace, in which are abundance of noble apart-
ments richly furnish'd, the Cardinal Legate has
ione, and the Gonfalonier another ; the counsel-
lors of State also have their several apartments
here. Over the gate is a brazen statue of Pope
GREGORY XIII, which weighs eleven thousand
pound, and is in great esteem for the workman-
ship ; but the greatest curiosity in this palace is
the cabinet of ULYSSES ALDROVANDUS, the
prodigy of his time. It contains a multitude of
natural and artificial curiosities, with two or three
hundred great manuscripts of his own writing,
fifteen of which are fill'd with the figures of
beasts, birds, fishes and plants, all illustrated with
their proper colours : and tho' one would ima-
gine he had done nothing but write all his life-
time ; his works sufficiently testify his great read-
ing, profound science, and an immense progress
both in antient and in modern learning ; which
shews what may be done where a great genius and
an indefatigable industry meet in the same person.

The University here is reckon'd one of the best
in Europe. It was founded by the Emperor
THEODOSIUS in the year 425, and augmented
by CHARLEMAIN and LOTHARIUS the French
Emperors. The study of law is in the greatest
reputation here. The learned AZO was a mem-
ber of this University, whom they stile the light
of Bologna, and oracle of the canon and civil
law, in whose time the number of students a-
mounted to ten thousand. The famous BAR-
TOLUS commenced Doctor here, and taught
publickly in this University. Here also ACCUR-
SIUS composed the Glossa, Pope GREGORY
IX and BONIFACE VIII their Decretalia ; and
JOHN XXIII, the Clementinæ. The publick
school is a magnificent structure, and has a noble
portico before it, supported by a great number of
marble pillars ; the rooms and galleries within
being adorn'd with admirable statues and paint-
ings. Among the statues the most remarkable are
those of ÆSCULAPIUS, APOLLO, and the fa-
mous physician and surgeon GABRIEL TA-
GLIACOZZO, or TALIAOTIUS, who had an
art, as 'tis said, of supplying people with artificial
noses, lips, ears, and other members where their
own

own happen'd to be mutilated or defaced, out of living human flesh; to which purpose he published his *Chirurgia Curtorum*, where he relates a story of a certain gentleman who lost his nose, and had it supplied by him with a piece of flesh cut from another man's back-side, and so artificially shaped and joined, that every body took it to be natural, till unluckily the fellow whom it was taken from happen'd to die, and then the gentleman's nose rotted off by sympathy, according to the ingenious BUTLER, author of *Hudibras*,

—Learned TALIACOTIUS from
The brawny part of porter bum
Cut supplimental noses, which
Would last as long as parent breech;
But when the date of nock was out,
Off dropt the sympathetick snout.

The two towers of Asinelli and Garisendi, so named from their respective founders, are look'd upon as great curiosities by travellers who visit this place; the former is 376 feet in height, and the latter 130. The leaning position of that of Garisendi, which bends like the tower of Pisa, is thought by some to have been so erected to shew the dexterity of the architect; but is more likely to have been disorder'd by some earthquake, or the sinking of one side of the foundation. Bologna is the See of an Archbishop, and esteem'd the second city in the Pope's dominions, equal, if not superiour to Florence in its riches, trade and dimensions. It threw it self under the protection of the Pope about the year 1278, and procured very advantageous terms, which have not been infringed to this day; to which the flourishing of this city beyond any other in the Pope's territories is ascribed. They are allow'd to appoint an Auditor of the Rota (the great Court which receives appeals from inferior Courts at Rome) and to have an Ambassador there to take care of their privileges: Civil causes are determin'd by the Magistrates of the city, and criminal by Judges of the Pope's appointing; but then their estates are not liable to be confiscated to the government for any offences whatever. As to the rest, the Pope's Legate is his Viceroy here, as in other provinces of the ecclesiastical state. The curiosities that pleas'd Mr. ADDISON most when he visited Bologna, he says, were an authentick silver medal of the young BRUTUS, in the hands of an eminent antiquary there; wherein he imagin'd he could see the character of the person in the features of the face, it was so exquisitely cut. On the reverse is the cap of Liberty, with a dagger on each side of it, subscrib'd, *Id. Mar.* for the Ides of March, the memorable date of CÆSAR's murder. The next was the picture of St. CE-

CILIA, already mention'd, in which he says there is something wonderfully divine. The third thing he admir'd was a stair-case, where the easiness of the ascent within a small compass, the disposition of the lights, and the convenient landing-places are admirably contrived. And there is scarce a traveller but mentions the shining stones found about three miles from the city in the hill Paderni, which go by the name of Bologna Stones; but these, I find, after they have been taken some time out of the earth, lose their shining quality. The rest of the towns of Bologna do not merit a particular description.

The third subdivision of Romania is the Ferrarese, bounded by the Venetian territories on the north; by the gulph of Venice on the east; by Romania Proper and the Bolognese on the south; and by the duchies of Modena and Mantua towards the west; being near seventy miles in length from east to west, but of a very unequal breadth, towards the gulph of Venice fifty, and in others scarce fifteen miles over. The country produces corn, flax and hemp, except that part of it next the sea, which is a perfect bog, and very unhealthful. This was part of the exarchate of Ravenna, and about the tenth century conferr'd on the Marquis of ESTE by the Emperor OTHO, and by an heiress of that family was given to the See of Rome about the year 1077. The Lords of a second branch of the family of ESTE held it as Vicars to the Pope, till the time of Pope PAUL II, who transferr'd it to NICHOLAS BORSO, another branch of the house of ESTE, and made him Duke of Ferrara; whose posterity failing about the year 1597, the Pope re-united it to the ecclesiastical State, but gave Modena and Reggio to CÆSAR DE ESTE, who also claim'd a right to the Ferrarese, but wanted power to support his pretensions. The chief towns are, 1. Ferrara. 2. Francolino. 3. Buendino. 4. Cento. And, 5. Comachio.

The city of Ferrara stands in a plain, on a branch of the Po, call'd *Po Morto*, about four miles distant from the main stream, with which it has a communication by a navigable canal, and is about fourscore miles south-west of Venice, and fifty north-west of Ravenna, being four or five miles in circumference. It has a citadel, and something like a fortification (in the phrase of my author) round it; but the town is so large, that it would require more soldiers to defend it than the Pope has in his dominions. The streets are as beautiful as can be seen, as to their length, breadth, and regularity, but it is very thinly peopled, and can neither boast of its wealth or trade: formerly it was eminent for both. When Dr. BURNET travell'd through it, he tells us it was almost deserted; that there were whole sides of streets without inhabitants; that the poverty of

CHAP. XXIV. the place appear'd signally in their churches, which were mean and poorly adorn'd; for the Pope's superstition of Italy is so *ravenous*, says that reverend author, and makes such a progress in this age, that one may justly take the measures of the wealth of any place from their churches: and yet the same writer tells us in other parts of his travels, that "Italy is in general exceeding poor, tho' their churches are vastly rich;" so consistent is he with himself. As to the miserable poverty of Ferrara, he is indeed supported by the concurrent relations of every person who writes of the state of Italy, and therefore we have no reason to doubt the fact. I could not, says the same reverend writer, but ask all I saw, how it came to pass that so rich a soil was so strangely abandon'd? Some said the air was become so unhealthy, that those who stay in it are very short-lived: but it is well known, that fourscore years ago it was well peopled, and the ill air is occasion'd by the want of inhabitants; for there not being people to drain the ground, and to keep the ditches clean, this occasions a great deal of water to lie on the ground and rot, which infects the air in the same manner as is observed in that vast and rich, but uninhabited Champaign of Rome; so that the ill air is the Effect, rather than the Cause, of dispeopling the Pope's dominions. "The true cause, (according to this author) is the severity of the government, and the heavy taxes and frequent confiscations;" by which the nephews of several Popes, as they have devoured many of the families of Ferrara, so they have driven away many more. As I came down one of the branches of the Po from Ferrara, says Mr. ADDISON, all the fields lay miserably uncultivated till I came near Ravenna, where the soil is made extremely fruitful, and shows what the other might be, were there hands enough to manage it to the best advantage. From whence it appears, that there are some places in the Pope's territories in a flourishing condition, though others are thus wretchedly deserted. And though I do not doubt but *heavy taxes and a despotick government* contribute in a great measure to the impoverishing any place, yet there seems to remain some other hidden causes to be assign'd, why these oppressions should have had a worse effect on the Ferrarese, than on any other province in the Pope's dominions. Trade once in an hundred years receives very great alterations in other countries as well as this; a city dwindles to a village, and a village improves into a city under the mildest administrations. The conveniency or inconveniency of land or water-carriage, the encouraging or discouraging a manufacture, and ten thousand accidents may advance and ruin trade, and consequently people or depopulate a place, besides the tyranny of the government: and yet I find our

travellers in general agree, not to assign any other reason for the decay of any one Italian city, but the oppressions of the government. Should foreigners visit Sandwich, Rye, Winchelsea, and many of our inland as well as maritime corporations, and immediately conclude we were under a *Tyrannical Administration*, because these places are now in a miserable ruinous condition, which formerly made a figure in the world; should we not with reason look upon it as an ill-natured suggestion, and to be founded in ignorance as well as prejudice? And the same reflections no doubt the Italians frequently make on our unthinking voyage-writers. When Rome was empress of the world, and the Princes and great men of every nation had a dependance on her, no wonder that Italy was crowded with inhabitants, when Italy was almost the only country in Europe that had a manufacture of silk: And when the Venetians, Genoese, and other Italian states only furnish'd the rest of Europe with the rich productions of the East, with the merchandize of China, India and Turkey; it is no wonder if their country abounded more in wealth and inhabitants, that it was better drain'd and cultivated than it is at present. Nay, before the reformation, when all the Christian Princes of Europe, their clergy, and the rest of their subjects were on many occasions obliged to appeal to Rome, and to resort thither for a determination of their differences, and on many other occasions; it is very natural to suppose the ecclesiastical state was in a better condition than it is now, when the Protestants have all withdrawn their contributions and attendance; and those of the same communion are grown much cooler in their devotion than they were in those days of darkness. These are some of the reasons that occur'd to me as the occasion of the decay of the Italian cities and states, besides the severity of their respective governments, when I was considering the miserable condition of the Ferrarese: this might have happen'd to them, let the administration of their respective governments have been never so mild. But to return to the description of this city: Their churches and palaces are not yet so despicable but they would make a figure out of Italy, though, 'tis true, they were miserably shatter'd by an earthquake which happen'd in the year 1570. The palace of the ancient Dukes, where the Pope's Legate keeps his court, is a stately old fabrick, to which belongs a good library, adorn'd with statues, painting, medals, and other antiquities, after the manner of Italy. The Domo, or Cathedral, says my author, is rather venerable than beautiful: in the piazza before it stands the statue of Pope ALEXANDER VII, and two others, which represent two Princes of the family D'ESTE, one on horseback, and the other in a sitting posture.

CHAP. XXIV.
Pope's
Domi-
nions.

H A P. posture. In the church of St. BENEDICT is a monument erected to the memory of that celebrated Poet ARIOSTO, who like his brethren wanted necessaries in his life-time. The Carmelites church is famous for its exquisite paintings. **XIV.** The University of this place, which was founded about the year 1390, is dwindled to one college of Jesuits; but they have a philosophical academy here, as in other Italian cities, who stile themselves *Elevati*. Ferrara is a Bishop's See, suffragan to Rome.

machio. Comachio is a little city in the middle of a morass, call'd the valley of Comachio, a town of some strength on account of its watery situation, and lies about thirty miles south-east of Ferrara, near the coast of the Adriatick Sea, in a very unhealthy air. This town the Imperialists took possession of in the last war, and held for many years, as well to facilitate the march of their troops to and from the kingdom of Naples, as to compel the Pope to grant the investiture of the Spanish dominions to King CHARLES III, the present Emperor, but they have yielded it up to his Holiness again. It is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Ravenna, from whence it is about thirty miles distant. The rest of the towns of the Ferrarese are not very considerable. The description of such of the Pope's territories as lie in Naples, Tuscany, France, or any other foreign State, will be met with in the respective countries where they are situated. I proceed now to enquire into the State of the kingdom of Naples.

The KINGDOM of NAPLES.

C H A P. XXV.

Treats of the situation and extent of the kingdom of Naples; the air, seas, ports, lakes, rivers and mountains; and enquires into the genius and temper of the natives; and the several provinces it is divided into.

THE kingdom of Naples is the south-east part of Italy, which being very properly resembled to a leg, Naples makes all that part of the leg and foot which is below the calf, and is a peninsula, bounded by the Adriatick sea, or gulph of Venice on the north-east; by the Ionian sea on the south-east; by the Tuscan sea on the south-west; and by the lands of the church, or the Pope's dominions on the north-west; extending two hundred and forty miles in length from the north-west to the south-east; an hundred and sixty in breadth in the broadest place, and eighty about the instep, or the narrowest part of it. If we consider the southerly situation of this country, we must conclude it to be excessive hot; and so indeed it is in many of their valleys, but

as the Apennine mountains run the whole length of it, from whence there fall innumerable cooling streams, and it is well water'd with lakes, and as the sea almost surrounds it, from whence they seldom want refreshing breezes, the air is exceeding healthful and pleasant, and more pure and serene than in any of our northern countries which lie near the Ocean. Their seas, as I have intimated already, are the Adriatick, the Ionian, and the Tuscan sea: on which their principal ports are those of Naples, Baya, Marenno, Gaeta, Trani, Brindisi, and Tarento. The most considerable lakes are Agnano, Averno, Lacrino, Patria, Lesina, Varano, Focino, Avellino, Ansanto, Vignola, Perito, and Beccino. Their chief rivers, the Volturno, Garigliano, Tronto, Pescara, Sangro, Tortore, Candelaro, Ufente, Vafento, Acrifino, Sarno, and Riondo; besides which, they reckon up an hundred and forty more: but 'tis true, as their course is short and steep, falling chiefly from the Apennine into one or other of the seas above-mention'd, which are not far distant from their source, scarce any of them are navigable, tho' they enrich the soil prodigiously in this warm climate, and produce an inconceivable abundance of the most delicious fruits and wines, scarce equal'd in this respect by any country in the known world, being stiled the Garden of Italy, as that is of Europe. The principal mountains are those of the Apennine, Vesuvius, Paufilippo, and Falerno.

As to the character of the Neapolitans, it differs but little from that of their neighbours, except it be that they are charged with being more lazy, more inclin'd to venereal pleasures, and more given to change their masters than any other State in Italy; and they have actually changed them very often: but this may be ascribed rather to the amiableness of their situation, and the fertility of the soil, which invites the neighbouring powers to contend for it, than to the fickleness or discontents of the people. It is an infallible sign that it is worth the conquest, because it has been so often conquer'd; and it is very reasonable also to believe, that where people live in so agreeable a soil and climate, they will naturally be dissolved in pleasures, and consequently seldom be in a condition to defend themselves against a foreign force, and on that account are apt to become a prey to every invader. Mr. ANDERSON, and some other travellers also relate, that this people are of a litigious temper: it is incredible, says that gentleman, how great a multitude of retainers to the law there are at Naples. It is said that when INNOCENT XI had desired the Marquis of Carpio to furnish him with thirty thousand head of swine; the Marquis answer'd him, that for his swine he could not spare them, but if his Holiness had occasion for thirty thousand lawyers, he had them at his service. These

Genius and temper of the natives.

CHAP. gentlemen find continual employment for the
XXV. fiery temper of the Neapolitans, and prevent their
Kingdom uniting into such common friendships and alliances
of as are observed in other places. There are very
Naples. few persons of consideration who have not a cause
depending: for when a Neapolitan Cavalier, says
my author, has nothing else to do, he gravely
shuts himself up in his closet and falls a tumbling
over his papers to see if he can start a law-suit,
and plague any of his neighbours. Which is
very different from the character of the natives
antiently, according to the Poet,

*Nulla foro rabies aut strictæ jurgia legis,
Morum jura viris solum & sine fascibus æquum.*

SIL. L. 3.

Render'd into English thus by Mr. ADDISON,

By love of right and native justice led,

In the strait paths of equity they tread;

Nor know the bar, nor fear the judge's frown,

Unpractis'd in the wranglings of the gown.

But the inhabitants of Naples, as that gentleman
truly observes, have been always remarkable for
leading a life of laziness and pleasure; which he
conceives arises partly out of the wonderful plenty
of their country, that does not make labour so
necessary to them; and partly out of the temper
of the climate, that relaxes the fibres of their bod-
ies, and disposes the people to such an idle and
indolent humour,

— *Et in otia natam*

Parthenopen — OVID. Met. L. 15.

Otiōsa Neapolis — HOR. Ep. 5.

PARTHENOPE, for idle hours design'd,

To luxury and ease unbends the mind.

Another passage out of SILIUS the same author
renders into English thus,

Here wanton Naples crowns the happy shore,

Nor vainly rich, nor despicably poor;

The town in soft solemnities delights,

And gentle Poets to her arms invites.

The people free from cares, serene and gay,

Pass all their mild untroubled hours away.

PARTHENOPE the rising city nam'd,

A Siren for her songs and beauty fam'd,

That oft had drown'd among the neighb'ring
seas,

The listning wretch, and made destruction
please.

Grand divi- The kingdom of Naples is usually divided into
son of Na- four large portions, viz. 1. The Terra di Lavoro.
ples. 2. Abruzzo. 3. Apuglia. And, 4. Calabria.

Subdivision. 1. The Terra di Lavoro is subdivided into,
1. The Terra di Lavoro Proper. 2. The Principato Citerior. And, 3. The Principato Ulterior.

2. The Abruzzo is subdivided into, 1. The
Abruzzo Citerior. 2. The Abruzzo Ulterior.
And, 3. The county of Molisa.

3. Apuglia is subdivided into, 1. Apuglia Capi-
tinata. 2. The Terra de Barri. And, 3. The
Terra di Otranto.

4. Calabria is subdivided into; 1. The Basili- CHAP
cate. 2. Calabria Citerior. And, 3. Calabria Ul- XXVI.
terior. And these I shall endeavour to describe Kingdom
in their order. of
Naples.

CHAP. XXVI.

*Treats of the first grand division, the Terra di La-
voro, with the subdivisions or provinces comprehended
in it, and their respective chief towns; and par-
ticularly of the city of Naples, the capital of the
kingdom.*

THE Terra di Lavoro, the first grand divi- The Terra
sion, stretches it self along the coast of Tus- di Lavoro,
cany from the Campania of Rome to Calabria,
being about an hundred and forty miles in length,
and five and thirty in breadth.

Lavoro Proper is bounded by Abruzzo and the Lavoro pro-
Campania of Rome on the north; by the county per-
of Molisa and the Principato Ulterior towards
the east; by the Principato Citerior towards the
south; and by the Tuscan sea, or sea of Naples,
towards the south-west; extending about seventy
miles in length. The chief towns whereof are, Chief towns,
1. Naples, the capital. 2. Puzzoli. 3. Baia. 4.
Cuma. 5. Procita. 6. Ischia. 7. Carinola. 8. Ses-
fa. 9. Mola. 10. Gaeta. 11. Itri. 12. Fondi. 13.
Aquino. 14. Arce. 15. Sora. 16. Arpino. 17.
Monte Cassino. 18. St. Germano. 19. La Cerva-
ra. 20. Venafro. 21. Prezenzano. 22. Tiano. 23.
Alifi. 24. Cerrito. 25. Cajazze. 26. Calvi. 27.
Capua. 28. St. Mary. 29. Caserta. 30. Matalon.
31. Averfa. 32. Acerra. 33. Nola. 34. Avella.
35. Castella Mare de Strabia. 36. Vico. 37. So-
rento. 38. Massa. And, 39. Capri.

The city of Naples, Neapolis, the antient Par- Naples city,
thenope, was so named, according to tradition,
from PARTHENOPE, a sea-nymph or siren,
whose charms ULYSSES and his company very
narrowly escaped. The name of Neapolis was
given it by AUGUSTUS, according to some;
while others hold that the Greeks, who rebuilt
and beautified it, call'd it Neapolis. But these
are trifles not worth searching after; and there-
fore I proceed to the description of the city it
self, leaving people of more leisure to contend a-
bout the name.

Naples is situated on the declivity of a hill,
and on one of the finest bays that ever the sea
form'd. The bay is of a circular figure, about
thirty miles in diameter, three parts of it shel-
ter'd with a noble circuit of woods and moun-
tains; the island Capræa standing as a vast mole,
which seems to have been planted there on pur-
pose to break the violence of the waves that run
into the bay, and stretches it self in a line almost
parallel to Naples. This bay was call'd the Cra-
ter by antient Philosophers, which Mr. ADDI-
son thinks might proceed from its resemblance
to a round bowl half fill'd with liquor; and that

VIRGIL,

CHAP. VIRGIL, who composed great part of his *Æneids* XXVI. here, took his first plan of the beautiful harbour Kingdom described in his first book from hence, which description Mr. DRYDEN thus renders into English.

Within a long recess there lies a bay,
An island shades it from the rolling sea,
And forms a port secure for ships to ride,
Broke by the jetting land on either side,
In double streams the briny waters glide.
Between two rows of rocks a sylvan scene
Appears above, and groves for ever green.

And as Naples lies on the bosom of this charming bay in form of a crescent towards the south, there are on the north little fruitful hills, which rise insensibly into the Campania Felice. On the east is a large plain, which leads towards Mount Vesuvius, and on the west is a high hill, on which the castle of St. ELMO and the Carthusian monastery are situated, from whence the prospect is inexpressibly fine. It is scarce ever cold in winter, and in summer they have refreshing breezes both from the mountains and the sea, which is not subject to storms, and has so bold a shore, that vessels of burthen may lie close to the keys. Wine and oil, and all manner of provisions excellent in their kind, are exceeding plentiful. The air is pure, serene and healthful; the buildings beautiful beyond comparison, inhabited by people of distinction, remarkable for their parts and education, as well as their quality, in so much that we can scarce frame an idea of a more desirable abode. But every thing has a dark as well as a bright side; and as this city is remarkably happy in many respects beyond any other town, perhaps in the universe, it has its allays and inconveniences also to such a degree, that no considering man, who had any other place to live in, would chuse to reside in it; the principal of which are the frequent earthquakes and eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, the apprehensions of which must spoil all the pleasures and beauties already enumerated. The litigious temper of the inhabitants is another great objection to the place; and if they are as wicked as some of our travellers would make them, particularly BURNET and MISSON (whose relations I do not entirely credit in this particular) few people will be inclined to leave their native country and transplant themselves to Naples. But to be a little more particular in the description of this city.

Naples is situated in forty-one degrees of north latitude, fifteen degrees to the eastward of London, and about an hundred and forty miles south-east of Rome, being seven or eight miles in circumference within the walls, and as much more including all the suburbs, and is supposed to contain about three hundred thousand inhabitants. It has three castles, which serve rather to bridle the inhabitants than for its defence, and indeed the

town takes up too great an extent of ground to be defended by any thing less than an army. XXVI. Accordingly we find the Spanish Viceroy quitted Kingdom it without striking a stroke, and threw himself into Gaeta, that was more tenable when the Imperialists last invaded this kingdom. The streets are generally broad and straight, and paved with stones about a foot square. The buildings are of stone, lofty and uniform, with flat roofs, surrounded with battlements or ballusters, on which the inhabitants take the air in an evening. And as the houses in Naples are generally large and well built without any mixture of mean ones, there are great numbers of them which well deserve the name of Palaces; scarce a great family in the kingdom but has one here. The fountains in the streets, and the many fine gardens about it, are no small addition to its beauty. The Viceroy's palace stands in a large open square, with a regular front, composed of three orders of architecture, and is near four hundred feet in length. The three castles, the academies, hospitals, arsenal and magazines, are noble edifices: but what is most extraordinary, is the number and magnificence of their churches and convents, which are not to be parallell'd. Some reckon up an hundred and twenty convents, forty nunneries, and three hundred churches, every one of which are remarkable for their architecture, sculpture, painting or ornaments. The Domo, or cathedral, dedicated to St. JANUARIUS, is a magnificent old fabrick, and hath a little modern chapel, esteem'd one of the finest in Europe, adorn'd with brazen statues, and the most exquisite paintings. In this chapel is the tomb of St. JANUARIUS, Bishop of Benevento, whose blood being kept in a glass, and congeal'd, grows liquid, as the people are taught to believe, on the approach of the Saint's head. Mr. ADDISON relates, that he had twice an opportunity of seeing the operation of this pretended miracle, which was one of the most bungling tricks that ever he saw. The Jesuits church is esteem'd the best that society has in Italy; all parts of it are beautified with the richest ornaments from the pavement to the roof. The same may be said of that of St. MARY's della Annunciata, which belongs to the famous hospital of that name, which entertains two thousand infirm people, and above eight hundred orphans, having a revenue of two hundred thousand crowns per annum, and upwards. The churches of St. PHILIP of Neri, Santa MARIA la Nova, St. SEVERIUS, St. PAUL's, St. DOMINICK's, and St. MARIA della Sanitate, are all surprizingly rich and beautiful. The frontispieces, the gates, the chapels, the tombs, the sculpture, painting, gilded roofs, Mosaic-work, and bass-reliefs are exquisite pieces of workmanship. The vessels of gold, silver, jasper and porphyry, are innumerable.

CHAP. The plate alone in the churches of Naples, upon XXVI. a moderate estimate, says Dr. BURNET, amounts Kingdom to eight millions of crowns; and the gildings and of paintings in some of the churches above men- tion'd, according to the same writer, have cost millions. The great convent of the Carthusians on St. MARTIN's hill, near the castle of St. ELMO, is a most glorious fabrick, and immensely rich. The Monks relate, that in one priorate there was laid out five hundred thousand ducats in silver-plate, pictures and sculptures alone. Their church is not large, but nothing, says my author, can be added to the value of the matter, or the excellence of the workmanship. The nativity of Christ by GUIDO is an inestimable piece; and there are four pictures of the Lord's supper done by the greatest hands. The cloyster is an hundred paces square, built and paved with marble, the four galleries supported by sixty fine white marble pillars, each of them of one entire piece. Every Monk here has his chamber, closet, library, and a pretty garden to himself, and the Prior a palace fit to entertain a Prince. Among other rarities, they pretend to have a crucifix drawn from the life, as they call it, by MICHAEL ANGELO, who having hired a peasant to let him tie him to a cross, that he might the better describe the dying agonies, stabbed the fellow to the heart: but this story does not meet with universal credit. Here is also a St. LAURENCE by TITIAN, some designs by RUBENS and ALBERT DURER, which they set a great value upon. And there cannot be a greater variety of glorious prospects than are to be seen from hence, as has been intimated already; for here you have a view of the sea and several islands, among which is that of Capræa, whither TIBERIUS retired with his court. Here also we have a distinct view of the city of Naples, its castles, harbour, mole and pharos, and the gardens and fruitful hills which surround it. On the other side you have a prospect of the sea-coast, with its little bays and capes, set thick with pretty villages and houses of pleasure. A little further you discern the air darkned with the smoak of Mount Vesuvius, which must strike a damp to all their enjoyments, if they reflect on the many eruptions and earthquakes that have happen'd within a few years past, some of which it may be proper to give the reader an abstract of, after having described the situation of this mouth of hell, as 'tis call'd.

Mount Vesuvius described.

Mount Vesuvius, according to Mr. ADDISON, stands about six English miles to the eastward of Naples, (Misson says eight) tho' its height makes it appear much nearer to those who survey it from the town. The first part of the way lies upon a level, through several good villages along the sea-coast; afterwards we begin to ascend till we come within a mile and half of the top,

when we are obliged to quit our horses, the hill CHA grows so steep, and cover'd thick with the burnt XXVI earth as small as dust, which makes it very difficult ascending it, even on foot. In our way to Vesuvius, says Mr. ADDISON, we pass'd by what Kingdom of Naples, was one of those rivers of burning matter that run from it in a late eruption. It looks at a distance like a new-ploughed land, but as you come nearer it you see nothing but a long heap of heavy disjointed clods, lying one upon another. There are innumerable cavities and interstices among the several pieces, so that the surface is all broken and irregular. Sometimes a great fragment stands like a rock above the rest, sometimes the whole heap lies in a kind of channel, and in other places has nothing like banks to confine it, but rises four or five foot high above the surface, without spreading on either side. This, says my author, is demonstration to me, that these rivers were not, as they are usually represented, so many streams of running matter; for how could a liquid that lay hardening by degrees, settle in such a furrow'd uncompact surface? Were the river a confusion of never so many different bodies, if they had been all actually dissolv'd, they would at least have form'd one continued crust, as we see the scorium of metals always gathers into a solid piece, let it be compounded of never so many heterogeneous parts. I am apt to think therefore, that these huge unwieldy lumps that now lie one upon another, as if thrown together by accident, remain'd in the melted matter rigid and unliquified, floating in it like cakes of ice in a river: and that as the fire and ferment gradually abated, they adjusted themselves together as well as their irregular figures would permit, and by this means fell into such an interrupted and disorderly heap as we now find it: what was the melted matter, lies at the bottom, out of sight. After having quitted the side of this long heap, says Mr. ADDISON, which was once a stream of fire, we came to the foot of the mountain, and had a very troublesome march to gain the top of it. It is cover'd on all sides with a kind of burnt earth, very dry, and crumbled into powder, as if it had been artificially sifted. It is very hot under foot, and mix'd with several burnt stones and cakes of cinders, which have been thrown out at different times. One sinks almost a foot into the earth, and generally loses half a step by sliding backwards. When we had climb'd this mountain, we discover'd the top of it to be a wide naked plain, smoaking with sulphur in several places, and probably undermined with fire, for we concluded it to be hollow by the sound it made under our feet. In the midst of this plain stands a high hill in the shape of a sugar-loaf, so very steep that there would be no mounting or descending it, were it not made up of such a loose crumbled earth as is already described.

CHAP. XXVI. described. The air of this place must be very much impregnated with salt-petre, as appears by the specks of it on the sides of the mountain, where one can scarce find a stone that has not the top white with it. After we had with great labour gain'd the top of this hill, we saw in the midst of it the present mouth of Vesuvio, which goes shelving down on all sides above an hundred yards deep, and is about three or four hundred in the diameter, for it seems a perfect round. This vast hollow is generally fill'd with smoak, but by the advantage of a wind that blew from us we had a very clear and distinct sight of it. The sides of it appear all over stain'd with mixtures of white, green, red, and yellow, and have several rocks standing out of them that look like pure brimstone. The bottom was intirely cover'd, and though we look'd very narrowly, we could see nothing like a hole in it, the smoak breaking through several imperceptible cracks in many places. The very middle was firm ground, when we saw it, as we concluded from the stones we flung upon it; and I question not but one might then have cross'd the bottom and have gone up on the other side of it with very little danger, unless from some accidental breath of wind. In the late eruptions this great hollow was like a vast caldron, filled with glowing and melted matter, which as it boil'd over in any part, ran down the sides of the mountain, and made five such rivers as are above mention'd. In proportion as the heat slackned, this burning matter must have subsided within the bowels of the mountain, and as it sunk very leisurely, had time to cake together and form the bottom, which covers the mouth of that dreadful vault that lies underneath it. The next eruption or earthquake will probably break in pieces this false bottom, and quite change the present face of things. This whole mountain, shap'd like a sugar-loaf, has been made at several times, by the prodigious quantities of earth and cinders which have been flung up out of the mouth that lies in the midst of them; so that it increases in bulk at every eruption, the ashes still falling down the sides of it like the sand in an hour-glass. A Gentleman of Naples relates, that in his memory it had gain'd twenty foot in thickness; and I question not but in length of time it will cover the whole plain, and make one mountain with that on which it now stands. In those parts of the sea which are not far from the foot of this mountain they find sometimes a very fragrant oil, which is sold very dear, and makes a rich perfume: The surface of the sea is for a little space cover'd with its bubbles during the time it rises, which they skim off into their boats, and afterward set a separating in pots and jars. They say its sources never run but in calm warm weather. Thus far Mr. ADDISON, who visited this mountain in the year 1702. Several ancient authors relate, that the roaring noise of this mountain at an

eruption has been heard as far as Rome; that the thickness of the smoak has in a manner eclips'd the sun, and made it dark at noon-day; that streams of brimstone have run down from it into the sea, and that the sea it self hath swell'd and boil'd with heat. I proceed now to give an account of some of those earth-quakes and eruptions that have happen'd at Mount Vesuvius and Naples.

Before the reign of AUGUSTUS historians have not recorded above five eruptions of this burning mount, tho' we can reckon up more than that number within forty years last pass'd; particularly in the years 1688, 89, 94, 96, 1701, 1707, and 1727. The earth-quake which happen'd the fifth and sixth of June 1688, overturn'd several of their churches and religious houses, particularly the fine church of the Jesuits, with a third part of the city, and destroy'd several ships in the harbour, of which we meet with the following account from a person who was then on the spot, viz. A little after four in the afternoon we were put into such a confusion as cannot be express'd, we perceiv'd the houses stoop and recover again, to part from one another, and in some places to fall; soon after a more violent earth-quake succeeded, and a subterraneous noise surpassing that of thunder was heard, while our household goods at the same time clatter'd about our ears, the bells rung in the steeples, the reservoirs and cisterns threw out their waters, many houses fell, and others stood stooping just ready to fall; whereupon were heard the most hideous shrieks from all parts of the town, some embrac'd and took an eternal farewell of their friends; others threw themselves headlong out of the windows, not knowing what they did; but before the third shock, people being a little recover'd from their consternation, began to consider how to save themselves by flight. When the earthquake was over, those who had run out into the fields and gardens returned to see what was become of their houses and acquaintance they left behind; but the next morning their consternation was renew'd by the thunder, lightning and storms which lasted for two or three days. The streets were fill'd with processions of penitents, women, children, old men, ecclesiasticks, and others, cloath'd in sackcloth, and crown'd with thorns, with ropes about their necks, and their feet chain'd, whipping themselves, and often sinking under the burthens of crosses, great stones, and other things, with which they had loaded themselves to atone the wrath of heaven; some of them were perfectly naked, covering only what decency requir'd, their bodies discolour'd with blood and dirt, weeping and lamenting themselves, and redoubling their blows and cries when they pass'd by any ruins occasion'd by the earthquake. The Archbishop Cardinal PIGNATELLI in the mean time sat in a balcony of his palace, where he spent three whole days in distributing his blessings among the people, his arms relieving each other,

CHAP. XXVI. Kingdom of Naples.

Eruptions of Mount Vesuvius.

The earthquake in 1688.

CHAP. other, which were wearied with making the sign XXVI. of the cross. He authoriz'd all the Priests in the Kingdom city to confess and absolve all sins without distinction; so that every where people were seen upon Naples. their knees confessing in the streets, that they might take the advantage of so general an absolution. The Monks and Priests themselves having ashes upon their heads, and halters about their necks, preach'd to the people from the shops and stalls in every street of the town. As I was passing by the pyramid of St. JANUARIUS, says the writer of this relation, a Capuchin was preaching there with a croud about him, when on a sudden a woman, whose brains were still turning, cry'd out she saw the pyramid shake, whereupon another without examining the truth of it, cried out, *Misericordia!* Whereupon the *Misericordia* went round, and occasion'd such confusion, that the whole assembly dispers'd in a minute; while the poor Monk, with his cord about his neck, and his feet chain'd, swoon'd for fear, and was with difficulty brought to himself again. These subterraneous attacks, which thus disturb us here, we look upon to be the effects of the rage of Mount Vesuvius, when the fires are pent up and cannot find a vent at the mouth of it.

On the sixth of April 1694, there was a terrible irruption, the mountain was on fire the greatest part of the month, and threw out the burning matter with that force, that some of it reach'd Benevento, above thirty miles distant; but what was most extraordinary, was the prodigious quantity of melted minerals mixt with other matter, which it pour'd out at several places, and which run for the space of three miles slowly like melted tallow, which begins to cool, but at the same time carried every thing before it which lay in its way. One of these slow floods running over a great rock fell down a precipice with such violence, and occasion'd so great a smোক, that every one began to think there had been a new opening. The Viceroy set great numbers of men to clear the way for these rivers of melted minerals to prevent their overflowing their banks, which at length congeal'd and rais'd themselves into little hills, but the matter they were compos'd of was good for nothing, not so much as to make cannon-bullets of; some people attempted to make little cups, and other things of it, but it was as brittle as earthen ware.

Another relation I have before me of this irruption says, that the people were at first alarm'd with roaring subterranean noises, attended with rolling flames intermix'd with smোক, which broke forth from the mountain; that the breadth of those torrents of melted matter above mention'd, was about fifty fathom, and that the fire rais'd it self above two and twenty fathom; that the wind coming about to the east, the streets and houses in Naples were cover'd with cinders; that the stones and pieces of rock which lay in the way

of these fiery rivers, were presently kindled and CHAP. calcin'd, and afterwards floated upon the torrent. XXVI.

In the year 1707, when they were in the Kingdom midst of their rejoicings for the success of the Imperialists in reducing the kingdom of Naples, they of Naples. were interrupted by a dreadful eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which began on the 29th of July to send out vast streams of flame and smোক, and throw out stones. On the third of August it raged with greater violence, throwing out such quantities of cinders and ashes that it was dark at noon-day, and they were forc'd to light up candles: When the Archbishop happily carrying St. JANUARIUS the Saint of the place in procession, attended by all the nobility and people, the eruption ceas'd in a few hours, which confirm'd them in their devotion for their Patron. They immediately therefore solemniz'd a thanksgiving, and illuminated the streets for three nights successively; which sufficiently shows the dread the natives have of these eruptions, and with a great deal of reason, as they sometimes carry whole towns and villages before them, and will probably in time lay this fine city in ashes. In 1727, they had a violent shock of an earthquake; the sea swell'd in an extraordinary manner, and flames of fire issued from Mount Vesuvius, which terrified the bravest of them, and brought them upon their knees before the head of St. JANUARIUS their Patron. Mr. MISON I find has other objections to the town of Naples, beside the danger of earthquakes and fiery eruptions. There are many things, says that gentleman, which are not suitable to its beauty, and cloud the pleasant countenance it would otherwise have; among which, the keeping up their women, and not suffering them to appear in the streets, or the company of men, he esteems none of the least: *They hide the fairest part of the creation from the world*, which he looks upon as an insupportable grievance. Then the habits and equipages of the people of Naples are generally black and dismal; they are prohibited wearing gold and silver, or silk upon silk; nor is a person of the greatest quality allow'd more than two footmen: Their coaches also are drawn by slow-footed mules, with odd kind of harnesses; and the stiff Spanish dress is generally worn. The Viceroy seldom appears, and his court has a very dull air in the eyes of those that have seen other courts. But were there no other objections against Naples, than these last mentioned, most men would esteem it a very desirable place, I believe, however it may appear in the eyes of that reverend gentleman. The wines of Naples, it has been already observ'd, are the best in Italy; and the clergy it seems are the greatest wine-merchants in this city. The wine-cellar belonging to the Jesuits, if we may credit Dr. BURNET, is a vast vault, that contains above a thousand hogheads, and the best wine is sold by them; tho' they do not retail it out in so scandalous

Other objections to Naples besides earthquakes, &c.

Wine sold by retail by the Clergy.

CHAP. lous a manner as they do who live in the great
XXVI. square, and sell it in the same manner our
Kingdom publick houses do. 'Tis true, the people of the
of town are no great drinkers; they do not set tip-
Naples. ling for hours together, as they do with us, but
only go in for a draught now and then, when
they are thirsty, and then go about their business;
however, the fathers grow very rich by this retail
trade. The people here, from the highest to the
lowest, drink no wine or other liquors, not so
much as water, if it has not lain some time in
snow, which they use instead of ice, and affirm
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vast balls of snow, which they ram close toge-
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reservoirs of snow they cut great lumps as they
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sea-side where they are received into boats and
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the Nile leaning against a crocodile; and the
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in

CHAP. other, which were wearied with making the sign
XXVI. of the cross. He authoriz'd all the Priests in the
Kingdom city to confess and absolve all sins without distinc-
of tion; so that every where people were seen upon
Naples. their knees confessing in the streets, that they
might take the advantage of so general an absolu-
tion. The Monks and Priests themselves having
ashes upon their heads, and halters about their
necks, preach'd to the people from the shops and
stalls in every street of the town. As I was pas-
sing by the pyramid of St. JANUARIUS, says the
writer of this relation, a Capuchin was preaching
there with a croud about him, when on a sudden
a woman, whose brains were still turning, cry'd
out she saw the pyramid shake, whereupon another
without examining the truth of it, cried out,
Misericordia! Whereupon the *Misericordia* went
round, and occasion'd such confusion, that the
whole assembly dispers'd in a minute; while the
poor Monk, with his cord about his neck, and his
feet chain'd, swoon'd for fear, and was with diffi-
culty brought to himself again. These subterra-
neous attacks, which thus disturb us here, we look
upon to be the effects of the rage of Mount Ve-
suvius, when the fires are pent up and cannot find
a vent at the mouth of it.

On the sixth of April 1694, there was a terrible
irruption, the mountain was on fire the greatest
part of the month, and threw out the burning
matter with that force, that some of it reach'd
Benevento, above thirty miles distant; but what
was most extraordinary, was the prodigious quan-
tity of melted minerals mixt with other matter,
which it pour'd out at several places, and which
run for the space of three miles slowly like melted
tallow, which begins to cool, but at the same time
carried every thing before it which lay in its way.
One of these slow floods running over a great rock
fell down a precipice with such violence, and oc-
casion'd so great a smoak, that every one began
to think there had been a new opening. The
Viceroy set great numbers of men to clear the way
for these rivers of melted minerals to prevent their
overflowing their banks, which at length congeal'd
and rais'd themselves into little hills, but the
matter they were compos'd of was good for no-
thing, not so much as to make cannon-bullets of;
some people attempted to make little cups, and other
things of it, but it was as brittle as earthen ware.

Another relation I have before me of this irrup-
tion says, that the people were at first alarm'd
with roaring subterranean noises, attended with
rolling flames intermix'd with smoak, which
broke forth from the mountain; that the breadth
of those torrents of melted matter above men-
tion'd, was about fifty fathom, and that the fire
rais'd it self above two and twenty fathom; that
the wind coming about to the east, the streets and
houses in Naples were cover'd with cinders; that
the stones and pieces of rock which lay in the way

of these fiery rivers, were presently kindled and CHAP.
calcin'd, and afterwards floated upon the torrent. XXVI.

In the year 1707, when they were in the Kingdom
midst of their rejoicings for the success of the Im-
perialists in reducing the kingdom of Naples, they
were interrupted by a dreadful eruption of Mount
Vesuvius, which began on the 29th of July to
send out vast streams of flame and smoak, and
throw out stones. On the third of August it raged
with greater violence, throwing out such quanti-
ties of cinders and ashes that it was dark at noon-
day, and they were forc'd to light up candles:
When the Archbishop happily carrying St. JA-
NUARIUS the Saint of the place in procession,
attended by all the nobility and people, the erup-
tion ceas'd in a few hours, which confirm'd them
in their devotion for their Patron. They imme-
diately therefore solemniz'd a thanksgiving, and
illuminated the streets for three nights successively;
which sufficiently shows the dread the natives have
of these eruptions, and with a great deal of reason,
as they sometimes carry whole towns and villages
before them, and will probably in time lay this fine
city in ashes. In 1727, they had a violent shock
of an earthquake; the sea swell'd in an extra-
ordinary manner, and flames of fire issued from
Mount Vesuvius, which terrified the bravest of
them, and brought them upon their knees before the
head of St. JANUARIUS their Patron. Mr. MIS-
SON I find has other objections to the town of
Naples, beside the danger of earthquakes and fiery
eruptions. There are many things, says that
gentleman, which are not suitable to its beauty,
and cloud the pleasant countenance it would other-
wise have; among which, the keeping up their
women, and not suffering them to appear in the
streets, or the company of men, he esteems none
of the least: *They hide the fairest part of the cre-
ation from the world*, which he looks upon as an in-
supportable grievance. Then the habits and equi-
pages of the people of Naples are generally black and
dismal; they are prohibited wearing gold and silver,
or silk upon silk; nor is a person of the greatest
quality allow'd more than two footmen: Their
coaches also are drawn by slow-footed mules, with
odd kind of harnesses; and the stiff Spanish dress
is generally worn. The Viceroy seldom appears,
and his court has a very dull air in the eyes of
those that have seen other courts. But were there
no other objections against Naples, than these
last mentioned, most men would esteem it a very
desirable place, I believe, however it may appear
in the eyes of that reverend gentleman. The
wines of Naples, it has been already observ'd, are
the best in Italy; and the clergy it seems are the
greatest wine-merchants in this city. The wine-
cellar belonging to the Jesuits, if we may credit
Dr. BURNET, is a vast vault, that contains above
a thousand hogsheds, and the best wine is sold by
them; tho' they do not retail it out in so scanda-
lous

Other objec-
tions to Na-
ples beside
earth-
quakes,
&c.

Wine sold by
retail by the
Clergy.

CHAP. lous a manner as they do who live in the great
XXVI. square, and sell it in the same manner our
Kingdom publick houses do. 'Tis true, the people of the
of town are no great drinkers; they do not set tip-
Naples. ling for hours together, as they do with us, but
only go in for a draught now and then, when
they are thirsty, and then go about their business;
however, the fathers grow very rich by this retail
trade. The people here, from the highest to the
lowest, drink no wine or other liquors, not so
much as water, if it has not lain some time in
snow, which they use instead of ice, and affirm
that it cools any liquor much sooner; and a scar-
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CHAP. in one of the squares of the city. The two
XXVI. finest modern statues are those of APOLLO and
Kingdom MINERVA on each side of SANNAZARIUS's
of tomb, who at his own expence at the foot of
Naples. Mount Pausilippus erected a temple to the me-
memory of the Blessed Virgin, whom he thus invokes
at the beginning of his *De partu Virginis* :

Thou bright celestial Goddess, if to thee

An acceptable temple I erect,

With fairest flow'rs, and richest garlands deck'd ;

On tow'ring rocks whence MERCILLINE spies

The ruffled deep in storms and tempests rise :

Guide thou the pious poet, nor refuse

Thine own propitious aid to his unpractis'd muse.

University
and societies
of Virtuosi.

The city of Naples is the seat of the Viceroy, and
an Archbishop's See ; it has also a university
founded by FREDERICK II, which is not so
much admired by our modern travellers as the
Philosophical Academy of Virtuosi, at whose meet-
ings our countryman Mr. RAY says he was pre-
sent, and was not a little surpriz'd to find such a
company of learned men in a place where he was
taught to believe they would scarce allow a rea-
sonable latitude of judgment. They were not
only well acquainted, he observ'd, with the best
and most refin'd authors of the preceding age,
such as GALILÆUS A GALILEO, DES CAR-
TES, GASSENDUS, HARVEY, VERULAM,
&c. but also with BOYLE, Dr. WILLIS, WHAR-
TON, HOECK, PERQUET, &c. Dr. BUR-
NET, who will not allow the clergy of Naples
any great share of learning, observes however,
that there are societies of men in this city of freer
thoughts than can be found in any other part of
Italy. The Greek learning flourishes there, and
the new philosophy is much studied ; he instances
in one assembly (that had a vast collection of
well chosen books) and was composed of men that
had a right taste of true learning and good sense ;
tho' indeed they were represented as a set of A-
theists by the clergy : but he had the honour of
meeting twice or thrice with a good number of
them, and could not observe they deserved such a
charge. Few clergymen however came into this
attempt for reviving learning among them : on the
contrary they dreaded nothing more. Some phy-
sicians in Naples also lay under the scandal of
Atheism when he was there ; and certain it is,
says this reverend writer, that in Italy men of
searching understandings, who have no other idea
of the Christian religion but that which they see
received among them, are very naturally tempted
to disbelieve it quite ; finding such cheats in many
parts of their religion, they are thereby induced
to question the whole.

Puzzoli.

Puzzoli, antiently call'd *Puteoli*, and more an-
tiently *Dicæarchia*, and *Delos Minor*, on account of
a temple here dedicated to APOLLO, is situated
on the sea-coast, about nine miles to the west-
ward of Naples, and was in the time of the Ro-

mans the most considerable harbour on that coast, CHAP.
and still between this town and Baia the sea XXVI.
forms a noble bay. The city is almost dwindled Kingdom
to nothing, but is still a Bishop's See, suffragan of
to Naples, and there are some noble ruins about Naples.
it, which still afford us an idea of the Roman
grandeur. The cathedral is built on the place
where JUPITER's temple stood, and there are
some other churches and houses which do not
make a despicable figure.

Baia, the antient *Baiæ*, stands also by the sea-
shore, on the other side of the bay, about three
miles to the westward of Puzzoli, and is now but
a small village, whose principal ornament is an
inconsiderable castle.

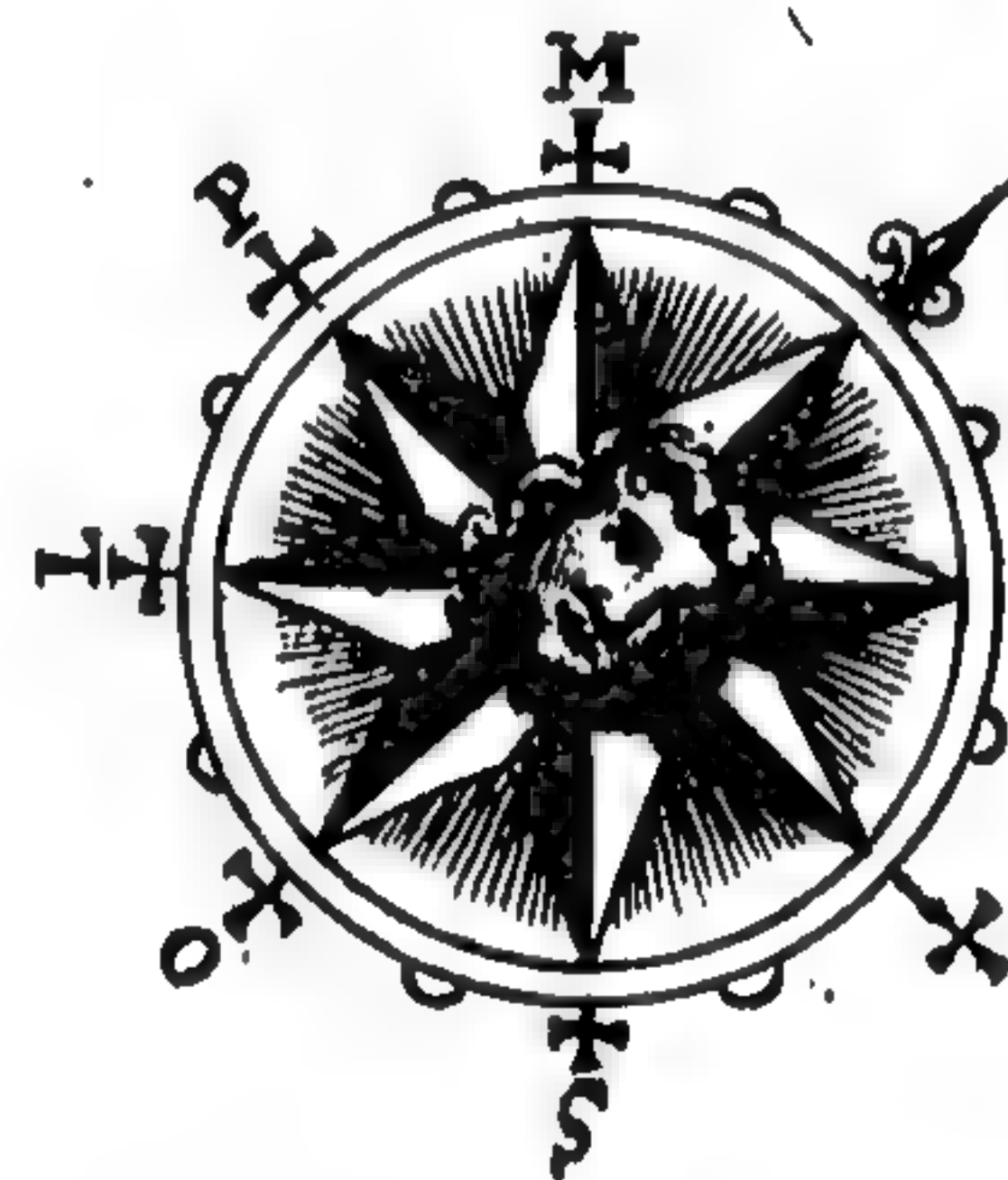
There is a noble scene of antiquities, as Mr. The anti-
ADDISON observes, about Naples, Puzzoli and quities and
Baia, visited by every traveller almost. The first natural curi-
they mention in the way from Naples to Puzzoli, osities about
is the grotto of PAUSILIPPUS. This is a little Puzzoli and
steep hill, which lies about four miles to the Baia.
westward of Naples, by the sea-side, through The grotto
which the Romans dug a highway large enough of Pausilip-
for carriages to pass. To form a just idea of pus.
this place, we must fancy, says the gentleman a-
bove-mention'd, a rock undermin'd from one end
to the other, and a way running through it as
long and as broad as the Mall in St. JAMES's
park ; that is, according to others, half a mile in
length, and eighteen feet in breadth. The en-
trance at both ends is higher than the middle
parts of it, and sinks by degrees to fling in more
light upon the rest ; and towards the middle are
two large funnels bored through the roof of
the grotto to let in light and fresh air : and still
'tis scarce possible to discern the way thro' it, as
well on account of the clouds of dust that are
raised by the carriages, as the want of windows
to this subterraneous passage ; insomuch that when
two companies meet, they cry out, *To the moun-
tain*, or, *To the sea*, to give notice on which
side they are of, that they may not fall foul of
one another. SENECA complains of the dust and
darkness of this passage as well as the moderns,
and with more reason 'tis thought, it having been
enlarg'd at each end since his time.

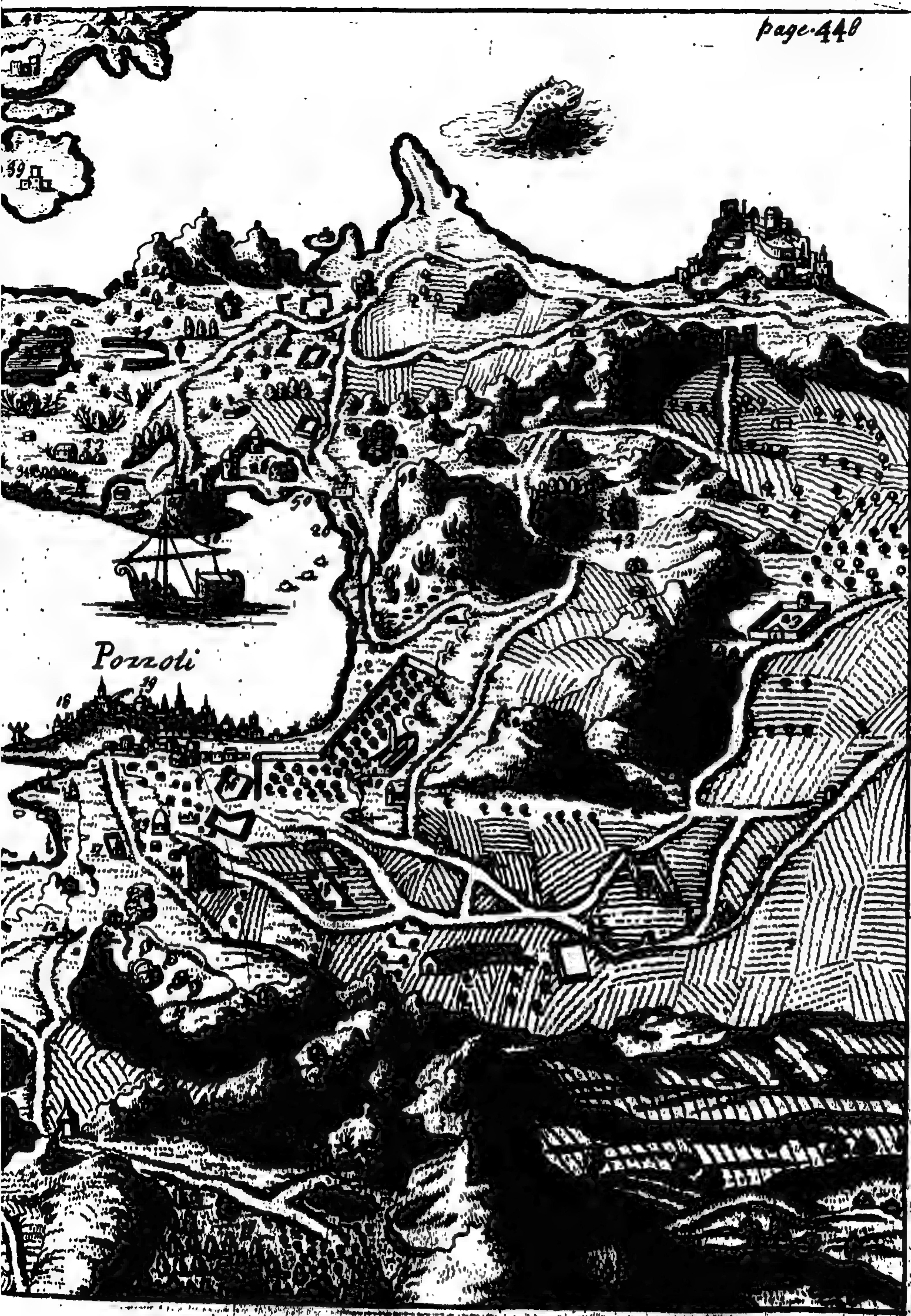
Over the entrance of the grotto as we go from Virgil's
Naples, is an antient little monument in form tomb.
of a pyramid half destroy'd, call'd the tomb of
VIRGIL. It is certain, says Mr. ADDISON, this
Poet was buried near Naples, but I think it is
almost as certain that his tomb stood on the o-
ther side of the town which looks towards Mount
Vesuvio. The common people of Naples believe
that VIRGIL was a magician, and that he made
this grotto by the assistance of some infernal
powers. The hill of PAUSILIPPUS stands mighty
pleasantly on the sea-side, and is beautified with
fine houses, gardens and vineyards, where the qua-
lity of Naples spend their time part of the year.

A

HIC JACENT
*Puteolorum Bajarum,
 Miseni Cumarium,
 Rudera vix dignoscenda
 Imperiosa FORTVNAE Levitas,
 Sacra Profanis intpie miscens,
 Delubra Numinum,
 Principumque Domas,
 Statuas, Atria, Sepulchra;
 Ciro Arcus Theatra Thermas
 Lucos, Vireta,
 Regina quondam Italiae,
 Decus Deliciasque
 Nefande perdidit.
 Neque (Ferox) ipsis Elyforum
 Beatis Sedibus indulgit*

... * * * * *
 SSC TRANST GLORIA MVNDI.
 ... * * * * *





CHAP. XXVI. A little beyond the cave of PAUSILIPPUS, in the way to Puzzoli, lies the lake of Agnano, between two little hills, about a mile in circumference, the water whereof is clear, and has no ill taste at present, and produces fish in abundance. Neither this, the Lucrine lake, or Avernus, which lie a little distance from each other, have any thing remarkable in them now, though antiently, 'tis said, the poisonous steams would kill the birds that flew over Avernus. Near the lake of Agnano is the grotto del Cane, a little cave at the foot of a hill, about ten foot long, five broad, and five in height, famous for the suffocating or poisonous steams, which float within a foot of its surface. The sides of the grotto are mark'd with green as high as the malignity of the vapour reaches. The common experiments made here are these: a dog that has his nose held in the vapour, loses all signs of life in a very little time; but if he is carried into the open air, or thrown into the neighbouring lake, he immediately recovers, if he is not quite gone. A torch with the snuff goes out in a moment, if dipped into the vapour; nor will a pistol take fire in it. Dr. CONNOR made a discourse in one of the academies at Rome upon the subject of this grotto, which was printed in England, and he attributes the death of animals and the extinction of lights, to a great rarefaction of the air, caus'd by the heat and eruption of the steams. But how is it possible for these steams, says Mr. ADDISON, though in never so great quantity, to resist the pressure of the whole atmosphere? and as for the heat, that is but very inconsiderable. And though this vapour is generally supposed to be sulphureous, I can see no reason for such a supposition, says the same author; for if a man dips his hand in it, he finds no smell that it leaves upon it; and if you put a whole bundle of lighted brimstone matches to the smoak, they will all go out in an instant, as if immersed in water. The experiment has been made upon other animals, and even upon men, on whom the vapour has the same effect: but 'tis call'd the grotto *del Cane*, from the experiment being usually tried on dogs, to satisfy the curiosity of strangers: and the dogs in the neighbourhood have been so tormented with this custom, that they no sooner see a stranger, but they get out of the way and hide themselves. The Viceroy Don PEDRO DE TOLEDO made the experiment on two slaves, who both died: and there is an account of one *TOURNON*, a traveller, who stooping down in the grotto to take up a stone, was seiz'd with the vapour, and immediately lost all signs of life; being carried into the lake, he recover'd his spirits a little, but died a few minutes after: one may walk however safely in any part of the grotto, so that he keeps his head above a foot from the ground, for the vapour never rises higher. Those who suppose this

to be a sulphureous vapour, have this to support their opinion, That all the adjacent country is nothing but brimstone.

The baths of St. Germain, which lie near this grotto, smell strong of brimstone, and before you have enter'd them three steps, you fall into a violent sweat. They are frequented for many distempers, but principally for the gout, rheumatism and venereal diseases. It would be endless, says Mr. ADDISON, to reckon up the different baths to be met with in a country that so much abounds in sulphur. There is scarce a disease that has not one adapted to it. The mountains of Secco and Solfatara are full of brimstone and allum; here smoak and flame issue through the crack'd earth with noise and stench continually. On Solfatara, the surface of which is yellow and white, burnt and worn by its own fires, they prepare roach-allum, making their cauldrons boil without any other fire than what issues out of the crevices of the earth. The top of the hill is worn into a kind of oval basin, about twelve hundred foot long, and a thousand broad. The fumes which issue from it are often smelt at Naples, and so taint the waters in the neighbourhood, that the Capuchins, who have a cloyster here, are forced to raise their cisterns high upon pillars, to prevent their water's being spoil'd. Mr. ADDISON, and all our travellers observe, that the country about Puzzoli and Baiæ has been miserably torn to pieces by subterraneous fires and earthquakes, and the whole face of it entirely changed from what it was formerly. The sea has drown'd a multitude of palaces, the ruins whereof may be seen at the bottom of the water in a calm day. Mount Gaurus, from one of the fruitfulest parts of Italy, is now become the most barren. The fields which were in the time of the old Romans laid out in beautiful groves and gardens, are now naked plains, smoaking with sulphur, or encumber'd with hills, thrown up by eruptions of fire. The works of art lie in no less disorder than those of nature. This which was once the most beautiful spot in Italy, cover'd with temples and palaces, embellish'd by many of the Roman Emperors, and celebrated by the best of their Poets, has now nothing to show, says Mr. ADDISON, but the ruins of its antient splendour, and a great magnificence in confusion.

The Mole of Puteoli, or Puzzoli, the same gentleman observes, having been built upon arches, is usually mistaken for CALIGULA's bridge, between Puzzoli and Baiæ; whereas that bridge, 'tis evident from antient authors, was made of boats. Of all the scenes of noble objects that present themselves in the bay of Puzzoli, says Dr. BURNET, the remains of CALIGULA's bridge are the most amazing; for there are yet standing eight or ten pillars that supported the arches, and

CHAP. of some of the arches the half is yet entire, the
XXVI. furthest of them on the Puzzoli side standing
Kingdom seven fathom deep in water, and on the other
of side he supposes them to stand twenty fathom
Naples. deep in water. *This was a noble monument of the*

*profuse and extravagant expence of a brutal tyrant, who made one of the vastest bridges that ever was attempted over three or four miles of sea, merely to sacrifice so great a treasure to his vanity. But notwithstanding this grave censure of the doctor's, these arches were only made to support a mole for the defence and conveniency of the harbour, as Mr. ADDISON and some late travellers have demonstrated, for CALIGULA's bridge was a bridge of boats. But to proceed: Besides the antiquities already mention'd, we find the ruins of a theatre near Puzzoli, the area whereof was an hundred and seventy-two foot long, and eighty-two broad: and between the city and theatre are the ruins of a temple, said to be consecrated to DIANA. The sea sometimes throws up several rich ornaments of the antient palaces, which stood hereabouts, consisting of jasper, agate, amethysts, cornelians, &c. This bay, 'tis said, was antiently call'd *Venerium*, from the lewdness practised in their baths, over which they built magnificent edifices, and near them temples dedicated to VENUS and other deities, whom they imagin'd pleased with such actions. But however that be, 'tis evident, as Mr. ADDISON observes, that Baia was the winter retreat of the Romans, that being the proper season to enjoy the *Baiani Soles*, and the *Mollis Lucrinus*; as on the contrary, Tivoli, Tusculum, Alba, Frascati, Anxur, &c. were their retirements during the heats of summer. (Dr. BURNET forgets himself therefore, when he makes the Romans reside at Baia in summer.) To confirm which, Mr. ADDISON gives us a passage in MART. L. I. Ep. 116. which he thus translates;*

While near the Lucrine lake consum'd to death
I draw the sultry air and gasp for breath,
Where streams of sulphur raise a stifling heat,
And thro' the pores of the warm pumice sweat,
You taste the cooler breeze, where nearer home
The twentieth pillar marks the mile from Rome.
And now the sun to the bright lion turns,
And Baia with redoubled fury burns;
Then briny seas and tasteful springs farewell,
Where fountain Nymphs confus'd with Nereids
In winter you may all the world despise, [dwell,
But now 'tis Tivoli that bears the prize.

Near the lake of Lucrine is another road wrought through a rock, like that of PAUSILIPPUS, and in it some grotto's, which they call the apartments of the Cumæan Sibyl. They shew also the ruins of buildings about Baia, which they call the palaces of CÆSAR, POMPEY, CICERO, and other Romans of distinction; but the face of this country, has been so alter'd by earthquakes, that there is very little to be depended on of this

kind, particularly on the 19th of September 1538, CHAP.
at night, there happen'd an earthquake, which XXVI.
produced the Monto Nuovo, or the new moun- Kingdom
tain, which is four hundred fathoms high, and of
three thousand paces in circumference; at which Naples.
time, says my author, the neighbouring sea re-
tired, the Lucrine lake was almost filled up, Monte
churches and houses were set on fire and swal- Nuovo pro-
low'd up, great numbers of men and beasts pe- duced by an
rish'd, and there was a general consternation earthquake,
through all the country; but this mountain has
never thrown out fire or smoke, or occasion'd any
disorder since that time. That little spot of
ground call'd the Elysian Fields, lies about a mile The Elysian
from Baia, and has not much to render it Fields.
admired at present. Two miles to the westward of
Baia are the ruins of the antient *Misenum*, on a Misenum,
promontory which runs into the sea, and still re-
tains the name. Here, 'tis said, LUCULLUS
had his country seat, and is supposed to have dug
the many grotto's and caves in the rocks which
are upon this coast. Near this place also is the
Piscina Mirabilis, built upon arches supported by
forty-eight square pillars, supposed to be the work
of the same LUCULLUS: and not far off lies
Bauli, the seat of AGRIPPINA, NERO's mother,
with that of HORTENSIVS, and the ruins of
his famous fish-ponds. But not to enumerate
more particulars, I shall refer the reader to the
map of Puzzoli and Baia, bound up with this vo-
lume, where he will find the situation of most of
the remarkable places in the neighbourhood of
that city, mention'd by the Classics.

Cuma, or rather the ruins of it, lie two miles Cuma.
to the northward of Baia, partly on a mountain,
and partly on the sea-shore, and formerly gave
name to the bay, now call'd the bay or gulph of
Naples. From this place one of the Sibyls was
denominated the Cumæan Sibyl.

Capua is situated in the Campania Foelix, on Capua.
the river Volturnus, about two miles from the
antient Capua, in a pleasant plain, sixteen miles
to the northward of Naples, and above an hun-
dred and twenty south of Rome. The town is
in a declining condition at present, and remark-
able for little but being the See of an Archbishop.
Here the famous HANNIBAL wasted his time
and his army, while the Romans recover'd from
their consternation after their defeat at Cannæ, and
not long afterwards compell'd him to quit Italy.

Carinola stands about ten miles north-west of Carinola.
Capua, a poor ruinous city, in an unhealthful
air, considerable only for being a Bishop's See,
and for the Mount. Falernum in its neighbour-
hood, which produces that delicious wine so much
admired by HORACE.

Gaieta is situated on a rock, near a bay of the Gaieta-
sea to which it communicates its name, about
fifty miles north-west of Naples, and eighty south-
cast of Rome. The harbour is one of the best
in.

CHAP. in the kingdom, and is defended by two castles. **XXVI.** It was almost the only town that made any defence when the Imperialists invaded Naples in the year 1707, when it was taken by storm, and the garrison retiring into the castles, was obliged to surrender at discretion; whereby the Viceroy, the Duke of ESCALONA, and all the Grandees in the Spanish Interest who had shut themselves up in Gaeta, were made prisoners.

Fondi. Fondi is situated about ten miles to the northward of Gaeta, and gives name to a neighbouring lake and morass, which makes this a very unhealthy country. It is now a poor place, and only considerable for its being a Bishop's See.

Aquino. Aquino stands on the river Garigliano, about fifteen miles north-east of Gaeta, on the confines of the Ecclesiastical State, and is a Bishop's See, but remarkable for little, unless the birth of the famous THOMAS AQUINAS, who first saw the Light here.

Sora. Sora is situated on the Garigliano, fifteen miles to the northward of Aquino, and is a pretty little town, and the See of an Archbishop.

Monte Cassino. Monte Cassino lies three miles to the eastward of Aquino, and is remarkable for the fine abbey of Benedictines, their founder St. BENNET being interr'd here about the year 543. The church belonging to the convent is one of the most magnificent fabricks in Italy.

St. Mary's. St. Mary's is a large town near the ruins of old Capua, remarkable on account of the antiquities which still remain there, particularly the ruins of two amphitheatres, several Pagan temples, columns, and one of the gates of the ancient city.

Venafro. Venafro, Tiano, Alifi, Cerrito, Cajazze, Calvi, Caserta, Aversa, Nola, Castella Mare de Strabia, Vica and Sorento, are all Bishops Sees, but not considerable enough to deserve a particular description.

The Principato Citerior. The Principato Citerior, or the hither principality, is bounded by the Terra di Lavoro and the Principato Ulterior towards the north; by the Basilicata on the east; by Calabria towards the south-east; and by the Tuscan sea towards the south-west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Salerno. 2. Cava. 3. Minuri. 4. Amalfi. 5. Scala. 6. Lettere. 7. Nocera. 8. Sarno. 9. Campagna. 10. Evoli. 11. Cangiagno. 12. Satriano. 13. Marsico. 14. Policastro. 15. Castella Mare della Bruca. 16. Acerno. And, 17. Capaccio.

Salerno. Salerno, the capital, stands at the bottom of a bay of the Tuscan sea, from hence called the bay of Salerno, twenty seven miles south-east of Naples: the town has a good harbour, and is an Archbishop's See; they have also a university, where physick was chiefly studied; but I don't find it is a town of any great consequence at present.

Amalfi. Amalfi is situated on the same bay, about ten

miles to the westward of Salerno: It is an Archbishop's See, and is a tolerable harbour. Here, 'tis said, FLAVIUS BLONDUS was born, who invented the seaman's compass; and, according to the tradition of the place, the corpse of St. ANDREW the Apostle lies buried here.

Policastro lies at the bottom of a bay, to which it communicates its name, about fifty-five miles south-east of Salerno; being a Bishop See, but a very inconsiderable town at present.

Scala, Lettere, Nocera, Sarno, Campagna, Satriano, Marsico, Acerno and Capaccio, are all Bishops Sees, but too inconsiderable to deserve a particular description.

The Principato Ulterior, or further principality, is bounded by the Molise and Capitanata on the north-east; by the Basilicata on the east; by the hither principality towards the south; and by the Terra di Lavoro towards the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Benevento. 2. Montefusco. 3. Ariano. 4. Trevico. 5. Cedogna. 6. Bisaccia. 7. Monte Verde. 8. St. Angelo de Lombardy. 9. Friventi. 10. Lusco. 11. Conza. 12. Avellino. 13. Volturara. 14. St. Agatha di Goti. 15. Monte Marano. And 16. Trimaldi.

Benevento, antiently a colony of the Samnites, is situated at the conflux of the rivers Sabato and Colore, about an hundred and thirty miles south-east of Rome, and thirty-four north-east of Naples. It was given with the territory belonging to it to Pope LEO IX, by the Emperor HENRY III, in exchange for Bamberg in Germany. The earthquakes and eruptions of Mount Vesuvius have been more fatal to this city than to Naples. The same earthquake which shook Naples so terribly in the year 1688, made this city a heap of rubbish; and the present Pope, who was then Archbishop of Benevento, for some time lay buried under the ruins of his palace, as has been already related at large. This city is an Archbishop's See, and generally possessed by a Cardinal: The revenues being very large, and the city belonging to the Pope, his Holiness having in a manner rebuilt the city since the earthquake, and conferred many privileges upon the place; it is now in a very flourishing condition, and the Cardinals find some difficulty in persuading the Pope not to make it the place of his residence.

Montefusco is a small city, five miles south-east of Benevento; the residence of the Governor of the province, and on that account esteem'd the capital.

Conza is situated on the river Ofanto, about twenty-five miles to the southward of Benevento, the See of an Archbishop; but almost ruin'd by an earthquake in the year 1694. Ariano, Trevico, Cedogna, Bisaccia, Monte Verde, St. Angelo de Lombardy, Lusco, Avellino, Volturara, M m m 2

CHAP. St. Agatha de Goti and Monte Marano, are all XXVI. Bishops Sees, but not remarkable upon any other Kingdom account.

of The Abruzzo is bounded by the Pope's dominions on the north-west; by the gulph of Venice on the north-east; by Capitanata in Apulia on the south-east; and by the Terra di Lavoro on the south-west; being about an hundred miles in length from the north-west to the south-east, and about fifty miles in breadth, divided into three parts, viz. the Abruzzo Citerior, the Abruzzo Ulterior, and the county of Molise.

The Abruzzo Citerior. The Abruzzo Citerior, or the hither Abruzzo, is bounded by Abruzzo Ulterior towards the north-west; by the gulph of Venice on the north-east; by the county of Molise on the south-east; and by the Terra di Lavoro on the south-west; being about fifty miles in length, and forty in breadth. The chief towns are, 1. Civita di Chieti. 2. Lanciano Anxanum. 3. Sulmona. And 4. Ortona de Mare.

Civita de Chieti. Civita de Chieti, the capital of the province, stands about ten miles to the westward of the gulph of Venice, and is a large populous place, and the See of an Archbishop; it was antiently called *Theatea*, and gave name to the Theatin Monks, as 'tis said, for JOHN PETER CARAFFA their founder was Archbishop of this place, and afterwards advanced to the pontificate by the name of PAUL V.

Lanciano. Lanciano is situated on the gulph of Venice, about fourteen miles south-east of Civita di Chieti; a large populous place, and an Archbishop's See, considerable for its trade, especially at their Fairs, when it is frequented by merchants from both sides the gulph of Venice.

Sulmona. Sulmona stands about twenty miles south-west of Civita Chieti; and is considerable only as it is a Bishop's See, and the town where OVID was born.

Ortona. Ortona is situated on the sea-coast, about twelve miles to the east-ward of Civita di Chieti: It has a tolerable harbour, and is the See of a Bishop.

Abruzzo Ulterior. The Abruzzo Ulterior, or the further Abruzzo, is bounded by the Pope's dominions on the north; by the gulph of Venice on the east; by Abruzzo Citerior towards the south-east; and by the Campania of Rome towards the west; being about sixty miles in length from east to west, and forty in breadth, the middle of it a mountainous country, but the rest abounds in corn, cattle, saffron

Chief towns. and fruits. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Aquila. 2. Teramo. 3. Atri. And, 4. Civita di Penna.

Aquila. Aquila is situated at the foot of the Apennines on the river Pescara, about eighty miles north-east of Naples, and twenty-five to the westward of Civita di Chieti; being the capital of the province, and an Archbishop's See, but miserably

destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1703, CHAP. together with several other towns in the neigh- XXVI. bourhood. In the Pope's dominions at the same time Kingdom several towns were destroyed, and fifteen thousand people perished; Rome itself was also terribly of shaken by the same earthquake, abundance of Naples. houses and buildings in that city shattered and damaged, particularly the churches of St. PAUL, St. CARLO, and St. GREGORY. This happen'd on the fourteenth of February in the night-time; and it was observ'd that the sun had not shone out in two months time before: The Pope on this occasion proclaim'd a jubilee, with plenary indulgence to all who confess'd their sins, and visited the three principal churches in Rome; all orders and societies thereupon went in procession, tearing their flesh with whips and cords; the Pope and Cardinals supplied the place of confessors themselves, and administered the sacrament of repentance. And what increas'd the general consternation, was a pack of villains who had dispers'd themselves all over the city in order to plunder the houses of the affrighted inhabitants: they knock'd at every door almost, crying out, that the Pope had just received a revelation that the town would be suddenly swallow'd up by another earthquake; whereupon the people fled half-naked into the fields and gardens, leaving their houses to be plunder'd by these fellows. And it was a considerable time before they were undeceiv'd, by the Pope's ordering his guards to patrol along the streets, and declare that he had no such revelation.

Teramo stands twenty miles north-east of A- Teramo.quila; it is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Civita Chieti, but not remarkable on any other account.

Atri, or Atria, the town where the Emperor Atri. HADRIAN was born, is situated four miles west of the gulph of Venice, and ten south-east of Teramo, and is a Bishop's See, united to that of La Penna, a small town five miles south-west of La Penna. Atri, which belongs to the Duke of Parma.

The County of Molise, or Molise, is bounded The county of Molise. by the Abruzzo Citerior and the gulph of Venice on the north and east; by Apulia on the south; and by the Terra di Lavoro towards the west; and is about forty miles in length, and thirty in breadth; fruitful in corn and wine, and produces great quantities of silk: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Isernia. 2. Molise. 3. Trivento. 4. Garda Alferez. 5. Larina. And, 6. Boiano.

Isernia is situated on the confines of the Ter-Isernia. ra di Lavoro, thirty miles to the northward of Capua; and is a populous place, the See of a Bishop, and capital of the county.

Molise is a little fortified town, in a ruinous Molise. condition, twelve miles to the eastward of Isernia. Trivento, Garda, Alferez and Boiano, are Trivento, &c. all Bishops Sees, but considerable for little else.

CHAP. XXVI. La Puglia, or Apulia, is bounded by the Kingdom of Naples on the east; by the gulph of Venice on the east; and by Calabria and the Terra di Lavoro on the west; being near two hundred miles in length from the north-west to the south-east, and sixty in breadth in some places, and in others scarce twenty; and is divided into, 1. The Capitanata. 2. The Terra di Barri. And, 3. The Terra di Otranto.

The Capitanata. The Capitanata is bounded by the Molise and the gulph of Venice on the north and east; by the Terra di Barri on the south-east; and by the Terra di Lavoro towards the west; being about seventy miles in length, and fifty in breadth, abounding in corn and pasturage. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Manfredonia. 2. Mont St. Angelo. 3. Bieste. 4. Lesina. 5. Termine. 6. Dragonara. 7. San Severo. 8. Troja. 9. Bovino. 10. St. Marco. And, 11. Salpe.

Manfredonia. Manfredonia, the antient *Sipontum*, is situated on a bay in the Adriatick sea, about fourscore miles to the eastward of Naples; and had its modern name from MANFRED Son of the Emperor FREDERICK II. who repair'd and beautified it. It was taken and demolish'd almost by the Turks in the year 1620, but has pretty well recover'd it self, and has a tolerable harbour, a castle, and some other fortifications for its defence, and is still an Archbishop's See.

Mont St. Angelo. Mont St. Angelo is situated on the top of Mont Gargano, about eight miles to the eastward of Manfredonia, a populous place, and much frequented by pilgrims, on account of St. MICHAEL, who, according to tradition, appear'd here in the fifth century, and to whom they have dedicated a fine church in this place.

Lesina. Lesina stands on a lake of the same name, near the Adriatick sea, about twenty miles to the northward of Mont St. Angelo; and was a considerable town before it was destroy'd by an earthquake in the year 1627.

Bieste, &c. Bieste, Termine, Dragonara, or Tragonara, San Severo, Troja, Bovino and Salpe, are all of them Bishops Sees, but not considerable on any other account.

Terra di Barri. The Terra di Barri is bounded by the Capitanata and the gulph of Venice on the north and east; and by the Terra di Otranto and the Basilicate on the south and west; extending about seventy miles in length, and thirty in breadth; producing corn, wine, saffron, and fruits, but wants water in many places, and is troubled with that dangerous insect, among many others, call'd the Tarantula. The chief towns are, 1. Barri. 2. Giavonazza. 3. Molfetta. 4. Biseglia. 5. Trani. 6. Barletta. 7. Canosa. 8. Cannæ. 9. Andria. 10. Altamura. 11. Bittetto. 12. Conversano. 13. Polignano. 14. Monopoli.

Barri. Barri, the capital, is situated on the gulph of

Venice, in a very pleasant country, an hundred and twenty miles to the eastward of Naples, and forty south of Manfredonia; a pretty well-built town, and an Archbishop's See; but most remarkable for the Relicks of St. NICHOLAS Bishop of Mira, brought hither out of Lycia.

Trani is situated on the same coast, about twenty miles north-west of Barri, antiently call'd *Trajanum*, having been built by the Emperor TRAJAN; it had once a good harbour, but is most considerable at present for being the See of an Archbishop.

Cannæ, or rather the remains of Cannæ, where the Romans receiv'd that memorable defeat by the Carthaginians, losing forty thousand men on the field of battle, lies about twenty miles south-west of Trani. The rest of the towns above mention'd are only remarkable on account of their being the Sees of so many Bishops, and do not deserve a particular description.

The Terra di Otranto is a peninsula, encompass'd on every side by the Adriatick or Ionian seas, except on the north-west, where it is bounded by the Terra di Barri, and the Basilicate; being about an hundred miles in length, and from twenty to thirty in breadth; the chief produce whereof, is olives, figs, and other fruits. The chief towns are, 1. Otranto. 2. Leccie. 3. Brindisi. 4. Ostuni. 5. Oria. 6. Taranto. 7. Nardo. 8. Gallipoli. 9. Alessano. And, 10. St. Maria di Luca.

Otranto lies on the gulph of Venice, in the most eastern part of Italy, about two hundred miles south-east of Naples, and was antiently call'd *Hydruntum*: It was destroy'd by the Turks in the year 1480, but has been rebuilt and fortified since, and is defended by a castle built upon a rock. It is the See of an Archbishop, whose revenues are very great; from hence the Italians usually take shipping for Greece, it lying over against that country.

Leccie is situated fifteen miles to the northward of Otranto, and is a populous trading town, the capital of the province, and the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Otranto.

Brindisi, the antient *Brundisium*, is situated on the gulph of Venice, about thirty miles to the northward of Otranto; a large well-built populous town, and an Archbishop's See, and has one of the best harbours on the Adriatick. Here it was that CÆSAR embark'd his troops when he follow'd POMPEY to the plains of Pharsalia; and here, 'tis said, VIRGIL died when he went to meet AUGUSTUS in his return from the east.

Taranto, or Tarentum, is situated on a bay of the Ionian sea, to which it communicates its name; being about fifty miles north-west of Otranto, and sixty to the southward of Barri; a town of great antiquity, suppos'd to have been built by the Lacedemonians. It was the head of a powerful republick.

CHAP. republick antiently, which contended with the XXVI. Romans for empire; now but a small city, their Kingdom harbour almost choak'd up, and consequently their of trade upon the decline: It is however an Arch-Naples. bishop's See, and the capital of a little principality. The spiders, call'd Tarantula's, being most commonly met with here, receiv'd their name from hence.

Gallipoli. Gallipoli is situated on the Ionian sea, about twenty miles to the westward of Otranto; it stands on a steep rock, surrounded by the sea, and join'd to the continent by a stone bridge; said to be one of the strongest and best towns in the kingdom of Naples, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Otranto.

Ostuni, &c. Ostuni, Oria, Nardo, Alessano, and St. Mary de Luca, are only considerable on account of their being Bishops Sees.

Calabria. Calabria, so call'd from the Calabri, a Grecian people, is bounded by Apulia on the north-east; by the Ionian sea on the south-east; and by the Tuscan sea and the straits of Messina towards the west; being about an hundred and fifty miles in length from the north-east to the south-west, and about sixty in breadth, but in many places it is very narrow: It was antiently call'd *Magna Græcia* by the Greeks, who settled here. Then the Romans possess'd it, and after them the eastern Emperors, till the Saracens made a conquest of it in the ninth century. These Infidels were expell'd by ROBERT DE GUISCARD in the eleventh century, who took upon him the title of Duke of Apulia and Calabria: one of whose posterity bequeath'd it to ROGER II, King of Naples and Sicily, about the year 1106; since when it has been deem'd part of the kingdom of Naples, and is divided into the Basilicate, Calabria Citerior and Calabria Ulterior.

The Basilicate. The Basilicate is bounded by the Capitanata towards the north; by the Terra di Barri and Otranto on the east; by the bay of Taranto and Calabria Citerior on the south; and by Lavello Citerior on the west; being about seventy miles in length from north to south, and forty-five in breadth from east to west; and produces corn, wine, oil, saffron, cotton, wax, and the most delicious fruits. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Cirenza, or Acerenza. 2. Venosa. 3. Laviello. 4. Melfi. 5. Rapolla. 6. Mura. 7. Tricarico. 8. Monte Pilosa. 9. Potenza. And, 10. Turfis, or Turfi.

Cirenza. Cirenza, the capital of the province, is situated about fourscore miles south-east of Naples, and forty to the westward of Barri, a small city, and not in a very flourishing condition, but is however an Archbishop's See.

Venosa. Venosa stands about ten miles north-west of Cirenza, and is a Bishop's See, supposed by some to be the place where HORACE was born.

Turfis is situated about ten miles north-west CHAP. of the bay of Tarento, and forty south-east of XXVI. Cirenza. It gives title to a Genoese Prince of Kingdom the Family of DORIA, and is a Bishop's See.

Laviello, Melfi, Rapolla, Atura, Tricarico, Naples, Monte Pilosa and Potenza, are also Bishops Sees, but I don't find they are remarkable on any other account.

Calabria Citerior, or the hither Calabria, is bounded by the Basilicate and the Ionian sea on the north and east; and by the same sea, Calabria Ulterior, and the Tuscan sea on the south and west; being about sixty miles in length, and as many in breadth. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Cosenza. 2. Corenza. 3. Strongoli. 4. Umbriatico. 5. Cariati Novo. 6. Rossano. 7. Cassano. 8. Bissignano. 9. Amantea, or Adamantia.

Cosenza, the capital of both the Calabria's, is situated about twenty miles to the eastward of the Tuscan sea; a large well-built town, but has suffer'd pretty much by earthquakes: It is the See of an Archbishop, and has a good castle, from whence there is a fine prospect of the neighbouring country. ALARIC King of the Visigoths died in this city.

Strongoli is a little city, situated on a mountain two or three miles from the Ionian sea, and thirty south-east of Cosenza, a Bishop's See, suffragan to St. Severina.

Corenza, Umbriatico, Cariati Novo, Rossano, Cassano, Bissignano and Amantea, are all Bishops Sees, but travellers do not think them worth a particular description.

Calabria Ulterior lies between the Tuscan and the Ionian seas, and is join'd to the continent only on the north-east, where it borders on the hither Calabria; being about eighty miles in length, and fifty in breadth in some places, and in others scarce twenty. Besides the other produce of this country, they are remarkable for fine Horses. The chief towns are, 1. Rhegio. 2. St. Severina. 3. Cotrona. 4. Isola. 5. Belcastro. 6. Nicotera. 7. Taverno. 8. Nicastro. 9. Monte Leone. 10. Seminara. 11. Squillaci. 12. Melito. 13. Oppido. 14. Bova. And, 15. Givina.

Rhegio, or Rhegium, stands on the streights of Messina, almost opposite to that city, and is the common passage from Italy to Sicily, this streight being about fifteen miles over here. It is a pretty good town, and the See of an Archbishop.

St. Severino stands on the confines of Calabria Citerior, not far from the Ionian sea, a little well-built city, and the See of an Archbishop. The rest of the towns of this province are only remarkable as they are the Sees of so many Bishops, and have most of them suffer'd pretty much by earthquakes.

CHAP.
XXVII.

CHAP. XXVII.

Contains an abstract of the ancient and modern history of Naples, with an account of their nobility and present constitution; the produce of the soil, their trade, manufactures, revenues, forces and interests.

An Abstract
of the history
of Naples.

THE countries of which the kingdom of Naples is compos'd, antiently call'd *Samnium*, *Campania*, *Apulia*, and *Magna Græcia*, were planted by colonies from Greece at least; these are the first inhabitants we have any account of in history, and, according to tradition, the city of Naples was built by *HERCULES*. When the Romans began to enlarge their limits, part of this kingdom they subdued by force of arms, but the city of Naples and the territories belonging to it early submitted to the Roman power without compulsion, and was number'd among their free confederated cities, and according to *LIVY*, always remain'd firm to the Roman interest; even in their great distress during the Carthaginian war, Naples is applauded for her fidelity, when *Capua* and many other cities in her neighbourhood revolted to *HANNIBAL*. On the declension of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, the Goths possess'd themselves of this part of Italy, and though they were driven from thence by *BELISARIUS* the Emperor *JUSTINIAN*'s General, who enter'd Naples by the aqueducts, and other subterraneous passages, about the year 537; the Goths under *TOTILUS* retook it again anno 543, but were disposs'd by the Lombards some few years after, who remain'd masters of it till *CHARLEMAIN* having taken *DIDIER* the last King of the Lombards prisoner in the eighth century, shared this country, which now goes under the name of the kingdom of Naples, with the Greeks, who were possess'd of several free cities and states in it. In the ninth and tenth centuries the Saracens invaded this country, and made themselves masters of great part of it, from whence they were driven with some difficulty by the Normans and the Pope in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In which *TANCRED* the Norman and his twelve sons having been very instrumental, had large territories assign'd them: *ROBERT* the son of *TANCRED* was created Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria* by the Emperor, and *ROGER* the son of *ROBERT* was advanc'd to the dignity of King of Naples and Sicily, or rather of the two Sicilies, for Naples was then call'd Sicily on this side the Pharo (or the streight of *Messina*) and the island Sicily beyond the Pharo. *ROGER* was succeeded by his son *WILLIAM* anno 1135, to whom succeeded his son *WILLIAM II*, about the year 1166; who left both Naples and Sicily to *TANCRED* his base son, who was opposed by the Pope, possibly on ac-

count of his refusing to hold his dominions of his Holiness, who claim'd a right to them, as being principally concern'd in expelling the Saracens: and *HENRY VI*, son to the Emperor *FREDERICK I*, Duke of Swabia, was set up against him; and to strengthen *HENRY*'s title, the Pope persuaded him to marry *CONSTANTIA*, whom he brought out of a nunnery, pretending that she was heiress to the kingdom. The Pope however upon some disgust to the Swabian family, afterwards introduc'd the Earl of Anjou, and the French, who were sovereigns of this kingdom till the year 1267, or according to others 1282, when the Sicilians apprehending themselves to be oppress'd, form'd a conspiracy against their masters; and on Easter-Eve that year, when the bells rung for prayers, they set upon the French throughout the island, and left scarce any of them alive; and this memorable massacre thereupon obtain'd the name of the Sicilian Vespers. At the same time *PETER* of Arragon, who supported the conspirators, having obtain'd a victory at sea over *CHARLES II*, of Anjou, and made him prisoner, compell'd him to resign his pretensions to Sicily and Sardinia, which then constituted part of the kingdom of Naples. Whereupon the French remain'd masters only of that part of the kingdom which lay on the continent, and which we call Naples at this day. I shall not trouble the reader with the successions of all the French and Spanish Princes who were Sovereigns of Naples and Sicily, or their wars, which lasted two or three hundred years; only observe that the Aragonians, or Spaniards, entirely expell'd the French from Naples and Sicily about the year 1504, and enjoy'd those countries till the year 1700, when the Duke of Anjou, the present King of Spain, took possession of Naples and Sicily, with the rest of the Spanish dominions, by virtue of the will of *CHARLES II*, the late King of Spain, which was one occasion of the last war between the Imperialists and their confederates on the one side, and the French and Spaniards on the other. In the course of which war, the Imperialists having driven the French and Spaniards out of the Milanese, detach'd fifteen thousand men under the command of Count *THAUN* to Naples, who enter'd that kingdom without opposition; and on the sixth of July 1707, the capital city submitted to them without striking a stroke, the castles of Naples surrendering the sixteenth of the same month. And on the twenty ninth of September following, Count *THAUN* took *Gaieta* by storm, with the Viceroy, and all the nobility in the French interest, which was the only place that made any defence; and the Imperialists have remain'd in the quiet possession of the kingdom of Naples ever since; paying the usual acknowledgement of a Spanish pension and seven thousand ducats annually to the Pope.

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XXVII.
Kingdom
of
Naples.

CHAP. Pope on St. PETER's Eve, for the investiture :
XXVII. the Pope looking upon Naples as a fee of the ec-
Kingdom clesiastical state, on account of the share he had
of in driving the Saracens from thence.

Naples. The dignified clergy and nobility of this king-
dom are very numerous, some reckon up twen-
A numerous ty-five Archbishops, an hundred and twenty-five
clergy and nobility. Bishops, near three hundred Princes, Dukes, Mar-
quisses and Earls, above a thousand baronies, and
twelve or fifteen hundred castles; but as a Nea-
politan barony, and an English manor were ori-
ginally much the same, so these castles are no more
than the country seats of the quality, with a
single wall and ditch about them, at most like
the Chateau's or gentlemens seats in Flanders, suf-
ficient to secure them and their families against
a troop of Banditti or Turkish rovers, but by no
means capable of resisting an army. The bet-
ter to understand the present constitution of the
kingdom of Naples, it may be proper to divide
the people into four classes, 1. The Clergy. 2.
The Nobility and Gentry. 3. Tradesmen and
Mechanicks. And, 4. Peasants.

The king- dom divided into four classes. The Clergy are possess'd of one third of the
lands of the whole kingdom, (Dr. BURNET says
half) and in tythes, offerings and legacies, they
have a great deal more. The crown, the nobi-
lity and gentry possess almost all the rest of the
lands. The tradesmen and peasants have scarce any
they can call their own: they are no better than
tenants at will in a literal sense. The peasants
are subjects and vassals to their lords, as they were
formerly in England, and most other countries in
Europe. They manure the Lord's lands, plant
and prune his vines and olives, and are allow'd no
more than a bare subsistence for their poor fami-
lies. They come for justice also to the courts of
their respective Lords in all cases that are not ca-
pital or highly criminal, and are in every respect
subject to these petty Sovereigns. The King's
tenants are used much the best, it seems, and those
of the nobility better than the vassals of the
clergy, if we may credit some of our Protestant
travellers; and they give this reason for it, that
the clergy having no children to succeed to their
estates, rack their tenants and get all they can in
their life-time, allowing them nothing towards
bettering or improving their grounds, because
their posterity can reap no advantage by it. As
the crown-lands pay no taxes, so neither do those
of the clergy, but with their own consent; and
consequently the charges of the government are
born chiefly by the nobility and gentry. Dr.
BURNET assures us that the Jesuits and other orders
of the clergy sold their wine themselves by retail,
as well as wholesale, when he was at Naples, for
which they paid no duty to the crown. Their
corn, oil, silk and fruits, they sell in the like
manner, and what is not consumed at home, is
transported by foreign merchants, for there are

The produce
of the coun-
try and
trade.

few merchants among the Neapolitans. Their CHAP
corn is sent to Spain by English or Dutch ships; XXVI
their oil is a great deal of it taken off by us. Kingdom
The nobility as well as the clergy sell the pro- of
duce of their estates directly to foreigners; but Naples
with this disadvantage, that they pay a duty to
the crown out of their crops, whereas the clergy
pay little or nothing. The nobility and gentry
therefore are the people that, in Dr. BURNET's
phrase, are oppress'd by the government, if there
be any, for they bear the whole burthen of it:
their lands, or the produce of them, must answer
all the exigencies of the State. As to the trades-
men and mechanicks, they manufacture little
more of their silks at home than will serve their
own people; and as they wear chiefly black or
dark colours, and after the Spanish mode, seldom
alter their fashions, their home consumption is
but small, and consequently the government can
raise but little from thence. And as to the pea-
sants or farmers, who are tenants to the crown,
the nobility or clergy, and are their subjects or
vassals, whatever they have is the property of
their respective Lords; and if these poor people
are oppress'd, they are oppress'd by their masters,
and not by the government. Nay, 'tis observed,
that the tenants and vassals of the crown are
much better used than those who belong either
to the clergy or nobility; inasmuch, that if the
crown is about to sell or alienate the farms to
which they belong, they unanimously petition a-
gainst it, apprehending much severer usage from
the clergy and nobility than from the govern-
ment. Dr. BURNET, and some other travel-
lers, ascribe the misery and poverty of the Ne-
apolitans sometimes to laziness and sloth, as well
as to the tyranny of the government: but
I presume the lords of the soil, the nobility and
clergy, take care that their vassals shall not be
idle: if some of the lands of the nobility lie un-
cultivated, as he observes they do, it must be ei-
ther because they want hands, or because the
duties are so high upon the produce, that it is
not worth their while to manure them. As to
the miserable inhabitants of their towns, which
the Doctor saw walking in tatter'd cloaks in the
market-places, this is not to be wonder'd at, if
we consider they have scarce any manufactures
amongst them, and that the proprietors of lands
are the only merchants of the country, if they
may be call'd such, who vend no more than the
produce of their own farms to foreigners; almost
the only manufactures, besides that of silk already
mention'd, are their soap, knit waistcoats and
stockings, snuffs and perfumes, which are not
like to fill their towns with treasures: besides,
as these people have been long under the Spa-
nish government, and are many of them of Spa-
nish extraction, the same pride that reigns in
Spain, is no stranger here. The most ordinary
mechanicks,

CHAP. mechanics, who are not in a state of vassalage or
XXVII. slavery, will have their cloaks and swords, and
Kingdom had rather starve in freedom than serve any lord
of in the country.

Naples. The forces of this kingdom have been unac-
countably magnified by some writers, or they
have mistaken the ordinary militia of the king-
dom for standing troops. As the nobility and
gentry hold their lands here by feudal tenures,
as they did formerly with us, and according to
the value or extent of their lands were oblig'd
to bring a certain number of horse and foot into
the field, these might amount to an hundred thou-
sand horse, and an hundred and fifty thousand
foot, antiently, as some have calculated; but most
of these military services are now turn'd into
rents, and the Sovereign chuses to rely upon fo-
reign troops rather than natives. And notwith-
standing the Emperor may well be apprehensive
of having his title to Naples disputed one day, I
question whether he maintains more than fifteen
or twenty thousand regular troops in that king-
dom at present. As to their naval force, it con-
sisted of no more than a man of war or two,
and some few armed galleys, while they were under
the dominion of the Spaniards; but since the Em-
peror has been Sovereign of this kingdom, they
have applied themselves so diligently to the build-
ing of ships, that we see a list handed about of
near thirty sail of frigates, or small men of war,
which his Imperial Majesty has in these seas:
And why they should not build merchant-ships
as well as men of war, when there are so many
fine ports in Sicily and Naples, and export the
produce of their own country themselves, I can't
conceive; unless it be that the nobility, who are
the proprietors of the lands and staple commo-
dities of the kingdom, have no inclination or en-
couragement to turn merchants, and the citizens
have no stocks to carry on a foreign commerce;
and if so, it is not the Emperor's declaring his
harbours free ports that will bring any considera-
ble trade to his Italian dominions. There must be
some other regulations of their commerce, before
we need be apprehensive of their taking from us
any branch of the Levant-trade.

The publick revenues in the kingdom of Naples,
are supposed to amount to near a million sterling;
which arises, 1. From a tax or composition with
the Barons and other feudatories, in lieu of their
personal services. 2. From a duty on houses, which
pay usually fifteen Carolines (or sixpences) for e-
very hearth. Besides which, there are duties laid
on wine, oil, tobacco and meat; and as the meat
is tax'd equally by the pound, this duty, Mr. AD-
DISON observes, lies heaviest on the coarsest sorts,
beef paying a third part of the value, when veal
does not pay a tenth of the price to the govern-
ment. There is scarce any thing that is eaten
or worn but has a duty laid upon it, unless fruits,

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fowls and game. It was a tax on fruits, which CHAP.
the common people live much upon, that oc- XXVII.
casion'd the rebellion by MASSANIELLO, and Kingdom
his brethren the fishermen and other poor people, of
who were very near subverting the government, Naples.
and striking out a new constitution; for no Prince
ever reign'd more absolutely, or had a greater
body of men at his command, than MASSA-
NIELLO had for twelve or fifteen days; but since
that insurrection, the government have not thought
fit to lay any duty upon fruits, unless they have
done it very lately. The crown, 'tis said, fre-
quently farms out the several branches of the
revenue to some of the most powerful and weal-
thy natives, of whom considerable sums have
been borrow'd for the exigences of the state; where-
by the odium of collecting them falls upon the
Neapolitans themselves, and they secure the farmers
in their interest, according to a maxim in vogue
at the revolution here, *The more money you bor-
row, the more friends you make.* The people will
not be very forward for a change of government
when they are like to be losers by it. Those
who are most oppressed by taxes and impositions,
I find, are the Genoese and other foreigners who
have purchas'd honours and estates in Naples, who
are pretty numerous; for these the government
have no apprehensions of. They are not afraid
of their inciting an insurrection, as the native
nobility and clergy might: And indeed the So-
vereign seems to be in more danger from the
clergy, than any set of men in the kingdom,
as they are possessed of great part of the lands
and treasure, and are supported by the Pope, whose
dominions are contiguous. The Pope may well
be supposed also to receive a larger revenue from
this kingdom, and to have a greater interest here,
considering the wealth and numbers of the Nea-
politan clergy and religious orders, than the Im-
perialists themselves. If the Pope should at any
time happen to be disgusted with the Emperor,
and imagine he could find his account in resto-
ring the Spaniard, as the clergy can command
their vassals, and very much influence the rest
of the nation in his favour, a revolution might
be easily effected: But then his Holiness must take
care that he is well supported by the French and
Spaniards, or the Emperor may make reprisals in
the ecclesiastical State, and perhaps a conquest of
it. The long possession the Emperor had of Co-
machio, one of the Pope's cities, in the last war,
shews what the Imperialists would do if they
met with any treacherous, underhand dealings
from the Holy See; and therefore it is presumed,
his Holiness will keep as even a hand as possible
amongst the Catholick Princes of Europe, and
not shew too great partiality, where it may be
attended with fatal consequences. The greatest
misfortune which attends both Naples and Si-
cily, is their having been for many ages under
the

CHAP. XXVII. the dominion of foreigners, who instead of endeavouring to advance the trade, or improve the soil of these countries, are perpetually contriving ways and means how to drain and fleece the natives of the little treasure they have: from whence it comes to pass, that two of the most fertile kingdoms in Europe, that abound in corn, wine, oil, silk and fruits; that have a great number of fine ports, and are the most advantageously situated in point of trade of any countries in the world; are really poor, and make a very contemptible figure. The Sovereign taxes and oppresses the nobility and gentry; these again rack and plunder their vassals and tenants; the clergy ravage all, heaping up vast sums, which never circulate in these kingdoms, and the publick interest is neglected by all orders and degrees of men: whereas had they a King of their own, who had no foreign views, he would immediately release the commons from the oppressions of the nobility, and put them into a way to improve the rich product of their soil, to manufacture their own silks, to encrease their shipping, and apply themselves to foreign commerce; and not let the Dutch and other nations run away with all their gains. Then would the estates of the nobility and gentry be doubled in their value, and the commons get a handsome livelihood, whether they apply'd themselves to trade or husbandry. But while the ministry are only busied in projecting new taxes and impositions, and framing every year new pretences for levying them, not only with a view of filling their own pockets, but to keep the people in a state of poverty and dependence, that they may not be in a condition to resent the injuries they suffer, how miserable must be the condition even of these kingdoms, where nature has been so exceeding lavish in her productions!

But among the inconveniences to be met with in Naples, we may add to those already enumerated the swarms of flies and insects with which they are plagued in summer, especially in Apulia; insomuch that it is become a proverb, *If any one would have a foretaste of hell-torments, let him spend a summer in Apulia.* The most dangerous insect is the Tarantula, which some resemble to a scorpion, which carries a sting in the tail; and others to a spider. According to the best information I can get, it is that insect which resembles the spider that is the true Tarantula, and this neither bites nor stings, but drops its poison like water on the part it wounds. The other is a real scorpion, an insect not so long as a man's finger, nor so large; of a greenish yellow, which carries its tail with the sting in it coil'd up upon its back, and moves so slowly that it is very easy to get away from it. The cure for the one and the other, according to some travellers, is musick; but in India, where scorpions are

common, the cure is an oil drawn from the insect, or the bruising him upon the place. The effect of his sting is a most exquisite pain, which makes a man almost distracted, so that he runs about like a madman for twelve hours, when the pain begins to abate, and is usually remov'd within twelve hours more; but I never heard of the party's dancing or being affected by musick in India, as those are who are wounded by the true Tarantula. One who happened to be stung by a scorpion in India, told me the pain he suffer'd was as great as if a hot iron had been apply'd to the part for twelve hours; but 'tis very seldom any person dies of the sting of a house-scorpion. There is, I am inform'd, a black wood-scorpion, whose sting is mortal. But let us hear what our voyage-writers say of the Tarantula, which they resemble to a spider. **Misson** says, that the party wounded by it makes a thousand different gestures in a moment; he weeps, dances, vomits, trembles, laughs, grows pale, cries, swoons away, and after a few days torment expires, if he be not assisted in time: that he may find some relief from sweating antidotes, but musick is the great and only remedy. **Veryard** acquaints us, that the Tarantula is a small animal or insect resembling a spider, found chiefly about the city of Taranto, so strangely venomous, that those who are bitten by it infallibly die, unless some speedy means be used to expel the poison; and tho' they seem to be cured, there usually lurks a remaining ferment in the blood, which shews it self by several odd symptoms during the hot months of every summer, as long as they live. It stupifies the senses of some, and makes them drowsy; others become apish and extravagant in their actions; others rave, and are as unruly as madmen. There is no remedy against the venom, he says, but musick; nor will all kinds of harmony do the feat; but when the patient hears a tune that suits with his humour, he immediately expresses the utmost satisfaction, and falls a dancing with all his might till his strength fails him, and the same dance is repeated three or four days together till the poison is expell'd. I know, says **Veryard**, that several eminent men have question'd the truth of this, as I did till I was put out of all doubt of it by several persons of unquestionable worth and credit, who had been eye-witnesses of what I here write.

I proceed next to the description of the Italian islands.

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Treats of the Italian islands, and particularly of the island of Sicily.

THE Italian islands which lie in the gulph of Venice, have been already describ'd: I come now

The Tarantula.

The Italian islands.

CHAP. now to those which lie south-west of Italy in
XXVIII. the Tuscan sea; which are, 1. Sicily, with the
Italian Lipari islands, and those of Lavanza, Maritima
Islands. and Favagnana belonging to it. 2. The islands
of Capri, Ischia, Procita, Ponza, &c. on the coast
of Naples. 3. The islands of Elba, Capraia, Gor-
gona, &c. on the coast of Tuscany. 4. The islands
of Sardinia. And, 5. The island of Corsica.

Sicily. I begin with Sicily, not only because it is the
largest, and in many other respects the most con-
siderable, but because it has the same Sovereign
with Naples, the kingdom last describ'd.

The name. Sicily, antiently call'd *Trinacria*, from its tri-
angular figure, and *Ethinæ* by the Poets, from
the famous Mount Etna, is said to have obtain'd
the name of Sicily from the Siculi, an Italian
people who planted part of this island, which is
situated between 37 and 38 degrees 40 minutes
north latitude, and between the 12th and 16th
degrees of longitude, reckoning from the meri-
dian of London, being about 170 miles in length
from east to west, and 100 in breadth from north
to south in the broadest part. It lies in a very
warm climate, but healthful air, being refresh'd
with cool breezes from the seas and mountains,

Situation and extent. having the Tuscan sea on the north, which is
much the longest side of the triangle; the Faro,
or streight of Messina, and the Ionian sea towards
the east; and another part of the Mediterranean
sea on the south-west, distant from the shores of Ca-
labria, the south-west part of Italy, about seven
miles. There is not a country in Europe whose
hills and plains are more fruitful, which occa-
sion'd its being stiled the granary of Rome. There
are also plenty of springs and rivers, but few of
their rivers navigable, because they fall into one
sea or other at a little distance from their source.

Springs and Rivers. The principal are, 1. That of Thermini, which
falls into the bay of Salanto, in the north part
of the island. 2. The Cantera, which rises a-
bout Mount Etna, and falls into the eastern sea
near Taormina. 3. The Laretta, which has its
source about the middle of the island, and dis-
charges it self into the bay of Catanea on the east
part of the island. And, 4. The river Salsa,
which rises in the north part of the island, runs
almost cross it, and falls into the sea to the south-
wards of the island. The principal mountains are
those of Mount Etna or Gibello, Madoni, and
Aldonis. Their best harbours are Messina and
Syracusa on the east part of the island, Melaz-
zo on the north, Palermo on the north-west,
and Trapano on the west.

Mountains. Sicily is usually divided into three parts, or pro-
vinces, which take their names from so many fine
valleys, viz. 1. The valley of Demona. 2. The
valley of Mazara. And, 3. The valley of Noto.

Harbours. The valley of Demona is bounded by the Tus-
can sea on the north; by the streights of Mes-
sina and the Ionian sea towards the east; by the
valley of Noto on the south; and by the val-

ley of Mazara towards the west. The chief towns
are, 1. Messina. 2. Diveto. 3. Melazzo. 4. Tin-
daro. 5. Patti. 6. St. Marco. 7. Cefale di. 8. Italian
Nicosia. 9. Catanea. And, 10. Taormina.

CHAP. Messina, is situated on the sea-coast at the
XXVIII. north-east part of the island, from whence the
neighbouring streight, which divides Italy from
Sicily, is denominated the streight of Faro or
Messina. It has a large secure harbour, along
one side of which the town stretches it self be-
tween the mountains and the sea, lying about
12 or 14 miles to the westward of Rhegio in Ca-
labria, and about as many to the southward of
Cape Faro, in 38 degrees 30 minutes north la-
titude, 15 degrees 40 minutes to the eastward
of London. The town is of a great length, and
makes a fine appearance towards the sea; the houses
being lofty, and built of stone, but it does not
answer a traveller's expectation however when he
comes into it, for the streets are narrow, and
ill-paved, and consequently dusty: The Italian
proverb says, *They have dust, fleas, and whores in
abundance.* And I presume they give the same
reason for building narrow streets here, as they
do in some towns of Italy, namely, to shade
them from the scorching sun. The city is not
strong, as appears by the poor defence it made
in the late war; but there is a castle and some
forts which held out a considerable time after the
town was taken. It is a populous trading place,
and continues to furnish Italy with corn, as it
did in the time of the Romans; great quanti-
ties also are exported to Spain and other parts
in foreign bottoms: They have also a good trade
in silk, oil, and fruits; and indeed, they want
nothing but shipping, and a Prince of their own
to render them considerable. They have large
privileges, and the civil government is commit-
ted to their own magistrates; subject however
to the controul of the Emperor's viceroys and
officers, who are in possession of the castles, which
command the town; and tho' they might be in-
dulg'd before their last revolt to the Spaniards,
the Imperialists probably will keep a strict hand
over them for the future, since they have been
oblig'd by their disaffection in a manner to make
a new conquest of the island.

There happen'd an earthquake in this city in
January 1693, which overturn'd 24 palaces, and
shook the rest of the town; whereupon the people
fled in the utmost consternation, some to the
fields, and others to the churches to prayers, es-
pecially to the cathedral, where the Archbishop
preach'd, and gave absolution, as the Priests did
in all parts of the city. They apprehended their
last hour was approaching; and surely nothing
could be more terrible, for not only the earth
shook and threaten'd to lay their city in ruins,
but the thunder and lightning which happen'd
at the same time was equally dreadful, the air
being all in a flame: however, they escap'd much

CHAP. better than the rest of the great towns on the XXVIII. same side of the island, as Syracuse, Augusta, Catanea, &c. which were in a manner totally destroyed.

Melazzo. Melazzo is situated on the Tuscan sea, about twenty-five miles north-west of Messina, and has a good harbour. The Imperialists look'd upon this town to be of such consequence, that they made it a place of arms in the last war, and defended it with great vigour against the Marquis de Lede the Spanish General, after he had taken the castles of Messina; tho' some are of opinion, that it cost both sides a great deal more than it was worth; however, here the Imperialists maintain'd their ground till such reinforcements join'd them from Italy as made them masters of the field in the year 1719.

Patti. Patti is a port-town on the same coast, about five and twenty miles to the westward of Melazzo, a pretty good harbour, and a Bishop's See, suffragan to Messina.

Cifalu. Cifalu, or Cefaledi, situate on a cape or promontory fifty miles to the westward of Patti, is said to have a secure harbour, defended by a castle, and a very good trade, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Messina.

Nicosia. Nicosia is a large town, situate on a mountain forty miles to the south-ward of Cifalu, but I meet with no further description of it.

Taormina. Taormina is a little fortified town, situated on the sea-coast, thirty miles to the southward of Messina, supposed to be the antient *Tauromenium*.

Franca Villa. To the eastward of this place lies Franca Villa, remarkable for an obstinate battle fought near it, on the twentieth of June 1719, where the Spaniards being strongly entrench'd, maintain'd their posts against the Imperialists, and sung *Te Deum* for the victory: the Imperialists, on the other hand, laying siege to Messina after the battle in the face of the Spaniards, affirm'd that victory was on their side. Certain it is, there were a great many men kill'd and wounded on both sides; and among the rest, Count MERCI, General of the Imperialists, was dangerously wounded with a musket-ball; as was also Mr. BYNG, the English Admiral's son, who was a volunteer in this engagement: but both of them recover'd.

Catanea. Catanea stands on a bay to which it communicates its name, about thirty miles south-west of Taormina, near the foot of Mount Etna, by eruptions from whence and earthquakes it has suffer'd very much, especially in the years 1669 and 1693, but is still a town of some consequence. At the beginning of the earthquake, which happen'd in January 1693, the sea retired from the shore above two miles, whereupon the people run to the cathedral in the greatest consternation, to deprecate the wrath of heaven; but the church and city was however overturn'd in a moment, and not less than eighteen thousand people perish'd

in the ruins, besides the maim'd and wounded, CHAP who were dug out of the rubbish: but 'tis said, XXVIII one of the Canons of that church, who carried Italian about the reliques of St. AGATHA, the patroness of the city, happen'd to be saved by a partition-wall that was left standing, wherein the reliques of that Saint were kept; which was look'd upon by the devout people of the place as a miracle. In September following there happen'd another earthquake at Catanea, and in the neighbouring country, which did not do much damage; but it was observed, that during the most violent shocks, the top of Mount Etna was considerably sunk, whereupon the Vicar-General, the Duke of Canastra, who was then at Catanea, sent people to view it, who perceived that the top was fallen in near six hundred foot, and that all the earth was tumbled down into the gaping chasm about it, which was near six miles in circumference. At the same time all the fountains about Taormina were dried up, and the earth gaped at the foot of a hill about a mile distant, and out of the overture broke forth five or six torrents of sulphureous water of different colours, which put the island in general in a great consternation.

Catanea is render'd famous by the two pious brothers, as they are call'd, AMPHINOMUS and ANAPIUS, natives of this place, who seeing a torrent of fire breaking out from Mount Etna, and finding their aged parents unable to shift for themselves, took them on their backs and fled; and when the sulphureous stream had in a manner overtaken them, on a sudden it divided it self into two branches, and left them room to escape: in memory whereof the citizens of Catanea erected a magnificent monument, and order'd an anniversary festival to be kept, that their names might be transmitted to posterity, as SENECA, PAUSANIAS, and other ancient authors relate.

From Catanea to the top of Mount Etna there are two ways, the shortest and steepest being about twenty miles, and the other thirty: the first ten miles of the way is full of towns and villages, vineyards and plantations, which are render'd fruitful by the burnt matter thrown out of the mount, that is dissolved by the rain. The next ten miles is exceeding pleasant, planted with vines and fruit-trees, intermix'd with corn and pasture grounds, with little rivulets running down the mountain: the upper part is planted with fir-trees, pines and beech, which seem to reach the sky, and is almost unpassable; and in some places there are clefts and cracks in the earth, from whence there issues smoke, with several little hillocks which have been rais'd by Volcano's. Beyond this the mountain is surrounded with a circle of snow till you come to the grand Volcano on the top, which continually

CHAP. ally sends forth smoke and flames, and is some-
XXVIII. times four, sometimes six miles in circumfe-
Italian rence, more or less; according as the eruptions
Islands. have been, hills are raised at one time, and at
another funk, so that the face of it seldom con-
tinues many years the same. Those that pretend
to have seen this terrible cavern, relate, that the
sides of it are encrusted with sulphur, that some-
times there issues a pure flame, and at others a
mixture of smoke and ashes, and that the noise
of this burning pit is inconceivably dreadful. As
this hill is much larger than that of Mount Ve-
fuvius, being three or fourscore miles in circum-
ference at the bottom, so the eruptions seem
to have been more frequent and much more
dreadful.

The valley
of Mazara. The second division of Sicily is the valley of
Mazara, which has the Tuscan sea on the north;
the valleys of Demona and Noto on the east;
and the Mediterranean on the south and west;
being about ninety miles in length, and seventy
in breadth. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Pa-
lermo. 2. Montreal. 3. Mazara. 4. Gergenti. 5.
Marsala. 6. Trapani. And, 7. Castella Mare.

Palermo. Palermo is situated on the sea-coast, on the
north-west part of the island, about an hundred
and fifty miles to the eastward of Messina, in a
most fruitful country, and has the advantage of
a good harbour, and a brisk trade; the town is
also well built, and the usual seat of the Vice-
roy, and the See of an Archbishop. When the
Spaniards under the Marquis de Lede invaded Si-
cily in July 1718, Count MAFFEI, Viceroy of
the King of Sicily, did not think fit to make
any defence here, but quitted the city and re-
tired to Messina; whereupon the magistrates of-
fered their keys to the Spanish General, and a
few days after the castle surrendred; from whence
it is evident, that Palermo is a place of no great
strength. The Imperialists afterwards took pos-
session of this city in the year 1720, upon the
treaty of convention with the Spaniards for their
evacuation of Sicily, and are still in possession of
it. On the second of September 1726, between
ten and eleven at night, some shocks of an earth-
quake were felt here, which at first were not very
violent, but soon after increasing, it continued
with great violence for the space of twenty-four
or twenty-five minutes; by which most of the
churches in the city, and a fourth part of the
houses were overturn'd and entirely ruin'd. In
the ward of St. CLARA a whole street gaped on
a sudden with a dreadful noise, from whence
broke out flames mix'd with calcin'd stones, and
a torrent of burning sulphur, which in less than
half an hour reduc'd the whole ward to ashes.
The Governour used his utmost endeavours to
spirit up the people, and to stop the inhabitants
who hurried into the fields instead of helping to
quench the fire; but seeing it was to no purpose,

and that even the garrison were astonish'd, he CHAP.
let them go. Those who lived along the coast XXVIII.
betook themselves to the ships that lay in the Italian
port; and it is computed that six thousand per- Islands.
sons were buried in the ruins, besides those who
perish'd in the ward of St. CLARA. It was ob-
served, that the same day the air was extreme
sultry, and overcast with thick and dark clouds,
and that between five and six in the afternoon
a very hot south wind began to blow, follow'd
by a great shower, which did not at all abate the
wind: the storm seem'd something calm'd in the
dusk of the evening; but between nine and ten
the wind grew fiercer, and the shower fell heavier,
which was soon follow'd by this terrible earthquake.
For several days after the earthquake, the people
seem'd to be wonderfully reform'd, exceeding
humble and penitent, going in procession every
hour of the day with scourges in their hands dis-
cipling themselves; the Ladies dress'd in mourn-
ing, wore crowns of thorns, and lash'd them-
selves till the blood follow'd; and it was gene-
rally apprehended, that this calamity was a mark
of God's wrath and vengeance for the extrava-
gance of the inhabitants, because no other part
of the kingdom suffer'd ten miles distant from
the city.

Mont-real, *Mons Regalis*, is a little well-built Mont-real.
town, situated on a hill, about five miles south-
east of Palermo.

Masara, or Mazara, is situated on the sea-coast, Mazara.
in the south-west part of the island, about fifty
miles south-west of Palermo; it is a large hand-
some trading town, and has a good harbour, the
See of a Bishop, suffragan to Palermo.

Gergentum, or Agrigentum, is situated on Gergentum.
the same coast, fifty miles south-east of Maza-
ra; a large handsome town, and See of a Bishop,
suffragan of Palermo, and one of the antientest in
the island, said to be the capital city of the ty-
rant PHALARIS, who tortur'd PERILLUS in the
brazen bull he had contrived to torment others.

Trapano is a port-town, with a good harbour, Trapano.
in the west part of the island, about thirty miles
south-west of Palermo. It was antiently one of
the most considerable places in the island, and
long defended by the Carthaginians against the
Romans; near it lies Mount Erya, now Monte
Trapano, where, according to tradition, AN-
CHISES was buried.

The valley of Noto, the third division of Si- The valley.
cily, is bounded by the valley of Demona on of Noto.
the north; by the Ionian sea towards the east;
by another part of the Mediterranean on the
south; and by the valley of Mazara on the west:
the chief towns whereof are, 1. Noto. 2. Syra-
cusa. 3. Augusta.

Noto is situated on the top of a mountain, sur- Noto-town.
rounded with high rocks, near the south-east part
of the island, about seven miles from the sea,
twenty-

CHAP. twenty-five to the southward of Syracuse, and XXVIII. twelve north-west of Cape Passaro; and is a large Italian populous place, from whence this province or Islands. division takes its name.

Syracusa. Syracuse is situated at the east end of the island, on a neck of land in the Ionian sea, about forty miles to the southward of Catanea; once the capital of a flourishing state, of a vast extent, rich and populous; but was demolish'd in the ninth century by the Saracens, and afterwards almost ruined by the same earthquake in 1693, which overturn'd Catanea, and several other towns upon this coast. In the first Punick war it held out a siege of three years against the Romans, by the direction of that eminent mathematician ARCHIMEDES, who was kill'd at the storming the town, contrary to the intention of MARCELLUS the Roman General, who had generously given orders to save his life. Here in the time of the Greeks reign'd AGATHOCLES, and after him several Kings or Tyrants, as they were call'd, by the name of DIONYSIUS. One of the principal curiosities shewn to travellers is a grotto, said to be cut out of a rock by one of their tyrants of the name of DIONYSIUS, in the shape of a man's ear, so artfully contrived, that he could hear the least whisper in a room he had over it. In this grotto therefore he used to confine those he thought disaffected to his government, and thereby discover their plots against him. The place is about forty foot in height, and twenty in length. The town is so well situated for trade, and has so excellent a harbour, that people have been induced to resort thither again, and build some part of it, and it is still a Bishop's See, but there is very little appearance of its antient splendour. As to the produce of the island of Sicily, it is the same with that of Naples, only there is every thing here in a much greater abundance; particularly corn, wine, oil, fruits and silk, in which they have a good trade, tho' they lose great part of the profit of this rich product by suffering it to be exported in foreign bottoms, and not improving their commerce abroad.

Augusta.

Augusta was a strong fortress, situate on a peninsula, five and twenty miles to the northward of Syracuse, inhabited by the Knights of St. JOHN of Jerusalem, after their expulsion from Rhodes by the Turks, till the Emperor CHARLES V gave them the island of Malta, about the year 1530. It was a place of trade, and had a good harbour, but was miserably destroy'd by the earthquake and eruptions from Mount Etna, at the same time with Catanea and Syracuse, in the year 1693.

Lipari Islands.

The islands of Lipari, which belong to Sicily, call'd by the antients *Æoliae* and *Vulcaniae*, and by the Poets feign'd to be the seats of ÆOLUS and VULCAN, lie about thirty or forty miles

to the northward of it; and are, 1. Lipari. 2. CHAL Hiera. 3. Rotto. 4. Strombolo. 5. Panaria. 6. XXVII Didima. 7. Felicur. And, 8. Alicur. Lipari, Italian which gives name to the rest, is the largest, being about twenty miles in circumference, and has a good town in the middle of it of the same name. The situation of this and the rest of the islands will be seen in the map bound up with this volume. They have nothing considerable in them that deserves a particular notice, unless it be that Strombolo and Hiera have fiery Vulcano's issuing out of them, whose flames are seen a great way at sea. The islands of Levanzo, Maritima *Levanzo,* and Favagnana, lie at the west end of Sicily, *&c.* but have nothing in them that merits a particular description.

The first inhabitants of Sicily are said to be the Cyclopes and Lestrigones, a gigantick and savage *An abstract of the history of Sicily.* race of men. After these, the Iberi from Spain settled here under the conduct of their General SICANUS. Then the Siculi, from Sicily in Italy, came over hither, from whom, 'tis said, to have received its name. After these, colonies of Phenicians from Tyre and Sydon planted themselves on the coast, but were driven from thence by the Greeks, who introduced their laws and language, and in a manner new-peopled it. The Carthaginians afterwards made themselves masters of part of the island, till the Mamertins, or people of Messina, call'd in the Romans to assist them against HIERO, King of Syracuse, and his allies the Carthaginians. This produced a long and bloody war between the Roman and Carthaginian States, which ended in an entire conquest of this island by the Romans, who reduced it into the form of a province, it having never been under the dominion of any one power before, but was divided into several little kingdoms and states. Upon the declension of the Roman Empire, it follow'd the fortune of the kingdom of Naples, till the famous Sicilian Vespers in the year 1282, when it came into the hands of the Spaniards, who enjoy'd almost an uninterrupted possession of the island till the peace of Utrecht, anno 1714, when it was agreed by all the parties to that treaty, that it should be conferr'd on the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King of Sicily; but the King of Spain, under pretence that the Emperor had not acknowledged his title to Spain and the West-Indies, as the confederates had engaged he should, first invaded Sardinia, and made himself master of it in the year 1717, and the next year invaded Sicily, landing 17000 men near Palermo, under the command of the Marquis de Lede, on the first of July; whereupon the Viceroy for the Duke of Savoy quitted Palermo, and retired to Messina. On the 17th of the same month, the Spanish fleet, with most of their infantry on board, sail'd from Palermo, and appearing before the fort or tower of Faro on the 22d, the

CHAP. the Piemonteze quitted it, and the Spaniards
XXVIII. landed and took possession of the fort, and ha-
Italian ving join'd their cavalry, advanced to Messina,
Islands. while their fleet came into the Faro, or channel,
and detach'd some men of war and galleys to block
up the harbour. The same day the Piemonteze
troops quitted the town, and retired into the cita-
del and fort of St. SALVADORE; whereupon the
magistrates waited on the Marquis de Lede the
24th, and deliver'd him the keys of the town, of
which he immediately took possession. Upon the
first of August N. S. the British fleet under Sir
GEORGE BYNG arrived at Naples, having been
detach'd thither, as was given out, in order to
see the peace of Utrecht preserved; and the 10th
of the same month, or the 30th of July, O. S.
the British Admiral came before Messina, where-
upon the Spanish fleet made to the southward,
and were pursued and defeated by Sir GEORGE;
of which action he sent the following account to
England by his son the honourable PATTEE
BYNG, who came express with it, which I chuse
to insert verbatim, because so great a stress seems
to be laid upon the circumstances of the engage-
ment at this time, some affirming that the Bri-
tish fleet were the aggressors, and others that the
Spaniards began the fight.

*From on board the Barfleur off of Syracuse,
6 August O. S. 1718.*

The sea-
fight be-
ween the
British and
Spanish
fleets.

' Early in the morning on the 30th of July, as
' we were standing in for Messina, we saw two
' scouts of the Spanish fleet in the Faro very near
' us; and at the same time a Felucca (a small
' vessel) coming off from the Calabrian shore, as-
' sured us they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet
' lying by: upon which the Admiral stood through
' the Faro (or streight) after the scouts, judging
' they would lead us to their fleet, which they
' did, for before noon we had a fair sight of all their
' ships as they were drawing into a line of battle,
' their fleet consisting of 26 men of war, great and
' small, 2 fire-ships, 4 bomb-vessels, 7 galleys, and
' several ships with stores and provisions. The
' Admiral order'd the Kent, Superbe, Grafton,
' and Orford, being the best sailers in the fleet,
' to make what sail they could to come up with
' the Spaniards, and that the ship which could
' get headmost and nearest to them, should carry
' the lights usually worn by the Admiral, that he
' might not lose sight of them in the night, and
' he made what sail he could with the rest of the
' fleet to keep up with them. It being little wind,
' the Spanish galleys tow'd their heaviest sailers all
' night. The 31st in the morning as soon as it
' was day, they finding us pretty near up with
' their fleet, the galleys and smaller ships, with the
' fire-ships, bomb-vessels and store-ships, separated
' from the Admiral and bigger ships, and stood in
' for the shore; after whom the Admiral sent
' Capton WALTON in the Canterbury, with the

Argyle and six ships more. As those ships were CHAP.
' coming up with them, one of the Spaniards XXVIII
' fired a broad-side at the Argyle: The Admi- Italian
' ral seeing those ships engaged with the Spanish Islands.
' which were making towards the shore, sent
' orders to Captain WALTON to rendezvous af-
' ter the action at Syracuse, where the Viceroy
' for the King of Sicily was with a garrison.
' The like orders he dispatch'd to the flags, and
' to as many ships as were within his reach, that
' place being defended against the Spaniards, and
' being the most proper port on that coast for the
' fleet to gather together again. We held on our
' chace after the Spanish Admiral, with three of
' his Rear-Admirals, and the biggest ships, which
' staid by their flags, till we came near them.
' The Captains of the Kent, Superbe, Grafton,
' and Orford, having orders to make what sail
' they could to place themselves by the four head-
' most ships, were the first that came up with
' them. The Spaniards began by firing their
' stern-chace at them, but they having orders not
' to fire, unless the Spanish ships repeated their
' firing, made no return at first; but the Spa-
' niards firing again, the Orford attack'd the Santa
' Rosa, which some time after she took. The St.
' Charles struck next without much opposition, and
' the Kent took possession of her. The Grafton at-
' tack'd the Prince of Asturia's, formerly call'd
' the Cumberland, in which was Rear-Admiral
' CHACON; but the Breda and Captain coming
' up, she left that ship for them to take, which
' they soon did, and stretch'd a-head after ano-
' ther 60 gun ship, which was on her starboard-
' bow while she was engaging the Prince of A-
' sturia's, and kept firing her stern-chace into the
' Grafton. About one a-clock the Kent and Su-
' perbe engaged the Spanish Admiral, which with
' two ships more fired on them, and made a run-
' ning fight till about three, when the Kent
' bearing down upon her, and under her stern,
' gave her a broad-side, and went away to the
' leeward of her; then the Superbe put for it,
' and laid the Spanish Admiral on board, falling
' on her weather-quarter; but the Spanish Admi-
' ral shifting her helm and avoiding her, the Su-
' perbe ranged up under her lee-quarter, on which
' she struck to her. At the same time the Bar-
' fleur being within shot of the said Spanish Ad-
' miral a-stern, inclining on her weather-quarter,
' one of their Rear-Admirals and another 60 gun
' ship, which were to the windward of the Bar-
' fleur, bore down and gave her their broad-sides,
' and then clapp'd upon a wind, standing in for
' the land. The Admiral in the Barfleur stood
' after them till it was almost night; but it be-
' ing little wind, and they galing from him out
' of reach, he left pursuing them, and stood away
' to the fleet again, which he join'd two hours
' after night. The Essex took the Juno; the
' Men-

CHAP. ' Montague and Rupert took the Volante. Vice-
XXVIII. ' Admiral CORNWALL follow'd the Grafton to
Italian ' support her, but it being very little wind, and
Islands. ' the night coming on, the Spaniards galed away
from the Grafton. Rear-Admiral DELAVAL,
' with the Royal Oak, chased two ships that went
' away more leewardly than the rest, (one of
' them said to be Rear-Admiral CAMMOCK) but
' we not having seen them since, know not the

' success. The ship that suffer'd most with us CHAF
' was the Grafton, the Captain of which, tho' XXVIII
' he had not the fortune to take any particular Italian
' ship, yet was engaged with several, behaved Islands.
' himself very much like an officer and a sea-
' man, and bid fair for stopping the way of those
' four ships that he pursued; who got away not
' through his fault, but failure of wind, and his
' own sails and rigging were much shatter'd.'

A List of the Spanish ships taken and destroy'd off Cape Passaro.

| Ships. | | Guns. | Men. | Commanders. |
|----------------------|----------------------|-------|------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | St. Philip the Royal | 74 | 650 | Vice-Admiral CASTAGNETA. |
| 2. | Prince of Asturias | 70 | 550 | Rear-Admiral CHACON. |
| 3. | Royal | 60 | 400 | Rear-Admiral Marquis DE MARI. |
| 4. | St. Charles | 60 | 400 | Prince CHALAY. |
| 5. | St. Isabella | 60 | 400 | Don AND. REZIO. |
| 6. | Santa Rosa | 56 | 400 | Don ANT. GONZALES. |
| 7. | St. Isidoro | 46 | 300 | Don MANUEL VILIVICENTIA. |
| 8. | Anna Volante | 44 | 300 | Don ANT. ESCUDERA. |
| 9. | Surprize | 44 | 250 | MICH. SADAY, Knight of Malta. |
| 10. | Juno | 36 | 250 | Don PEDRO MOYANA. |
| 11. | Eagle | 24 | 240 | Don LUCAS MASNATA. |
| 12. | Tyger | 26 | 240 | MONTIER CAVAIGNE. |
| Burnt and destroy'd. | | | | |
| 1. | Esperance | 46 | 300 | Don JUAN DELFINO and BLANDINA. |
| 2. | Hermione | 44 | 300 | Don RODERIGO DE TORRES. |
| 3. | Porcupine | 44 | 250 | A Frenchman. |
| 4. | Pearl. | 50 | 300 | Don GABRIEL ALDERETE. |

Burnt also two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, and one fattee.

Another ship of thirty or forty guns was taken, and twelve escap'd, besides a bomb-vessel and seven galleys, of which the Spanish fleet was composed.

The English fleet consisted of the Barfleur, in which was the Admiral, of 90 guns and 730 men; nine 70 gun ships; one 80 gun ship; seven 60 gun ships; two 50 gun ships; and one 40 gun ship; in all 21: besides 2 fire-ships, 4 bomb-vessels, an hospital-ship, and a store-ship.

After this engagement the English Admiral sailed to Syracuse, the place appointed for the rendezvous, where he was join'd by the rest of the fleet, and from thence he went to Rhegio in Calabria, leaving Admiral CORNWALL with ten men of war at Syracuse, to convoy the ships taken. In the mean time the Germans embark'd a thousand men at Rhegio, and threw them into the castle of Messina, which could not however prevent its being taken, that fortrels surrendering to the Marquis de Lede the 29th of September, and the garrison was transported to Rhegio. The Imperialists and Piemonteze still kept possession of Syracuse and Melazzo, waiting for reinforcements from Italy to enable them to act offensively. But before we proceed farther in the relation of the Sicilian war, it is but just to see what account the Spaniards give of this enterprize of the British fleet, and how that court resented it.

The Spanish relation says, That on the 9th of August N. S. in the morning, the English squadron was discover'd near the tower of Faro, and

lay by towards night off of Cape de la Martelle, over against the said tower. The Spanish squadron was then in the Streight or Faro of Messina; and as the intention of the English in coming so near was not known, the Admirals of the Spanish squadron resolved to go out of the Streight, and join together near cape Spartivento, (the most southerly cape of Calabria) carrying the transports laden with provisions with them, that they might the better penetrate into the designs of the English; and the rather, because the Officer whom Sir GEORGE BYNG had sent to the Marquis de Lede, to propose a suspension of arms for two months, was not return'd; to whom the Marquis answer'd, That he could not consent to it without orders from his court. And tho' it was believed that the alternative was taken of sending a courier to Madrid with the said proposal, yet the English squadron took the opportunity of the night to surprize the Spanish squadron, and to improve those advantages which were owing to dissimulation.

The English squadron on the tenth advanced farther into the Faro, and was saluted by all the Spanish ships and vessels that were there. And it is to be observed, that Admiral BYNG having convoy'd some transport-vessels from Naples as far as Rixoles in Calabria, with the Archduke's (the Empe-

The Spanish account of the engagement at sea.

CHAP. XVIII. Emperor's) troops, the officer he sent to the Marquis de Lede declar'd, that it was not to commit any act of hostility, but only that those transports might be secured from insults under his protection. The Spanish squadron sent two light frigates to get intelligence of the English squadron, and tho' they saw that the English made all the sail they could (their intention being not known) to approach the Spanish squadron, whose Admiral knew not then whether the English came as friends or enemies, yet the Spaniards being two leagues from the English, resolved to retire towards Cape Passaro, but without making much sail, that it might not be thought they suspected any hostilities.

During this a calm happen'd, by which the ships of both squadrons fell in one among another, and the Spanish Admiral perceiving this accident, caused the ships of the line to be tow'd, in order to separate them from the English, and join them in one body, without permitting the galleys to begin any act of hostility, which they might have done to their advantage during the calm. The weather changed when the Marquis of Mari was near land, and by consequence separated from the rest, making the rear-guard with several frigates and other transport-vessels, which made up his division, and endeavour'd, tho' in vain, to join the main body of the Spanish squadron, while the English held on their way (their dissimulation filling their sails) to gain the wind, and cut off the said division of the Marquis de Mari; and having at last succeeded in it, they attack'd him with six ships, and obliged him to separate from the rest of the squadron, and to make towards the coast, where they stood it against seven ships of the line; till being no longer able to resist, the Marquis de Mari saved his men by running his ships a-ground, some of which were burnt by his own order, and others taken by the enemy. 17 Ships of the line, the remainder of the English squadron, attack'd the Royal St. Philip, the Prince of Asturia's, &c. (mention'd in the English account) which continued making towards Cape Passaro; and as they retir'd in a line, because of the inequality of their strength, the English attack'd those that composed the rear-guard with four or five ships and took them, and this happen'd successively to the others, which notwithstanding all the sail they made, could not avoid being beaten: insomuch that every Spanish ship being attack'd separately by five, six, or seven of theirs, after a bloody and obstinate fight they made themselves masters at last of the Royal St. Philip, the Prince of Asturia's, &c.

Immediately after the fight, a Captain of the English squadron came in the name of Admiral BYNG to make a compliment of excuse to the Marquis de Lede, giving him to understand, that the Spaniards had been the aggressors, and that this action ought not to be look'd upon as a rupture, because the English did not take it as such. To which it was answer'd, That Spain on the

contrary would reckon it a formal rupture, and CHAP. XVIII. would act against the English in a hostile manner, and do them all the damage imaginable, by giving orders to make reprisals, &c. Italian Islands.

Upon the arrival of the news of the defeat of the Spanish fleet at London, Mr. CRAGGS, Secretary of State, sent the following letter to the Marquis de Monteleone, the Spanish Ambassador here, dated August 28.

May it please your Excellency,

HIS Majesty hath commanded me to acquaint you, that he hath received certain advice of the defeat of the Spanish fleet on the coast of Italy by his Admiral Sir GEORGE BYNG. Nothing could have mov'd his Majesty to this step, but the strict regard he bears to treaties, by which his Majesty was obliged to preserve the peace and neutrality of Italy. I am further commanded to assure your Excellency, *That this proceeding would have been entirely disagreeable to the sentiments of his Majesty, had not the King of Spain made it absolutely necessary, by his rejecting all offers of accommodation, and committing hostilities on the dominions of a Prince in peace with the whole world.* That his Majesty is firmly determin'd, by the blessing of God and the assistance of his allies, to establish the peace of Europe on such a footing, as to put it out of the power of any one Prince or Potentate to disturb it hereafter.

To which the Spanish Ambassador answer'd, That after such an unexpected hostility, he could not act in any affair till he had receiv'd further instructions, and acquainted the court of Spain with the purport of the letter he had received from Mr. Secretary CRAGGS, and the answer he had given to it. Whereupon Cardinal ALBERONI, the prime Minister of Spain, sent the Marquis of Monteleone the following letter.

S I R,

JUST as I was computing your Excellency might be inform'd of the unworthy action committed by Admiral BYNG against the King's squadron, I received the copy of the letter your Excellency wrote upon that subject to Mr. Secretary CRAGGS, to let him know, that after such an unexpected hostility you were obliged to refrain from the functions of your pacifick ministry, and that to maintain the King's honour, and that of your character, you must avoid all manner of intercourse. Having delivered the said copy to his Majesty, he very much approved what your Excellency had written, and the justness of the expressions you made use of to expose the breach of faith of that ministry, in relation to the over-hasty proceedings of Admiral BYNG, when nothing was pretended to but a mediation to facilitate the project of peace, or at most to defend the territories actually in the possession of the Archduke in Italy, when my Lord STANHOPE was in Spain at a small distance from court, to propose

Mr. Craggs's letter to the Spanish Ambassador.

Cardinal Alberoni's letter to the Spanish Ambassador at London on the sea-fight.

CHAP. propose projects of peace and a suspension of arms. XXVIII. And lastly, in the very instant when the King Italian our master, to give new proofs of his royal circumspection, had ordered the effects of the English brought to Cadiz in the last Flota which arrived there from the Indies, not to be touch'd, but that every man of that nation should have what respectively belong'd to him.

In truth, no impartial man can hear without surprize, that the fleet of his Britannick Majesty, commanded by Sir GEORGE BYNG, did, without any provocation, necessity, or pretence, and forgetting the title of Peaceful Mediator, which his master assumes to himself, together with the interests of Great Britain, attack the fleet of Spain, only to frustrate the expedition against Sicily; after having been at Naples to concert with Count THAUN so base an action; *received great sums of money by way of supposed arrears*; and finally, having come near Messina, and sent trusty officers to confer with the commanders of the King's army, and to assure them that he would commit no act of hostility.

The greatest part of Europe is impatient to hear how the British Ministry can justify themselves to the world after so rash a violence. If they recur to the feeble argument, to say that Admiral BYNG's instructions were to maintain the neutrality of Italy, who is ignorant at this time of day, that that neutrality hath long been at an end? And that the Princes who guaranty the treaties of Utrecht, are entirely free and discharged from their guarantee? Every body knows that the guaranty of the suspension of arms in Italy was revoked and annulled, not only by the scandalous breaches which the Austrians made in the ill-perform'd evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca, and by other subsequent outrages, but also by reason that the said guaranty taken in its literal sense, was no longer binding than till the peace was made with France, and the Princes guarantees ought no otherwise to maintain it than by their mutual good offices. Upon these grounds every one may make his own reflections. What will the world say, to see that after the said neutrality had, for the reasons above alledged, lain dormant for four years, the ministry of London would fain revive and support it, not by the employment of a friendly mediation, but by open force, and the scandalous artifice of abusing our security and confidence? This is so certain and indubitable, and Admiral BYNG found himself so perplex'd with the remorse of his injurious conduct, that in the account he gives of this naval fight, knowing that he had no motive or reasonable pretence to fall foul on the Spaniards, he betakes himself to the shift of supposing, quite contrary to truth, that the King's ships first ranged themselves in line of battle, and fired upon the English. But that which is most surprizing is, that he lays it down

for fact, that he sent orders to his ships not to fire upon the Spaniards. If he had no design to attack them, if he had a mind to treat them as Italian friends, why did he pursue them from the Straights of the Faro to the height of Syracuse? Why did he send four of the best sailers in his fleet in all haste, with orders to come up with the Spaniards? And why, lastly, did he follow them with the rest, after having given them his own lights, unless it was not to lose sight of the Spanish fleet during the night? This step, which is so extraordinary, was not certainly taken with the view only of saluting the Spanish fleet in so nice and critical a juncture, after having convoy'd to Rixoles in Calabria a considerable part of the Austrian infantry.

The remainder of this letter ascribes this enterprize to the ministry, and seems to excuse both his British Majesty and the nation in general from promoting it; but concludes however with recalling the Spanish Ambassador, the Marquis de Monteleone.

In a second letter of Cardinal ALBERONI's to the Marquis of Monteleone, he says, men are universally surpriz'd at the arrival of the first Minister of Great Britain (Earl STANHOPE) at the court of the Catholick King, there to make proposals of peace and of suspension of arms, at the same time that the naval force of the Potentate who should have been mediator, was performing the actions of an open rupture. It does not suffice to say, that a rupture might and must be predicted by the demand which the Lord STANHOPE made of a pass for the security of his person in his Majesty's dominions, and 'tis needless to repeat what pass'd between the Marquis de Lede and Sir GEORGE BYNG while he was in Sicily about a suspension of arms, because no body is ignorant that the Marquis de Lede was not authorized to treat, and that his instructions required nothing else of him than to recover that kingdom, without impowering him to enter into a negociation of peace; and 'tis very customary to demand passes to secure one's self against accidents, and to shew the mutual respect that nations have for each other: but 'tis no where to be found in history, nor is it compatible with good faith, neither have the most barbarous people yet learnt the maxim of sending a Minister from one court to another with the character of Mediator, there to treat of peace, and executing at the same time the utmost rigours of war.

It is observable, that among other inducements to prevail with the King of Spain to come into the Quadruple Alliance, before Sir GEORGE BYNG engag'd the Spanish fleet, the King of France had promis'd to obtain for the King of Spain the restitution of Gibraltar; but whether France had any encouragement from the British ministry to make this offer, is left to every man's judgment.

CHAP. XXVIII. It is observable also, that though Sir GEORGE BYNG justifies his engaging the Spanish fleet, by Italian affirming that they fired first at him, Secretary Islands. CRAGGS in his letter to the Marquis of Monteleone, the Spanish Ambassador at London, makes no such apology for this hostility; but plainly tells that Minister, that the King of Spain had made it absolutely necessary, by his rejecting all offers of accommodation, and committing hostilities on the dominions of a Prince (Sicily) at peace with all the world. The declaration of war against Spain also, proclaim'd the 17th of December 1718, at London, does not suppose the Spanish fleet to begin the engagement, but justifies the Admiral's falling upon them, for the same reasons mention'd in Mr. CRAGGS's letter.

I proceed now to enquire into the progress of this war in Sicily. We left the Spaniards in possession of Palermo, Messina, and indeed of the whole island almost, except Syracuse, Trepano and Melazzo, which held out for the Piemonteze and Imperialists till November 1718, when Sir GEORGE BYNG in a letter to the government from Naples relates, that he had convoy'd over so many of the Imperial troops from Italy to Melazzo, that the troops there amounted to 16000 men, for which and other important services, we find the Emperor soon after sent that Admiral his picture set in diamonds of great value.

In May 1719, the British Admiral convoy'd over another strong detachment of the Imperial forces from Naples to Melazzo, whereupon the Spaniards were obliged to raise the blockade of that place, and retire thirty miles into the country to Franca Villa, where they strongly entrench'd themselves. The first action the Imperialists enter'd upon was the reducing of the Lipari islands, which they soon effected. On the 20th of June N. S. they attack'd the Spanish intrenchments at Franca Villa, but the Spaniards defended themselves so well, that they could not drive them from their posts; in which engagement the Imperial General Count MERCI, and Mr. GEORGE BYNG, now Colonel BYNG, another son of the Admiral's, were dangerously wounded. The Germans did not think fit to renew the attack of the Spanish trenches at Franca Villa after this repulse, but march'd forward and laid siege to Messina about the latter end of July, while Sir GEORGE BYNG with the British fleet block'd up the harbour. In the mean time three or four thousand Sicilian peasants arm'd themselves and fell upon part of the German troops that were quarter'd in the country, at a distance from their main army, and defeated them, which the Spaniards magnified as a great victory. The city of Messina was however obliged to surrender on the 9th of August. About the latter end of September, Sir GEORGE BYNG convoy'd another body of Imperial troops from Genoa, consisting of six or seven thousand men,

and being arrived at Messina the 9th of October CHAP. N. S. advised General MERCI to raise a battery XXVIII. against the Spanish men of war in the Mole, Italian whereby five of them were sunk and the rest disabled; and on the 18th of October the citadel of Islands. Messina surrender'd, whereupon the Imperialists transported seven or eight thousand men to Trepano, at the west end of the island, in order to reduce Palermo. In January following, Sir GEORGE BYNG convoy'd another detachment of the Imperialists to Trepano; but the King of Spain soon after acceding to the Quadruple Alliance, there afterwards happen'd no considerable action between the Imperialists and Spaniards in Sicily; and on the 6th of May N. S. 1720, the Imperial General MERCI, Admiral BYNG, and the Marquis de Lede, signed a convention for a suspension of arms, and the evacuation of Sicily, by which the Spanish troops in this island were to be convoy'd by the British Admiral to Spain. His Catholick Majesty by the Quadruple Alliance renounces all rights and claims whatsoever upon the kingdoms and provinces possess'd by his Imperial Majesty in Italy, and his right of reversion to Sicily, which was reserved to him by the treaty of Utrecht. And by the treaty of Vienna, enter'd into by his Imperial Majesty, his Catholick Majesty, and other Powers, the cession of Sicily is confirm'd to the Emperor; Sardinia, with some places in Lombardy having been given to the King of Sicily in lieu of it, and his title changed to that of King of Sardinia. But I refer the reader to the former part of this volume for the particulars, where he will find an abstract of the treaty of Vienna.

The next island I shall describe is Capri, or Caprea, or Capri island, situate at the entrance of the gulph of Naples, three miles to the westward of the continent, and about twenty to the southward of the city of Naples. This island, says Mr. ADDISON, I was very desirous to see, having been the retirement of AUGUSTUS for some time, and the residence of TIBERIUS for several years. It is about four miles in length from east to west, and about one in breadth. The west end of it for about two miles is a continued rock, vastly high and inaccessible by sea, in which part however is the largest town in the island, call'd *Ano Caprea*, and is cover'd in several places with a very fruitful soil. The east end of the island rises up in precipices very near as high, but between the eastern and western mountains lies a slip of lower ground, which runs across the island, and is one of the pleasanter spots that can be seen. It is hid with vines, figs, oranges, almonds, olives, myrtles and fields of corn, which look extremely fresh and beautiful, and make up the most delightful little landscape imaginable, when they are survey'd from the tops of the neighbouring mountains. Here stands the town of Caprea, the Bishop's palace, and two or three convents. In

CHAP. the middle of this fruitful tract of land, rises a hill that was probably cover'd with buildings in Italian TIBERIUS's time. There are still several ruins on the sides of it, and about the top are found two or three dark galleries, low built, and cover'd with mason's work, tho' at present they appear over-grown with grass. But the most considerable ruin is that which stands at the very extremity of the eastern promontory, where there are still some apartments left very high, and arched at the top. These rooms stand deep in the earth, and have nothing like windows or chimneys; from whence it is conjectur'd they were either bathing-places or reservoirs of water, and here are often found medals and pipes of lead as they dig among the rubbish. Not many years ago they discover'd a paved road running under-ground from the top of a mountain to the sea-side. There is a very noble prospect from this place. On the one side lies a vast extent of seas that runs farther than the eye can reach, and opposite to it, is the green promontory of Surrentum (or Sorrento,) and on the other side the whole prospect of the bay of Naples, which must still have been more pleasant when that bay was encompass'd with so long a range of buildings, that it appear'd to those who look'd at it at a distance but as one continued city. One still sees on the bendings of the mountains of Caprea the marks of several antient scales of stairs, by which they used to ascend them. The whole island is so unequal, that there were but few diversions to be found in it without doors; but what recommended it most to TIBERIUS, was its wholesome air, which is warm in winter and cool in summer; and its inaccessible coasts, which are generally so very steep, that a handful of men might defend them against a powerful army. TIBERIUS, 'tis conjectur'd, had his different residences here, according to the seasons of the year, and his different sets of pleasure required. SUE TONIUS says, *Duodecim villas totidem nominibus ornavit.* The whole island was probably cut into several easy ascents, adorn'd with palaces, and planted with as great a variety of groves and gardens as the situation of the place would admit. The works under ground were however more extraordinary than those above it, for the rocks were all undermin'd with highways, grotto's, galleries, bagnio's, and subterraneous retirements, that suited with the brutal pleasures of the Emperor, which were after his death demolish'd by the Romans, in detestation of the unnatural and lascivious scenes which had been acted there; the beauties of the island were order'd to be defac'd by an army of pioneers.

— *Quem rupes Caprearum terra latebit*

Incesto possessa Seni? CL. de 4to Conf. Hon.

Who has not heard of Caprea's guilty shore,

Polluted by the rank old Emperor?

This island is most remarkable at present for the

multitude of quails that are taken there twice a year.

The island of Ischia is situated about three miles to the westward of the Cape or Promontory of Misenum, and 12 or 14 to the westward of the city of Naples; being about 20 miles in circumference, and was call'd by the antient Poets *Inarime*, having laid *TYPHOEUS* under it, on account of the eruptions of fire which formerly happen'd here, tho' there have been none for 300 years past. The last was a very terrible one, and destroy'd a whole city. There are scarce any signs of subterraneous fires at present, the earth being cover'd with herbage, except where it is rocky. There issues indeed a constant smoke through some crevices of the earth, which is occasion'd, my author conceives, by the warm springs that feed the many baths, with which this island is replenish'd. On the north end of the island stands the town and castle on an exceeding high rock, divided from the body of the island by a channel, and inaccessible to an enemy on all sides; on which account FERDINAND II, King of Naples, retir'd hither when CHARLES VIII. of France, overrun that Kingdom.

Procita is an island of much less dimensions than the last, but abundantly more fruitful, and is situated between Ischia and Cape Misenum; being three or four miles in circumference; the most considerable place upon it is the abbey of St. MICHAEL.

Ponza, *olim Pontia*, situated about 14 miles to the southward of the promontory of Circeo, or Circello, and 30 to the westward of Gaeta; deem'd a part of the kingdom of Naples, but subject at present to the Duke of Parma. Hither the Romans antiently banish'd criminals of figure. It is an island of very little consequence, and yields but a poor revenue to the Sovereign. There are some other small islands belonging to Naples and Sicily, which will be found in the map bound up with this volume; but they do not merit a particular description.

The principal islands upon the coast of Tuscany, are, 1. Giglio. 2. Elba. 3. Pianosa. 4. Formice. 5. Monte Christo. 6. Capraria. 7. Maloria. And, 8. Gorgona.

Giglio is situated about 12 miles from the Sienese in Tuscany, and is about 25 miles in circumference; subject to the Great Duke in temporals, and to the Abbot TREFONTANA in spirituals.

The island of Elba, or Athalia, is situated about 15 miles to the westward of the coast of Tuscany, stretching from east to west, much longer than broad, and about 40 miles in circumference. The chief places upon it are, 1. Porto Longone, a small town near the east end of the island, with a good harbour, and defended by a fort on a rock, now in the possession of the King of Spain. 2. Porto Feraio, situate on the north side of the island, which has also a good harbour, and

CHAP. XXVIII. and is defended by a citadel, under the dominion of the Duke of Tuscany.

Italian. Pianosa lies 4 or 5 miles to the southward of **Islands.** Elba, and is subject to the Duke of Tuscany; but is a barren uncultivated island, from whence he reaps little profit.

Pianosa. **Capraria.** Capraria, so called from the multitude of goats which were found here antiently, is situated between Corsica and Tuscany, a mountainous island, about 20 miles in circumference, and subject to the republick of Genoa, who have a fortress upon it. The number of the inhabitants is not computed to be more than 600.

Gorgona. Gorgona, or Urgo, lies in the same sea, to the northward of Capraria, about 25 miles to the westward of Leghorn, and 10 miles in circumference, subject to the great Duke of Tuscany.

Maloria. Maloria is a little island between Gorgona and Leghorn, subject to the same Prince. The rest of the islands on this coast are inconsiderable, but their situations are describ'd in the map of Italy.

Scylla and Charybdis. When I was speaking of the streight or Faro of Messina, between Calabria and Sicily, I should have remembred the famous Scylla and Charybdis there, so much dreaded by the mariners of old; but ships passing them now frequently with the greatest security, I hardly thought them worth the mentioning. Navigation was but in its infancy when the poets represented these places as fatal to sea-faring men. There seems to be nothing more than a strong current and eddy of the waters here, which is frequently observed in other places.

Sardinia, the situation, extent, &c. Sardinia is an island of an oblong form, stretching from north to south in the Tuscan sea, bounded by the streight, which divides it from Corsica towards the north; by the Tuscan sea which separates it from Italy, from which it is about 50 leagues distant, towards the east; and by the same sea on the south and west; lying about 40 leagues north-west of Sicily, between the 39th and 41st degrees of north latitude, and is 140 miles in length, and 60 in breadth. The air in summer is hot and sultry, and reckon'd very unhealthy. The soil is fruitful where it is manur'd, producing corn, wine and oil in abundance; but is not cultivated as it ought to be, the natives seeming to have little inclination to husbandry, choosing rather to live upon what the earth produces spontaneously than to improve their grounds. They have great plenty of cattle, wild beasts and game, and are so far from having any want of corn, tho' great part of their lands are uncultivated, that some years, 'tis said, they export 8 or 900000 bushels, of which the greatest part is carried to Spain. There is a variety of hills and plains, and the mountains on the north are exceeding high. Their chief rivers are, 1. The Sacer, which rises in the north-east part of the island, and falls into a bay on the south-west near

CHAP. XXVIII. Oristagni. 2. The Coquinas, which rises in the middle of the island, and discharges it self into the sea on the north near Castel Arragonefe. 3. **Italian** The Sepus, which rises in the middle of the island, and falls into a bay towards the south-east. And, 4. The river Sepro, which runs from north to south, and falls into the bay of Cagliari on the south-east part of the island.

It is usually divided into two parts; 1. **Division.** The southern, call'd Cape Cagliari, from the capital city, which stands in this part of the island. And 2. The northern, called Cape Logadori, from a cape of that name in the north. The chief towns are, 1. Cagliari. 2. Oristagni. 3. Villa D'Iglesia. 4. Saffari. 5. Castel Arragonefe. 6. Algeri. And, 7. Bosa.

Cagliari or Calaris, the capital, is situated on the declivity of a hill near a bay of the sea to which it communicates its name, on the south-east part of the island, and is a large handsome populous place, with a tolerable harbour, and pretty brisk trade, considering the country it stands in; and is a University, the See of an Archbishop, and the seat of the Viceroy: It does not seem to be a place of any great strength, making but a very mean defence when it was taken by the English in the year 1708, and afterwards by the Spaniards in the year 1717; nor did the castle hold out much longer, tho' some have given it the name of a strong citadel.

Oristagni, or Oristan, is situated on a bay of the same name, on the south-west part of the island, about 45 miles north-west of Cagliari: It is a handsome well-built town, the See of an Archbishop and the capital of a marquisate.

Villa D'Iglesia stands on a bay of the sea at the south-west corner of the island, 30 miles to the westward of Cagliari, defended by a castle, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Cagliari.

Saffari, or Safferi, is situated in a plain on the north-west part of the island, about 10 miles from the sea, a pretty large town, defended by a castle, and the See of an Archbishop.

Castel Arragonefe is a little fortified town, in the north-west part of the island, with a pretty good harbour, about 25 miles north-east of Saffari, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Saffari.

Algeri, or Algueri, is a fortified town, situated on a bay of the sea, on the north-west part of the island, 16 miles south of Saffari, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Saffari.

Bosa stands at the mouth of a river of the same name, on the west part of the island, 20 miles south of Algeri, and is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Saffari.

There are very few towns more of any consequence upon the island. It is but thinly peopled, and the natives are an unpolish'd generation, who having long been a province to some distant kingdom, have been pretty much neglected, and neither their soil or traffick improv'd as they

CHAP. they would have been if they had been blessed with XXVIII. a Prince of their own.

Italian The first colonies planted here came from Islands. Greece, Phœnicia, and other eastern countries, who erected little states and principalities in this island, as they had done in Italy and Sicily. The Carthaginian state was the first power that had the dominion of the whole island, who were dispossess'd of it by the Romans. The Saracens made a conquest of it about the same time they ravaged Naples and Sicily. The republicks of Genoa and Pisa attack'd the Saracens, and recover'd part of the island from them; but Pope BONIFACE VIII, was pleas'd to make a grant of it to JAMES II, King of Arragon, in the 13th century, who with great difficulty drove the Genoese and Pisans from thence, with the rest of the powers then in possession of the island, who had confederated together against him, and it was afterwards united to the crown of Spain, till the English fleet under Sir JOHN LEAKE reduc'd it to the obedience of King CHARLES III, the present Emperor, in the year 1708; and it was confirm'd by the several parties to the treaty of Utrecht (except Spain) to the house of Austria, Spain seeming to acquiesce in this disposition: but King PHILIP under pretence that the Emperor had not evacuated Catalonia in the manner he had stipulated to do it, but had put the Catalans into possession of Barcelona, which ought to have been deliver'd up to him, equipp'd a fleet of men of war in the year 1717, putting 7 or 8000 land-forces on board, under the command of the Marquis de Lede to recover Sardinia to the crown of Spain. On the 22d of August the dispositions being made for a descent near Cagliari, the Marquis de Lede sent an officer to the Marquis de Rubi Viceroy of Sardinia for the Emperor to summon him to surrender Cagliari, and the rest of the island to the King of Spain; and the officer returning with a refusal, the Spanish troops landed without opposition. The Imperialists thereupon retir'd into the suburbs of Cagliari without firing a shot, and from thence with-drew into the town; but it seems the whole garrison did not amount to more than 400 regular foot, and 200 horse, besides militia, for at this time the Emperor was engaged in a war against the Turks, and had drawn most of the regular forces out of the island. On the 17th of September, the Spaniards having advanced their trenches within pistol-shot of the walls of Cagliari, the Marquis de Rubi left the town with 150 horse, and retir'd to Alguero or Algeri, leaving the command of the place to the Marquis de la Guardia, who was oblig'd to surrender the 3d of October following; and no supplies coming to the assistance of the Germans, the Viceroy quitted the island and retir'd to Genoa: whereupon the Spaniards became entire masters of Sardinia, which they held till the year

1720, when they were obliged to yield it to CHAP the Duke of Savoy by treaty; to whom it was XXVIII assign'd in lieu of Sicily, with the title of King Italian of Sardinia, and this Prince remains in possession Islands. of it at this day.

The island of Corsica lies also in the Tuscan Corsica sea, a little to the northward of Sardinia, 90 miles island, situa- to the southward of the coast of Genoa, and 80 tion and ex- to the westward of the coast of Tuscany, between tent. the 41st and 43d degrees of north latitude; extending about 30 leagues in length from north to south, and about 13 leagues in breadth from east to west about the middle; but being near an oval figure, is much narrower at each end. It is surrounded almost with rocks and mountains, which makes it of difficult access, and the inland part is pretty mountainous, tho' there are some plains which produce plenty of corn, as the hills do wine, oil, and fruits; however, the soil is not so fruitful as that of Sardinia, nor the air so unhealthful: It is pretty well water'd with springs and rivers, but as the last run but a little way before they fall into the sea, they cannot be very large. They have plenty of black cattle and sheep, and a little sprightly breed of horses. Here are some iron mines, and others of allum, with some salt-pits. The natives are said to be a clownish people, rough in their manners, like the element they chiefly converse with, and were so much given to piracy and pilfering formerly, that 'tis said, the name of Corsair, which signifies a rover or pirate, was deriv'd from hence. It is usually divided into Corsica Citerior and Ulterior; the former is the northern part next Genoa, and the other the southern next Sardinia. The chief towns are, 1. Bastia. 2. Fiorenzo. 3. Nebio, or Neb- Chief town. bio. 4. Calvi. 5. Sagona. 6. Corte. 7. Aleria. 8. Accia. 9. Mariana. 10. Ajazzo. 11. Bonifacio. And, 12. Porto Vecchio.

Bastia, the capital, is situated on a bay of the Bastia sea, at the north-east part of the island, and has a pretty good harbour, defended by a castle, the Sec of a Bishop, suffragan of Genoa, and the seat of the Viceroy.

Calvi, situated on the bay of the same name, Calvi on the north-west part of the island, defended by a castle on a steep rock, 40 miles south-west of Bastia.

Corte is an inland town, about the middle Corte of the island, 40 miles to the southward of Bastia, defended by a castle, situate on an inaccessible rock.

Ajazzo stands on a bay of the same name, on Ajazzo the south-west part of the island, a pretty large town, with a good harbour, defended by a fort, and is the Sec of a Bishop, suffragan to Pisa.

Bonifacio, stands on the south point of the i- Bonifacio sland, on the streight which divides it from Sardinia: It has a good harbour, and a tolerable trade, being esteem'd the best town in the island.

Porto Vecchio stands near the sea on the south- Porto Vecchio- east

CHAP. XXVIII. east part of the island, about 16 miles to the northward of Bonifacio, and is a large town, with a tolerable harbour.

Islands. This island was planted also by colonies from Greece, and other countries of the Levant; and having been subdued by the Carthaginians, was afterwards taken from them by the Romans: The Saracens possess'd themselves of it when they invaded Sicily and Sardinia, and were driven from thence by the Pisans and Genoese; and this last state having driven out the other, remain sole masters of it, and send their Viceroy hither, who is the governour of it. The Doge of Genoa is crown'd at his accession with a royal crown, as Sovereign of Corsica, which was antiently reputed a kingdom; but this does not however give this state the precedence of Venice.

Malta Island. Among the Italian islands I shall take in Malta, it being nearer Sicily than any other shore, and formerly under the same Sovereign that Naples and Sicily were.

The situation and extent. This island of Malta or Maltha, *olim Melita*, is situated 60 miles to the southward of Cape Passaro, the most southerly promontory of Sicily, 200 miles to the eastward of Tunis in Africa, and almost as much south-west of Cape Spartivento, the most southerly promontory of Italy, so that it lies almost in the midway between Africa and Europe; but as it is rather nearer to the latter, it may properly enough be reckon'd among the European islands, tho' it be sometimes by geographers plac'd in Africa. It lies in 35 degrees some odd minutes north latitude, and is of an oval figure, or pretty near it, being 20 miles in length from the north-west to the south-east, and 10 or 12 in breadth, about the middle of the island.

The air, soil and fruits. The air is generally clear and healthful, but excessive hot, when it is not refresh'd with cool breezes from the sea. The island is all a white soft rock, covered with a foot of earth, or thereabouts; moderately fruitful, producing corn and grapes, they make no wine however, nor have they corn sufficient for the inhabitants; not but that it would bear corn enough, says a late traveller, but their cotton and other plants are more profitable, and they furnish themselves with corn and wine upon very easy terms from Sicily. The corn the island produces is barley and buck-wheat, they have also olives, figs, and other fruits, and great plenty of cummin-seed, anniseed, and cotton, of which they export large quantities, as they do also of indigo. They have lemons and oranges all the year round, and plenty of peas and beans, and other pulse and garden-stuff; in-somuch that my author thinks it very well deserves the epithet of Fertile Malta, still given it by the poets. Their mutton and lamb is excellently good, and they have store of game, and fowls wild and tame: The superstitious are of opinion that no venomous creature will live here,

Animals.

since St. PAUL bless'd the island with his presence. Roses, thyme and fennel grow wild in every part of it, and their honey is esteem'd the best in Europe. There are several good springs in the island, but no rivers; what they seem to want most is wood, there being scarce any other trees than fruit-trees upon the place; but as they have very good stone for building, and the country is warm, they want it the less.

The natives are of very tawny complexions, especially the peasants, who are not half cloath'd. The better sort of people who live in towns, follow the French or Spanish modes; in keeping their women conceal'd, they imitate the Spaniards and Italians. The island is pretty well stock'd with women of pleasure however from Greece, who resort hither to accommodate the unmarried Knights, and others who despise the chains of a conjugal life. The language of the common people is the Moresco, a sort of barbarous Arabick, spoken on the coast of Africa, and the rest use a dialect of the Italian, which they speak pretty roughly.

The chief places are, the city of Malta, or La Valette, the Cite, the Bourg, and the Isle, with the castles of St. Elmo and St. Auge, Civita Vecchia, and Il Bochero.

The Cite, the Bourg, and the Isle, all of them compose the town of Malta, but are, according to my author, so many distinct cities separated from each other by channels of the sea, which form so many peninsula's, consisting of rocks, which rise a great height out of the sea, and have secure harbours belonging to them, capable of receiving whole fleets. On approaching of Malta, two of these ports appear distinguish'd by a high point of land, on which are built the new city and the castle of St. Elmo. That on the right hand is call'd Marsamouchet, where vessels put in for refreshments; the other is the great harbour, defended by the castle of St. Elmo, the fort of Terra della Bocca, and the castle of St. Auge. The fortifications are regular, and very strong by art as well as nature. The streets are broad, and the houses well built with white hewn stone, with which their rocks furnish them upon the spot. They are flat-roof'd, surrounded with rails or ballusters, and make a very good appearance. The water they drink is brought by an aqueduct four miles to Malta, besides which they have cisterns and reservoirs of rain-water. The new town call'd Valetta, consists of 20 streets that lie parallel to each other, but they are uneven, having no other pavement than the rock on which they are built. It has but two gates, one on the land-side and the other towards the harbour. The out-works take in a good space of ground, for the security of the country-people in case of an invasion. Among their publick buildings, the church of St. JOHN is esteem'd equal to most in Italy, adorn'd on the outside

CHAP. XXVIII. outside with a noble piazza and fountains. It is large and lofty, and pav'd with marble of various Italian colours, beautified with several rich chapels and altars, and the tombs of the Grand Masters: and here among their reliques, they show the right hand of St JOHN Baptist; but it is most admir'd for the Evangelical History, exquisitely painted by one of the Knights. The palace of the Grand Master is a magnificent building, besides which there are many other palaces that make no mean figure. The magazine, in which there are arms for 30000 men, the treasury, and hospital, are all noble buildings, and deserve a traveller's attention. In the hospital all infirm people are receiv'd, and serv'd by the younger Knights in silver, and every Friday by the Grand Master and the Great Crosses, or chiefs of the respective nations, to which it seems they are oblig'd by their constitution. Malta is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Palermo. The old city of Melita, now call'd Cita Notabile and Civita Vecchia, lies in the middle of the island, antiently a large populous place, and contains at present about 5 or 600 houses. Near it is the summer palace of the Grand Master, call'd Il Bochetto, fortified like a castle, but extremely well situated, having a prospect over a great part of the island. Its gardens and natural orange-groves, says my author, are delicious, beautifully intermingled with fruit-trees, and parterres of flowers. There are besides in the island 26 parishes, and between 30 and 40 villages equal to towns, containing about 50000 souls, of which one half are military men and unmarried. Five miles to the westward lies the island of Goza, being about 12 miles long and 6 broad, and containing about 500 houses. Near it is the isle of Comino, 5 miles in circumference, with some lesser islands that are subject to Malta. And I must not forget the Catacombs of Malta, which some call a subterranean town, hewn out of the solid rock; but by the description they seem to resemble those of Rome and Naples, and therefore were probably put to the same use at Malta.

Goza Island.

Comino.

History of Malta.

The first inhabitants of this island were the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, after which it fell under the dominion of the Romans, and generally follow'd the fate of Sicily, till CHARLES V gave it to the Knights of St. JOHN of Jerusalem, anno 1530. Of the original of these Knights or Hospitallers of St. JOHN of Jerusalem we meet with this account. Some time before the expedition of GODFREY of Bouillon to the Holy Land, some Neapolitan merchants who traded in the Levant obtain'd leave of the Caliph of Egypt to build a house there, for the entertainment of those of their nation who came in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, for which they agreed to pay an annual tribute. They afterwards built two churches near their house, and entertain'd the pilgrims who resorted thither with

great charity, and taking several others into their society, who thought they should merit much by joining in so pious an undertaking, they founded a church in honour of St. JOHN Baptist, and an hospital for infirm people, from whence they obtain'd the name of Hospitallers. GODFREY of Bouillon having taken Jerusalem about the year 1099, we find them a little after distinguish'd by black habits, and a cross with eight points; and besides their former vows, they took another to defend pilgrims; and thus their order became military, into which several sons of figure enter'd themselves, changing their title of Hospitallers to that of Knights Hospitallers. After Jerusalem was taken, these Knights retir'd to Margalt, and from thence to Acre in Palestine, which they bravely defended in the year 1290; after which they were entertain'd by JOHN King of Cyprus, who assign'd them Limission in his dominions, where they remain'd till 1310, when they took Rhodes under their Grand Master FOULQUES DE VILLARET, a Frenchman; and next year repuls'd a great army of Saracens, being commanded by their Great Master AMADEUS Duke of Savoy, whose successors afterwards used the following Letters for their device, viz. *F. E. R. T. i. e. Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit*, and those of the order were from thence call'd Knights of Rhodes. They afterwards defended the island against several attacks of the Turks, but it was taken at last by SOLYMAN in the year 1522, when they retir'd to Candia, and from thence to Sicily. The Emperor CHARLES the Fifth gave them this island of Malta in the year 1530, looking on it as a good frontier against the Turks, and they accepted of it with the consent of the other Princes, in whose territories their lands lay. In 1566, SOLYMAN attack'd them vigorously in Malta, destroying the whole island except two or three castles, which he was forc'd to abandon after a siege of four months, having lost 15000 soldiers and 8000 seamen in the expedition. JOHN DE LA VALETTE PARISOT was at this time Grand Master, and gain'd abundance of honour in the defence he made. He afterwards built that part of the town which has the name of La Valette. The Knights formerly consisted of eight different people, viz. 1. Of those of Provence, whose Chief was the grand commendator of religion. 2. Of Auvergne, whose Chief was Mareschal of the order. 3. Of France in general, whose Chief was Grand Hospitaller. 4. Of Italy, whose Chief was Admiral. 5. Of Arragon, whose Chief was Grand Conservator. 6. Of Germany, whose Chief was Grand Bailiff of the order. 7. Of Castile, whose Chief was Grand Chancellor. And, 8. Those of the English, whose Chief was Commander of the cavalry: but the English having withdrawn themselves, there are now only seven Chiefs.

Those who enter into this order, are oblig'd to prove their legitimacy as well as nobility by fa-

ther

The Knights
of seven
several nations
or languages

ther and mother for four descents, except the natural sons of Kings and Princes. Amongst the Knights, only those stiled the Grand Crosses can stand candidates for Grand Master. The Grand Crosses are the Chiefs of the several nations, who are now seven in number, and have their respective colleges and halls in Malta, forming so many several societies, the head of each house being at this day call'd the Grand Prior of his nation, who is a member of the council of state, and distinguish'd by a large white cross embroider'd on his breast. Those of this order never marry: They consist of three degrees or states, as they are call'd, viz. Knights, Chaplains, and Servants at Arms. There are also priests of obedience, who officiate in churches; friar-servants, who assist at the offices; and donnes, or demi-crosses; but these are not reckon'd as constituent parts of the body. This division was made in 1130. The Chaplains or Conventual Priests are of noble extraction, and the ecclesiastical dignities in Malta are reserv'd for them, several of whom have been Cardinals. The Servants at Arms are also of noble extraction, but it is not necessary they should be so for four generations. The government is mix'd, partly monarchical, and partly aristocratical. The Grand Master, who is Sovereign, coins money, pardons criminals, and bestows the places of Grand Priors, Bailiffs, Commendators and Knights; and these are oblig'd to obey him in whatever is not contrary to the statutes of their order. In the great or sacred council however, where matters of the highest importance are debated, the Grand Master has but two voices. The ordinary Council is composed of the Grand Master and the Grand Crosses, but in a full Council two of the eldest Knights of each nation attend. Every nation, as has been intimated already, has its several Grand Prior, and every Grand Priory a certain number of Commanderies. The Knights are receiv'd into this order, either by undergoing the trials requir'd by the statutes, or by dispensation. Dispensations are either obtain'd by the Pope's Brief, or from a general chapel of the order, and are granted in case of some defect in their nobility or pedigree on the mother's side. The Knights are received either as of age, under minority, or as pages to the Grand Master. According to the statutes they must be 16 years of age complete before they are receiv'd, enter into the noviciate at 17, and make profession at 18. And they must present themselves either to the grand chapter, or to the provincial assembly of the Grand Priory in which they are born. The proofs of their nobility by four descents on both sides are made by the arms of the families, and an exact enquiry into registers, sign'd by the Grand Prior and sent to Malta, where they undergo another examination by the Knights of that particular nation, who sometimes reject them; and if they pass, the standing of the Knight is reckon'd from that day, when he pays 250 crowns

of gold to the treasurer of the order. They make a particular enquiry whether any of the candidates predecessors have during those four generations, derogated from their nobility by merchandize, trafficking, or being bankers, except those of Genoa and Sienna, in whom these things are esteem'd no objection. They sometimes admit minors of a year old, but then 4000 Livres must be paid down by their gaurdians for this privilege, which are never return'd. The Grand Master hath 16 pages, who serve him from 12 to 16 years of age, and then are succeeded by others. Those who are chaplains, conventual clerks, or servants at arms, cannot be admitted into the order of Knights; nor any who are ecclesiasticks, tho' they have all other requiites.

The churchmen, who make the second state, are receiv'd as deacons, or clerks conventuals, to serve in the church of Malta from 10 to 15 years of age. The deacons are oblig'd to prove that they have been legally baptiz'd, and that their parents are a degree above the common people, and the charge of their admission is 100 crowns in gold, and the chaplains pay twice as much, besides the duties to their respective nations; and the servants at arms pay the like. The priests of the obedience are receiv'd without any formalities, and are so call'd because they obey the Grand Prior, who appoints them to officiate in the cures belonging to the order. They wear a white cross upon their cloaks, and enjoy the privileges of the religion: and of these some are gentlemen. The servants of the office are those who are employ'd in the hospital or other necessary occasions. There are also donnes, or demi-crosses, who marry, and wear a golden cross of three branches, those of the Knights having four, as have also those of the servants and chaplains; but they must not wear them without a particular licence from the Grand Master. All the Knights, of what rank or quality soever, are oblig'd, after making their vows, to wear on the left side of their cloaks a cross of white wax'd cloth with eight points, which is their true badge, that of gold being only an ornament. When they go to war against the Turks, they wear over all a red coat, with a great white cross before and behind without points, which are the arms of the religious. The ordinary habit of the Grand Master is a kind of cassock of tabby or cloth, open before and tied about him with a girdle, at which hangs a great purse, signifying, says my author, charity to the poor, according to the first institution of the order; and over this he wears a velvet-gown, or long cloak, when he goes to church on solemn festivals, and on the left side a white cross with eight points, or cross-patee. The rest of the Knights give him the title of Eminence, and his subjects call him his Highness. Some say the Knights at their admission vow to God, the Virgin MARY and St. JOHN Baptist, obedience, poverty, and chastity. They are oblig'd to take care of the sick and strangers, and receive none into their

CHAP. XXVIII. their order but such as are of sound robust bodies. The Priors chuse the Grand Master, who is only subject to the Pope in spirituals, but has a dependance on those secular Princes where their lands and revenues lie. If the suffrages at the election be equal, they chuse an umpire who determines the matter. The annual revenue of the Grand Master is 10000 ducats, besides some thousands of ducats out of the common treasury. Their galleys usually carry 500 men each, and 16 pieces of cannon. They are oblig'd to suppress pirates by their agreement with CHARLES V, and think themselves bound by their profession to be engag'd in a perpetual war with the Turks, as the Algerines and Corsairs of Barbary are with the Christian States and Princes. When the Knights of Malta, says MOTRAYE, are profess'd, a carpet is spread upon the ground, on which is set a piece of bread, a glass of water, and a sword, and they are told, *This is what religion gives you, you must procure yourselves the rest with your sword.* And accordingly this order have been in a perpetual state of hostility with the Mahometans for several hundred years, and consequently are very good soldiers, tho' I can't call them good Christians; for surely that religion teaches peace and good-will to all mankind, of what sect or persuasion soever they be. The disciples of MAHOMET indeed are oblig'd by their great Prophet to make no peace with the rest of the world till they have beaten them into the same religion with themselves; and we find them for many years after their first institution refusing to enter into any other treaty with Christians than for a suspension of arms, and that each party should keep what they respectively possess'd; but necessity has at length reduc'd them to better manners, and they have been oblig'd to yield up their finest towns, and very large territories, rather than run the hazard of being taken by storm, particularly Temeswaer and Belgrade, which were both surrender'd by the Turks to the Imperialists in the last war; when, according to the principles of their religion, they ought to have fought it out to a man, rather than have given up these places to the Christians. And as the Turks by principle ought to be always in a state of hostility with the Christians, so we find some Christian Princes and States besides the Maltese, engaged in a continual war with them, particularly the Pope and the most Christian King of Spain. I do not remember that ever either of these powers enter'd into any formal treaty with the Mahometans, but the rule seems to be on both sides, to do each other what mischief they can. Indeed it happens that the dominions of these perpetual enemies are not contiguous, or else they would find themselves under a necessity of treating sometimes as well as the Imperialists and the Turks. But I think the Christians have no manner of reason to cry out on the piracies and depredations of the Algerines, Sally-men, &c., when they themselves do the very

same things; taking and plundering all Turkish vessels they meet with, and carrying the miserable people into captivity: nor are their hostilities confin'd to the sea, but they land on the shores of Barbary, and carry whole towns and villages into captivity, when they have an opportunity; which kind of visits the natives of Barbary frequently return, landing on the Christian shores, and plundering and destroying all within their reach. Malta indeed stands as a frontier garrison against the Infidels, and is so strong by art as well as nature, that the Turkish rovers can do them but little hurt; whereas their galleys take prizes almost every day, and the commanders grow rich by the spoils of their enemies, whom for that reason they never desire to be at peace with. But what brings them in as much profit as any one article, is their prisoners, which either serve them as slaves, or are ransom'd at very high rates. But surely these practices will never induce the Infidels to believe that peace and love, and a universal benevolence are the grand characteristicks of our religion: They will rather think that we are animated by the same spirit the disciples of MAHOMET are, whatever we may pretend, and consequently that they have reason to return us the usual title we give them, of Barbarians.

I shall now add some remarks on Italy which have been omitted or lightly touch'd upon before.

Between Rome and Naples, tho' it be one of the richest countries in the world, all our travellers agree, that there is the worst accommodation and entertainment in this road that can be met with any where, and that a man must really undergo a great deal of hardship in the four days journey between those two cities, if he does not take his provisions with him. The flesh of buffalo's, crows and magpies, such as we should throw to the dunghill, here often makes the best part of the ordinary; and tho' they have a variety of wines in Italy, the best are scarce, especially at their inns; partridges, hares, and other game, and wild-fowl are not often met with, except quails, and these they have in great abundance, especially in the spring, when they arrive in vast flocks from Africa, and even cover the country; they are frequently so wearied in their flight cross the Mediterranean, that they drop into ships as they are under sail, and may be taken in heaps when they first come on shore, but so extremely lean, that they are very indifferent food till they are fatted. But to make some amends for the ill provisions travellers meet with on the road, they travel in great security; there have scarce been any banditti or troops of robbers in the Ecclesiastical State since the Pontificate of SIXTUS V, who was very severe upon them, and other Princes following his example, they have pretty well clear'd Italy of robbers, as they have also of bravo's or assassins. Gentlemen are permitted to ride with pistols, and even fuzees in the country for their defence; but in several of their cities they will not allow

CHAP. XXVIII. Italian Islands.

Poor entertainments at their inns.

Quails plentiful.

Few robbers.

CHAP. XXVIII. allow a traveller to wear any arms, particularly at Genoa and Lucca, where they take away both swords and pistols when you enter the gates, and return them again when you leave the town on paying a certain sum, so that you will sometimes pay treble the price of your arms in travelling thro' Italy. The bayonet and stiletto are unlawful weapons, and prohibited almost in every city.

Their women conceal'd.

My author further observes, that tho' the women are permitted to come to church and hear sermons in Lent, they are enclosed in a tall pew near the pulpit, where they can neither see or be seen; for the Italians cannot bear their women should be prophan'd by common eyes, nor can they comprehend how a man can be devout while he is staring them in the face, as in our protestant churches. When they go to prayers and kneel near the men, they are so veil'd, that no part of their faces can be seen, and so carefully watch'd by their relations or governantes, that they seldom have an opportunity of going astray; and indeed, 'tis said, they seldom fail of complying with the first motion. They look upon themselves to be unjustly restrain'd of their liberty, and make no scruple to break from their tyrannical keepers as often as they have opportunity, who allow themselves all manner of liberties, tho' they will permit the women to take none.

Trees and fruits.

On the north side of the Apennine, they are not only forced to cover their orange and lemon-trees in the winter to preserve them from the cold, but also their pomegranate-trees, olives, myrtles, caper-trees, and many others; the plane-tree is very common in Italy, as are the cypress, sena, lentisk, cork-tree, carob and scarlet oak, and the highways are frequently border'd with white mulberry trees, with the leaves whereof they feed their silk-worms; and almost all manner of medicinal herbs and simples are to be had on the Apennine mountains and the Alps. Sponges are found on the seaside near Terracina: Pumice-stones grow on a little island over against the promontory of Misenum, when the sea is stormy it loosens them from the rocks, and carries them over in small pieces to the opposite shore of Pozzoli and Baiæ; they are not to be met with about Vesuvius, or any other burning mountain, as some have related, those stones being of a very different nature.

Sponges and pumice-stones.

Minerals.

The Italian mountains, and especially the Apennine, are rich in metals, and other minerals, as crystal, agate, alabaster, and several kinds of marble; the white marble of Carara is esteem'd the finest, but the Grecian marble in the Archipelago has much brighter colours than the Italian.

Contrivances to moderate the heats of summer.

In the summer they use all manner of stratagems to render the heats tolerable at Rome, men of quality have apartments at the bottom of their houses, where the sun never enters; these are furnish'd with fountains and water-spouts, and floor'd with marble, and the doors so contriv'd as to draw in a cool refreshing breeze when they want it. To preserve them from flies and gnats when

they sleep, their beds are enclosed with curtains of gauze: when they sleep after dinner, as they usually do about two hours, they loll in easy chairs, whose backs are made to let down as low as they please. The Serain, or evening-dew in the Campania of Rome, is reckon'd fatal to those that sleep in it for three months in summer, on which account, 'tis said, travellers chuse to lie 15 or 20 miles short of Rome if they can't reach the city before night. My author says, he found an inscription over a door in Rome, importing that the air of this town is fatal to strangers, and troublesome to the natives: that if a man would preserve his health here, he must take physick the seventh day after his arrival, avoid nauseous smells, use moderate exercise, guard himself against colds and heats, abstain from fruit and women, and never quench his thirst with cold water.

Rules of health.

They use very little tin or pewter in this country, but generally earthen-ware, resembling Delft or coarser, for all kinds of vessels. They begin their day at sun-set, and count one a-clock an hour after, and so on to 24, and do not divide the day into twice twelve hours as we do here; the hours consequently are perpetually varying, their day beginning sooner or later as the sun sets, whereas it is always six a-clock with us six hours before or after noon, and twelve at noon and midnight. If the sun sets at six a-clock in Italy, the next day at noon they reckon 18; and if it sets at seven, they reckon 17 the next day at noon and so on.

Earthen dishes and vessels chiefly used. Their day begins at sun-set.

Tho' people are apt to imagine there is little winter in Italy, my author says, he found the winter very sharp there, and he thinks travellers in the wrong in chusing that season to travel through it, as they generally do, for in winter the ways are uneasy and dangerous, especially in the mountains, on account of the snow and ice; the days also are short, and a traveller comes late to his lodging, and is often forced to rise before day; besides, the country looks dismal, nature is in a manner half dead, and neither fruits or flowers to be seen. On the contrary, in summer we have none of these inconveniences, and tho' 'tis very hot, it is only the reposing one's self during the heat of the day, and the cold of the winter sufficiently counterbalances the heats of the summer.

Summer the best season to visit Italy.

In many parts of Italy, as in Tuscany, Parma and Modena, the traveller may have horses or calashes, call'd Cambiatura, the rates of which are fix'd, and the conveniency of this way of travelling is, that he may stop where he pleases, and change his horses or calash at every Cambiatura, without being obliged to pay for their return; he may also take what time he pleases to satisfy his curiosity. There is room for two people in a calash, and my author prefers it to travelling on horseback, because one has the advantage of being skreen'd from the sun and weather, and the traveller is permitted to carry a portmantua fastned to it of two hundred weight.

Conveniences of travelling.

CHAP. XXVIII. When the traveller comes to Rome, he will be immediately furrounded by a multitude of lackeys, who come to offer their service, but my author advises him to be cautious how he trusts them, for they are generally a pack of knaves; it is most advisable when a person wants them to take those who belong to the town, or to the country at least, because they give security to perform their duty, and are best acquainted with the people and customs of the place. People of quality usually carry some spare liveries with them to clothe them with. The ordinary allowance of these Staffieri, as they are call'd, is two and a half, or three Julio's a day, (a Julio is about six pence) when they are at board wages; and for ten or twelve pistoles a month, a gentleman may have a handsome coach and a pair of horses; except it be in Lent, or about Easter, when the concourse is very great at Rome, and then they will ask fourteen pistoles a month for a coach and pair of horses. A licence may easily be obtain'd here to eat flesh in Lent, and the inn-keepers on the road will furnish you with it if you desire it, privately, that they be not exposed to the censures of the church. The lean-days, as they call their fasts, however very well deserve that name, for it is scarce possible for a foreigner to dispense with those exceeding lean dinners.

A skilful antiquary is a very necessary dependant, which a man of quality must retain when he arrives at Rome, and will cost him three or four pistoles a month; and he is advised to take a particular view of every thing that is remarkable himself, without trusting to the report of others; and a gentleman will chuse to view the curiosities of Rome in the company of other strangers rather than alone, because he will hear their opinions of them: he ought to be provided with maps, measures, prospective-glasses, a mariner's compass and quadrant, and to be able to take the dimensions of things himself.

A Roman palm (or a span and a half) makes thirteen inches English measure, the Roman foot is shorter by six lines than that of England, and eight Roman feet make a Roman Cane. A Brasse of Florence is 22 inches and a half English.

A compleat set of prints of all the antiquities and remarkable things that are to be found in Rome may be had there, but they will cost near 100 pistoles, according to *Misson*; and he advises gentlemen not to be too parsimonious in their travels, for if they are, he tells them, they must expect to meet with trouble and vexation instead of pleasure; whereas a liberal hand gains admission every where, and procures great advantages; and as it is but once in their lives, and in order to accomplish themselves, they will not find their account in being over-penurious, such a management only renders them contemptible wherever

The way of travelling between Rome and Naples.

Gentlemen who travel in company from Rome to Naples usually hire both calashes and horses, that

they may ride one way or the other by turns, as they see fit, and every passenger pays the person who lets them 15 piasters, on condition he shall spend five days in going thither, wait for him five days at Naples, and lend his horses to *Vesuvius* and *Puzzoli*, and return to Rome in five days more; so that the whole journey is perform'd in 15 days. They may very easily go from Rome to Naples in four days, only they are supposed to spend some time in viewing the country, or the curiosities in the way thither. (A piafter is about the value of 6 s. 8 d. or 7 s.) But as Naples well deserves more than five days to view it, my author advises the traveller to go by the *Procacciaio*, or ordinary stage, because he is at liberty then to return when he pleases.

He advises all gentlemen that travel to Italy also to contrive their affairs so, as to see the last days of the carnival at Venice, the Holy Week at Rome, and the Octave of the Sacrament at Bologna; and to avoid being at Rome during the heats. He says, a person will do well to consider what company he travels with also, or it may be better to have none; some, as he observes, are curious in examining every thing, and will expose themselves to a shower of rain, or hazard losing a dinner to make a discovery of any importance, while others travel post thro' a country as it were, and take care of nothing else but the providing a good bed, a dish of meat, or a glass of the best wine. A large company is by no means proper to travel with in Italy, where we meet with such wretched inns, that they can seldom find beds or provisions for a tolerable company.

Every town almost in Italy affords some things which are either peculiar to it, or done in greater perfection than in other places; as at Rome you meet with fine prints of palaces, churches, gardens, statues, fountains, ornaments of architecture, pictures of Popes, Princes, Cardinals, and other illustrious men, maps, plans of towns, &c. They are famous also for their perfumes, such as bergamot, limetta, imperial oil and millefiori, and all sorts of quintessences, balsams and pomatums. The fruit bergamot is like a lemon, and the perfume drawn from it is incomparably better than what we meet with in other places. The perfumers of Rome have either an art, or ingredients that their neighbours want, for perfuming skins, of which they make gloves, fans, purses, and other things. And this is the proper place to furnish one's self with fine medals; tho' if a man has not some judgment in them, he will be imposed upon.

Naples is remarkable for its silk stockings, waist-coats, breeches and caps, perfumed soap, snuff-boxes made of shells inlaid with silver, and Spanish snuff.

Venice is taken notice of for its points, works in glass, crystal and steel, snuff-boxes, silk stuffs, and fine scarlet.

At Milan we meet with works of rock crystal, swords, heads of canes, snuff-boxes, and steel toys.

Florence

The proper times for viewing the great cities of Italy.

Some things peculiar to several towns.

CHAP. XXVIII. Florence also is famous for its essences, balsams, pomatums, and other perfumes; but their bergamot is inferiour to that of Rome. Here are also inlaid works, with the stones call'd Dendrites, and others call'd Ruins of Florence, which are found in Monte Limagio.

At Genoa we meet with silk stuffs, velvets, points, dry sweetmeats, soap and wash-balls.

At Bologna shining stones, or phosphorus's, several kinds of snuff and washballs, and their lap-dogs were formerly in much esteem; one of them made a mighty stir in England not many years ago.

Brescia has been remarkable for its fire-arms.

The Nuns of Tortona for their works in straw, of which they make boxes, flowers, birds, caskets and toilets, or any little implement of the like nature.

The knives of Scarperia, sixteen or seventeen miles from Florence, are much cried up, not so much for the goodness of the metal, as for their contrivance of putting several blades to one haft, as they will ten or a dozen at a time, if 'tis desired.

At Loretto the devout traveller furnishes himself with beads, crucifixes, Agnus Dei's, and other holy utensils; and their beads are thought to have an extraordinary sanctity by being touch'd or rubb'd on the Madona or image of the Blessed Virgin there.

The Nuns of Gaïeta pretend to have the best essence of oranges: but *Misson* does not approve of it; he says, it is too strong and sharp.

The masks of Modena are said to be well contrived, and the spurs of Reggio in as much esteem in Italy, as those of Rippon are here.

The mill'd gloves, the sweet snuff of Millefiori, and the Rosa Solis of Turin, are also in esteem with our travellers.

Some species of English goods prohibited lately in Sicily.

In the year 1726, the Viceroy of Sicily received orders from the Imperial court to publish a Bando, or proclamation, prohibiting the importation of several English manufactures, such as duroys, calamancoes, camblets, druggets, and other stuffs proper for a warm country, in order to encourage those of Germany, which are design'd to be brought into Sicily and Naples by the new company established at Trieste: whereupon the English Consul *Mr. Chamberlayne* on the 10th of June that year, by the advice of the English factory at Messina, presented the following memorial to the Viceroy of Sicily, viz.

Most excellent Lord,

WILLIAM CHAMBERLAYNE, his Britannick Majesty's Consul-General in this kingdom, and the English merchants settled and residing in the city of Messina, do humbly represent that they are inform'd, the Royal Patrimonial Council by your Excellency's direction, upon what motives your memorialists know not, are about to prohibit the importation into this city and kingdom of divers sorts of English woollen manufactures and stuffs. That before such a resolution pass, they offer to your Excellency's consideration, the prejudice which would

manifestly arise from it to the publick commerce, to the income of the royal treasury, and to the general interest not only of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty's subjects, but likewise of foreigners concern'd in traffick with this city. For this would be an abolition of the establishment of a Scala Franca, or staple granted by the most serene King *CHARLES II*, who engaged his Royal word to permit the importing hither of all manner of merchandize and manufactures from what part of the world soever. It would also be a direct violation of the treaty of commerce concluded between the most serene Kings of Spain and England in the year 1667, which was ratified by King *CHARLES II*, of blessed memory, the same year, and confirm'd by his present Imperial and Catholick Majesty anno 1709, at Barcelona; by which treaty entire liberty was granted to the subjects of Great Britain to import and bring into all the territories, kingdoms and dominions of the King of Spain, all sorts of merchandize, cloths, manufactures, and things of the kingdom of England, there to sell, barter, or otherwise convert and dispose of the same, as will more fully appear to your Excellency by the inclosed copies of the article of the Scala Franca, and the seventh article of the aforesaid treaty concluded and confirm'd as above. Wherefore the memorialists have judg'd it proper by way of prevention to make application to your Excellency, a Prince zealous for justice, and a lover of the publick good, to induce you to suspend so important a resolution till some deputy of theirs be permitted to lay before you the solid and weighty reasons they have to urge against this novelty, which is not only prejudicial to the publick commerce, the promoting whereof your Excellency has so much at heart, but to the general interest of the natives and foreigners who are concern'd in, and do contribute to and carry on the trade of this city and kingdom, and also to the royal duties, which must inevitably diminish in proportion as commerce lessens. But in case your Excellency in your great wisdom shall determine otherwise, they beseech you at least to give sufficient allowance of time before such prohibition takes place; because the memorialists under the sanction of the publick faith, and relying on the royal promises, have some time ago sent commissions to their correspondents in England for large quantities of such several sorts of goods as they used to provide every year against the fair in August, which by this time are not only bought up, but actually embarked and on the way hither, to the end that within the time limited they may vend and dispose of them. Upon which concession from your Excellency as a just Prince, the memorialists do securely depend.

The answer to which memorial was, That the orders from the court of Vienna on this affair being uncontrollable, the publishing them could not be deferred.

CHAP.
XXVIII.*A list of the Imperial navy.*

| In the ports of Naples, Sicily, and the Adriatick gulph. | | Guns | |
|--|------------------|------|-------------------|
| The Imperial navy in the ports of Italy and the Ocean. | The St. Barbara. | 68 | St. Ottila 48 |
| | St. Leopold | 62 | St. Nepomucene 48 |
| | St. Charles | 58 | St. Joseph 36 |
| | St. Elizabeth | 50 | St. Anthony 30 |
| | St. January | 42 | St. Anne 42 |
| | St. Lucia | 46 | St. Baltazar 40 |

Besides eight frigates and fourteen galleys.

| In the Ocean | | Guns | |
|-------------------|----|-------------------------|----|
| The Charles | 40 | Lyon | 28 |
| Empress Elizabeth | 36 | Tyger | 32 |
| Austria | 34 | Eagle | 32 |
| Prince Eugene | 32 | Force | 30 |
| Marquis Visconti | 30 | Peace | 32 |
| Marquis de Prie | 30 | Concord | 34 |
| Union | 28 | Blessing | 32 |
| Hope | 30 | And three advice-ships. | |

This list being taken only from the publick papers, I cannot be answerable for the exactness of it; but it is surprizing if the Emperor have a fleet already any thing near so powerful as this is represented to be.

The fruits of the earth destroy'd in Italy in 1727.

Tempests and unseasonable weather proved almost as destructive to Italy in the year 1727, as any earthquake that has happen'd there in our memory; for they relate, that on the 7th of October this year, there arose such a dreadful hurricane at Naples, that the like was never known. The storm begun by furious jarring winds, attended with continual lightning and dreadful thunder-claps, which were soon follow'd with such heavy rains mixed with hail, that all the gardens in that city and neighbourhood were overflow'd; the trees, vineyards, &c. which were upon the hills round the city were torn up by the roots and wash'd away by the torrent; their kitchen-gardens were cover'd with sand, and in the lower part of the city the flood forced open the strongest gates, threw down several walls and houses, and destroy'd abundance of people: the great reservoirs which furnish the city with water, with their wells and fountains, were choak'd up. The borough of Pianura, which lies very low, was so suddenly overflow'd, that of 500 inhabitants, six only escaped; the borough of Pancooli was entirely sunk, and there arose such a thick vapour and poisonous stench out of this gulph, that all that came near it swoon'd away, or died on the spot. No words can express the desolation which happen'd both in city and country, with the loss of their corn, wine, cattle, and other provisions. This calamity was ascribed to a violent shock of an earthquake they felt the night before, which terrified them extremely; the sea swell'd also in an extraordinary manner, and from Vesuvius issued a mighty flame: whereupon the head of St. JANUARIUS was exposed, the miraculous image of the crucifix uncover'd, before which the Viceroy, Nobility and People prostrated themselves to avert the wrath of heaven.

At Venice the same month they had terrible storms of rain and hail, and in January following they relate, that the tempestuous winds and rains continued at Naples: that the air was sometimes so close they could hardly breathe, which with the frequent eruptions of Mount Vesuvius occasion'd a general consternation, and bred distempers in the country: that they had for three days successively such furious storms of rain attended with dreadful thunder and lightning, that the flat country was all under water, and appear'd like a general deluge, and that the damage occasion'd by it was not to be express'd. From Florence the same month they write, that the Sacrament had been exposed for three days in the metropolitan church, and publick prayers put up throughout the duchy to obtain from the Almighty a cessation of rain. A plenary indulgence was publish'd in form of a Jubilee in all the churches of that city, and the Grand Duke forbid the usual diversions of the Carnival; and in the Venetian territories several little towns were swept away by the overflowing of rivers.

At Noto in Sicily in the year 1727-8, there happen'd a terrible earthquake, which lasted from the 5th of January to the 9th, and threw down several churches, monasteries and private houses; the same was felt at Augusta, Siracusa, Catanea, Messina and Palermo, and almost throughout the kingdom, but few or no people perish'd in it.

The Emperor and the other parties to the Quadruple Alliance looking upon the duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia as Fiefs of the Empire, and agreeing that on failure of issue of those Princes the said duchies should be conferr'd on Don CARLOS, son to the present Queen of Spain; this proceeding was highly resented by the Dukes of Tuscany and Parma, as well as by the Pope, who pretends that these duchies are Fiefs of the Holy See.

The Duke of Tuscany in a memorial endeavours to shew that the State of Florence has been entirely independent on the Empire ever since it had a being; that it has always been govern'd by its own laws and magistrates; that the Great Dukes of Tuscany are absolute masters and sovereigns in that State; that all the rights of Majesty belong to them; and that they only differ from the Kings of France and Spain in the extent of their dominions, as not having such large territories under their jurisdiction.

To which the Imperialists reply, That it is notorious that the city and territory of Florence made a part of the kingdom of Italy, and that when the German Emperors became masters of that kingdom; Tuscany, and the city of Florence in particular was as much subject to them as the rest of Italy; that it continued under the Dukes or Marquisses of Tuscany, who were the Emperors feudatories from the time of RODOLPHUS I, tho' it was govern'd by its own magistrates, as the cities of the Empire are at this day, yet it always acknowledged the sovereignty of the Emperor, till the time of MAXIMILIAN I, who for a sum of money confirm'd

Memorials of the Italian Princes against the Quadruple Alliance.

CHAP. firm'd its privileges : That the Emperor CHARLES XXVIII. V, in the year 1530, commanded his troops to besiege the city of Florence, to reduce them to their duty to the Empire, which they then seem'd to dispute ; that the city having been obliged to surrender, the Emperor declared he had a right, after depriving it of all those privileges which it had received of his predecessors, to dispose both of the city and territory according to his pleasure, as of an estate of inheritance devolved to the Empire ; but upon the intercession of the Pope, and by advice of the States of the Empire, he had been pleased to pardon it, and to confirm all its privileges, rights and liberties obtain'd of the Roman Kings or Emperors. But whether the duchies of Tuscany and Parma are Fiefs of the Empire or not, since the Diet of the Empire have declared them to be so ; and the greatest powers of Europe, who were parties to the Quadruple Alliance, have determin'd they shall be deem'd such, and are in a condition to constitute Don CARLOS Sovereign of these duchies if they see fit, the matter of right will be little attended to. The Princes of this age apprehend themselves vested with authority to set up and depose Kings at their pleasure, as is evident from their disposal of Sicily and Sardinia twice in a few years, without so much as enquiring into the laws and constitutions of the respective countries : These, it is held, ought to be dormant when the general good of the world comes in competition with that of any single State ; or, when the chief Powers of Europe are pleased to think so. They themselves seem to rely more upon a confederacy, or guaranty of their neighbours for the establishment of their thrones, than either upon the constitution of their respective governments, or the affections of the people they are to govern. The civil power does not only truckle to the military in most of the kingdoms of Europe ; but where national troops are not so ready as 'tis expected, to oppress and harass their fellow-subjects, foreigners are call'd in, who are supposed to have less remorse, to finish the ruin of the unhappy people. But to return to the eventual succession, at it was call'd, of the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, which the parties to the Quadruple Alliance had conferr'd on Don CARLOS Prince of Spain : The last Pope INNOCENT XIII, loudly protested against it, declaring those duchies Fiefs of the Holy See, and in the instrument to be sent to the Plenipotentiaries at Cambray on this head, he has these expressions : ' Can Christian Princes flatter themselves with the hopes of concluding a lasting peace, when the depriving the Holy See, and the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, of their undeniable rights, is made the foundation of it ? Can they promise themselves long to enjoy what they violently seize against all manner of justice, and invade the indisputable right of an uninterrupted succession, which has been acknowledged for several ages by all the nations of Europe ? ' The present Pope BENNET XIII also up-

on the conclusion of the Vienna alliance between CHAP. the Emperor and Spain, wherein the disposal of the XXVIII. duchies of Parma and Tuscany are confirm'd, sent a circular letter to his Nuncio's in the several courts of Europe, wherein he tells them, he could not delay acquainting them with his sorrow for those unjust conditions in the treaty. That he abhorr'd and disown'd them, and solemnly protested against the same, and would leave no stone unturn'd to provide a remedy against them ; concluding as follows : ' Venerable Brethren, We will apply ourselves to pious prayers, which are powerful weapons with GOD, that the Lord would please to cast his eyes upon his inheritance ; and not suffer us to receive damage from those to whose protection he hath recommended the defence and support of the interests of the Holy Church.'

The Duke of Parma look'd upon himself also to have had great injustice done by the disposal of his dominions by foreign powers, without consulting him, and protested against it : but I don't find that any of the parties to the Quadruple Alliance took any notice of the opposition that was made either by the Pope, or the Dukes of Tuscany or Parma. The misunderstanding however which has happen'd since between the allies of Vienna and Hanover may effect that for them, which all their own care and foresight could not, unless a speedy peace should reunite these powers again, and the Quadruple Alliance be made the foundation of another treaty.

Having omitted to describe the manner of balloting for a Doge of Venice, I shall take the opportunity of doing it here.

The obsequies of the deceased Doge are no sooner over, but all the nobility above 30 years of age meet in the Grand Council, where they elect five collectors, who are to correct the *Ducale Promissione*, i. e. the statutes, to the observation of which the Doge is to swear immediately after his election. And these Noblemen have a power to add or abstract whatever they shall deem requisite for the good of the State.

The Grand Council being afterwards assembled in the hall of St. MARK's palace, the door is shut, and the number of the members present being counted, they throw into a bason, or urn, an equal number of balls, all white, except 30 which are gilt, and when they are well mixed, every gentleman takes out one : after which, the 30 who happen upon the gilt balls meet in a little room, where there are prepar'd 30 other balls, of which nine are gilt ; those of the 30 which draw the nine gilt balls chuse 40 members, who are reduced to 12 by lot, and these 12 elect 25, the first chusing three, and the rest two a-piece ; these are by lot reduced to nine, and those nine chuse 45, by naming five a-piece, who are again reduced by lot to eleven, and these chuse 41 members ; who elect the Doge, if they are approved by the Grand Council ; and if they be not, the same method must be repeated. And by this tedious way of balloting they prevent all

The manner of balloting in the Great Council at Venice.

CHAP. all possible corruption or influence in the choice of a Doge. When the 41 electors are approved by the Grand Council, they are shut up in the palace of St. MARK, and not suffered to stir out till they have elected a Doge, and there must be 25 of the number concur in the choice. When the suffrage is declared, the Doge elect is carried on men's shoulders from the church round the square of St. MARK in a machine, in which he is attended by two or three noblemen, his friends, and sometimes by the boy who drew the ball that determined his election; and being crown'd by the Procurator Treasurer, he usually makes a speech to the people, after which he gives a ball; the streets are illuminated, and masquerades and other entertainments are continued for three nights successively; bread and wine being in the mean time distributed to the multitude.

A Table of the distances of the great towns in Italy from each other.

| | | |
|---|---|--|
| Adria 12 miles from Venice. | Lucca 24 from Massa, 10 from Pisa. | Roveredo 30 fr. Verona, 11 fr. Trent. |
| Albano 14 from Rome. 8 from Fregcati, and 7 from Vellitri. | Macerata 20 from Ancona. | Rovigo 20 from Padua. |
| Alexandria 13 from Casal, 10 from Tortona, 40 from Turin. | Mantua 88 from Milan, 40 from Cremona, 42 from Modena. | Sabionetta 20 from Mantua. |
| Ancona 15 from Loretto, 20 from Senegallia. | Massa 76 from Genoa, 29 from Pisa. | Salerno 28 from Naples. |
| Avelte 50 from Turin. | Milan 85 from Turin, 250 from Rome. 75 from Parma. | Savona 30 from Genoa, 16 from Final. |
| Aquapendente 9 from Bolsena. | Mirandola 20 from Modena, 30 from Bologna. | Scarperia 7 from Florence. |
| Aquileia 50 from Venice. | Modena 40 from Mantua, 30 from Parma, 100 from Milan. | Senegallia 20 from Ancona. |
| Atti 25 from Turin. | Montefiascone 10 from Civita Vecchia, 8 from Viterbo. | Sermonietta 30 from Rome, 15 from Vellitri. |
| Bergamo 30 from Brescia. | Monte Aleno 20 from Sienna. | Sienna 35 from Florence, 60 from Leghorn. |
| Bolsena 16 from Viterbo, 8 from Montefiascone. | Monte Pulciano 27 from Sienna. | Spoletto 45 fr. Rome, 15 fr. Terni. |
| Bologna 58 from Florence, 30 from Ferrara, 150 from Loretto, 210 from Rome. | Naples 140 fr. Rome, 16 fr. Capua. | Suza 23 from Turin. |
| Brescia 60 fr. Milan, 40 fr. Verona. | Narni 8 from Otricoli, 7 from Terni. | Terni 7 from Narni, 85 from Urbino. |
| Capua 16 from Naples. | Nettuno 30 from Rome. | Terracina 55 from Rome, 10 from Piperno. |
| Carignan 8 from Turin. | Nice 40 fr. Oneglia, 60 fr. Pignerol. | Tivoli 20 fr. Rome, 16 fr. Fregcati. |
| Casal 30 from Turin. | Novara 30 fr. Milan, 10 fr. Verceil. | Todi 24 from Spoleto, 14 from Orvieto. |
| Civita Vecchia 30 from Rome. | Noli 10 from Savona. | Tolentino 10 from Macerata. |
| Comacchio 16 from Ravenna. | Oneglia 60 fr. Genoa, 40 fr. Final. | Tortona 46 from Milan. |
| Como 28 from Milan. | Orbitello 30 from Civita Vecchia. | Tuscanella 10 from Montefiascone. |
| Cortona 50 from Florence. | Orvieto 45 fr. Rome, 20 fr. Chiusi. | Trent 60 from Brescia, 60 from Mantua, 80 from Venice. |
| Crema 20 from Cremona. | Ostia 12 from Rome. | Treviso 15 from Venice. |
| Cremona 48 from Milan, 40 from Mantua. | Otricoli 8 from Narni. | Turin 84 from Genoa, 350 from Rome, 85 from Milan, 120 from Geneva, 250 from Venice. |
| Chiusi 36 from Sienna. | Padua 22 fr. Venice, 54 fr. Mantua. | Valenza 32 fr. Milan, 12 fr. Casal. |
| Fano 8 fr. Pesaro, 15 fr. Senegallia. | Palestrina 10 fr. Tivoli, 28 fr. Rome. | Udina 12 from Palma Nova. |
| Feltro 33 from Vicenza. | Parma 50 from Bologna, 60 from Genoa, 30 from Modena. | Vellitri 20 fr. Rome, 9 fr. Fregcati. |
| Final 40 from Genoa. | Pavia 20 fr. Milan, 35 fr. Placentia. | Venice 80 from Ferrara, 300 from Rome, 350 from Turin, 170 from Milan, 80 from Mantua, |
| Ferrara 30 from Bologna, 50 from Mantua, 45 from Padua. | Perusa Valley 4 from Pignerol. | Vercell 40 from Turin, 15 from Casal, 45 from Milan. |
| Florence 58 fr. Bologna, 140 fr. Rome. | Perugia 30 from Orvieto. | Verona 25 from Mantua, 50 from Padua. |
| Fondi 10 fr. Terracina, 10 fr. Gaeta. | Pesaro 10 from Fano, 20 from Rimini. | Verue 20 from Turin, 15 from Casal. |
| Fregcati 30 from Rome. | Pignerol 16 from Turin. | Vicenza 20 fr. Padua, 40 fr. Venice. |
| Fuligno 12 from Spoleto. | Piperno 35 fr. Rome, 10 fr. Terracina. | Vintimiglia 30 from Oneglia, 15 from Nice. |
| Fusina 5 fr. Venice, 20 fr. Padua. | Pisa 42 fr. Florence, 16 fr. Leghorn. | Viterbo 40 from Rome, 8 from Montefiascone. |
| Gaeta 50 from Naples, 5 from Mola, 65 from Rome. | Pilloia 20 from Florence. | Vogliera 16 from Pavia. |
| Garda 15 from Verona. | Placencia 20 from Cremona. | Volterra 30 from Sienna. |
| Genoa 84 from Milan, 30 from Savona, 84 from Turin, 46 from Final. | Radicofani 42 from Viterbo, 40 from Sienna. | Urbino 120 from Rome, 20 from Fano, 34 from Rimini. |
| Quassalla 8 from Sabionetta, 20 from Mantua. | Ravenna 50 from Ferrara. | Yvrea, or Ivrea, 25 from Turin, 25 from Verceil. |
| Itrou 6 from Fondi. | Reggio 15 fr. Modena, 15 fr. Parma. | |
| Ivrea 25 from Turin. | Rimini 70 from Bologna, 30 from Ravenna, 25 from Urbino. | |
| Leghorn 120 fr. Genoa, 16 fr. Pisa. | Rome 210 from Bologna, 30 from Civita Vecchia, 152 from Florence, 150 from Loretto, 140 from Naples, 300 from Venice. | |
| Loretto 150 fr. Rome, 15 fr. Ancona, 15 fr. Fermo, 150 fr. Bologna. | Ronciglione 25 from Rome, 17 from Montefiascone. | |

This alphabetical table will give the reader a general notion of the distances of the great towns in Italy from each other; and if he finds them differ two or three miles in twenty from other ac-

counts, he must not complain for want of exactness, for scarce any two travellers come nearer: Some measure the distances in a direct line on the map, while others take in all the turnings and windings, &c.





THE PRESENT STATE OF FRANCE.

CHAP. I.

Treats of the name, situation, extent and boundaries of this kingdom; and of the air, seas, rivers and mountains.

CHAP. I.
The name. **M**ODERN France contains a medley of nations, which in their turns have had the sovereignty of this country; as the Gauls, Romans, Franks, Goths, Burgundians, Normans, &c. but the Franks, a German people who inhabited the banks of the rivers Maine and Salii, (which province is at this day call'd Franconia) had the honour of communicating their name to this desirable country; and this name it hath retain'd ever since the fifth century. 'Tis true the learned generally agree that the name of Franken, or free people, was not appropriated to any one class or tribe of Germans, but to all those powers that confederated themselves against the Romans in defence of their liberties: it is not however improbable that the inhabitants of Franconia might first propose the entering into this alliance, and lay the foundation of it, which might occasion their country to be call'd by way of eminence Frankenland.

Situation and extent. The kingdom of France is bounded by the British channel and the Netherlands towards the north; by Germany, Switzerland, Savoy, and Italy on the east; by the Mediterranean and Spain on the south, and by the Atlantick or western ocean on the west; extending from the 42d to the 51st degree of north latitude, and taking up above eleven degrees of longitude, the most easterly part of Provence, lying seven degrees to the eastward of London, and the most westerly part of Bretagne, four degrees odd minutes to the westward of London. Were it not for the province of Bretagne, which stretches itself above an hundred miles farther into the ocean than any other part of the kingdom, the form would be almost square, and the breadth and length pretty near equal, viz. about five hundred and forty miles; but making allowances for hills and valleys, and the winding of the

roads, it must be above six hundred miles over either way in a traveller's account; and was exceeding populous till persecution, war, and famine lessen'd their numbers: scarce a country in Europe that is not croud'd with French servants, or French refugees; and their armies, which in the last war consisted of four or five hundred thousand men, could not but contribute to depopulate the kingdom: the famine which happened at the same time also in Paris only, swept away above an hundred thousand people, and more in proportion in the rest of the kingdom; so that if there was ever any colour for those high calculations of their numbers which some of their writers have made, computing the souls in France at nineteen millions and upwards; those who now estimate them at five or six millions, possibly come much nearer the truth.

The air. The air is temperate, equally exempted, say the French writers, from the extremities of heat and cold, and on that account France is preferable to Germany and the northern countries on one hand, as it is to Spain and Italy on the other; and this happy situation occasions a great plenty of all things desirable in life, as corn, wine, oil, flax, &c. But I propose to give an account of the soil and produce in the description of the respective provinces, and return to the temperature of the air, which the natives so much boast of. Certain it is, that the northern provinces of France, and even the neighbourhood of Paris, is much colder in winter than England; as we are surrounded by the sea, we are not so subject to continued frosts, nor are we so sensible of the cold, because we are much better supply'd with firing. The poor people in France often undergo much greater hardships in a severe season than they do in England, or more northern situations; I must confess, that clear settled weather, which we usually meet with on the

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CHAP. I. continent, both in winter and summer, is preferable to that perpetual change which islanders are subject to, provided there is no want of fuel: but the northern people in this respect seem to have the better of the French, whose bodies are not only better prepar'd to endure cold, but have furs to cloath them when they go abroad, and stoves to lie in at night, so that they are in no danger of perishing by the severity of the winter, as the common people in France sometimes are: and as the summers in France are hotter, this may probably be one reason they are more sensible of cold weather in winter than their northern neighbours are. But to conclude this head, every country has its conveniences and inconveniences, and whenever we hear a foreigner boasting of the clemency of the air, the beauty or fertility of his native place, we may safely conclude there are allays to be met with, which may possibly counterpoise the happiness he boasts of: and on the contrary, how cold and comfortable soever some places may be represented, the natives still find something to render their condition tolerable, and in their opinion perhaps preferable to their southern neighbours.

The seas. In one respect indeed we must allow, that France has the advantage of any kingdom of Europe, and that is in the seas which border upon it, which afford them an easy communication with the rest of the world; the British channel washes all its northern shores, the Atlantick ocean the western coasts, and the Mediterranean the south; no country therefore can be better situated for the advancement of trade and navigation, of which however they do not make the advantages they might, as will appear hereafter.

Rivers. It is also extremely well water'd with navigable rivers, of which the chief are the Loire, the Rhone, the Garonne, and the Seine. Of these the Loire is the largest; it rises in the mountains of the Se-vennes in Languedoc, and taking its course north and north-west, runs by Nevers to Orleans, and from thence directly west by Tours, Angers and Nantz in Bretagne, and falls into the ocean forty miles below Nantz, receiving in its course the Aller, the Cher, the Indre, the Vienne, the Sarte, the Mayenne, and several other rivers, and communicates with the Seine by the canals of Briare and Orleans; the whole course, with all its windings from the source to the sea, is computed to be about five hundred miles. 2. The Rhone, which rises in the mountain La Fourche in Switzerland, runs westward through the country called the Valais, dividing it into two parts; after which it passes thro' the lake of Geneva, and having visited that city, becomes navigable at Seissel, four or five leagues below Geneva, which it is not before, on account of the falls and cataracts that are met with in it: afterwards it flows on south-west to Lyons, where it joins the Soan, and then runs on due

south till it falls into the Mediterranean by three several channels, having received the Isere at Valence, and the Durance at Avignon, and pass'd by the city of Arles. 3. The Garonne, or Gironne, which rising in the Pyrenean mountains, takes its course first north-east to the city of Thoulouse, and afterwards north-west to Bourdeaux, and fifteen leagues below that city falls into the ocean near the tower of Corduan by two channels, having received in its course the Auriege, the Sare, the Tara, the Lot, the Dordonne, and several other lesser streams, and has a communication with the Mediterranean by the royal canal, the work of **LEWIS XIV.** 4. The Seine, which rises near Dijon in Burgundy, and runs to the north-west, visiting Troyes, Paris and Rouen in its way, and falls into the British channel near Havre de Grace: it begins to be navigable at Troyes, the capital of Champagne, and receives in its course the Yonne, the Loing, the Marne, the Oise, and the Eure, and several other less considerable streams. The highest mountains are the Alps, which separate France from Italy; the Pyrenees, which divide it from Spain; and the Cevennes, which run through the Lower Languedoc to Auvergne.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the persons and habits of the French, of their genius and temper, diet, exercises and diversions.

THERE being such a multitude of French families in London, and other parts of England, it may seem unnecessary to say any thing on the heads enumerated in the title of this chapter; many will be apt to say they are perfectly acquainted with the persons and manners of this people, and that I cannot give them a truer notion of the French than they have already, and this may be true in a great many instances: I shall however for the sake of those who have not had the opportunity of conversing so familiarly with them, attempt a character of the French according to the best of my judgment.

The French then as to their persons, are generally of a lower stature than their neighbours of Germany or Holland, and of a much slighter make, but nimble, active and well proportion'd; their hair and eyes are for the most part black, and their complexions brown; the northern people it must be own'd have an advantage of them in this respect, as well as in point of stature, their features also are small and not very engaging, at least to an English eye: I must confess however, that I have seen some tall personable men of good complexions, and several beautiful females amongst them; and there is no reason to suppose that those provinces of France which border upon Flanders and Germany, and intermarry with the natives of those countries, should



CHAP. should not equal them in these respects: nay, I am apt to think that the breed must be much mended on both sides, where a tall phlegmatick Dutchman happens to join issue with a little airy French lady. It is observable also, that those of the French who come over hither very young and remain long amongst us, have more florid complexions than those who have been bred up in France; and another observation I believe all that have been acquainted with this people must make is, that both men and women wear very ill, and that as they grow into years, their features appear very harsh and shocking.

Their habits.

As to their habits we may see them imitated by our gentry all over England, tho' it must not be thought that the same dress is ever in fashion at Paris at the same time it is at London, for by that time it has got over hither, the French are infallibly in a new mode; and if a gentleman should go over to France in clothes that were made here by the best French taylor in town, he would probably find himself under a necessity of making several alterations on his arrival there; and therefore an Italian painter, when he was directed to draw a Frenchman, drew him with a pair of shears and a piece of cloth, intimating, that he was ever cutting out something new; and of all the bubbles in Europe, no nation follows their foppery so closely as the English: the Italians, the Spaniards and the Dutch, who are their nearest neighbours, despise their levity, and do not alter the fashion of their clothes once in an age.

Their temper and genius.

As to the temper of the French, they are a merry sprightly generation, who seldom lay any thing to heart, familiar and acquainted at first sight, but excessively vain and talkative. If a native of France speaks of his country, he tells you in the phrase of one of their authors who now lies before me, that it is the most antient and illustrious kingdom in the world; that the fertility of the soil and clemency of the air is no where to be parallell'd; that their religion, laws and government are the best that ever were instituted, and their prince the greatest monarch in the universe; and that arts and sciences never arrived at such a pitch as in this glorious kingdom; even the Hugonots, who fled from thence on account of the persecution, will subscribe to every part of this description, unless it be the point of religion.

The vain-glory and obsequious flattery so natural to the French, is sufficiently evident from the inscriptions on some of their royal palaces and statues, which I shall have occasion hereafter to recite in the description of them, and shall here only give a specimen or two of them; and first on the Louvre we meet with an inscription which tells us, that their King, their nation, and that palace, are the three wonders of the world, and that God only excels their King, as heaven does this house.

Under the statue of LEWIS XIV. in the place of Victory is another modest inscription, viz. *Viro immortali*, to the immortal man: and there they tell us also that their grand monarch gives laws to the whole world, which never was truer perhaps than at this day. Nor is it only at court that flattery is predominant, but in imitation of their superiors the lowest class of men seem to reverence, and even adore those who are a degree above them, and by this fawning insinuating behaviour many of that nation have rais'd their fortunes amongst us, and been on a sudden metamorphos'd from lackeys into gentlemen; they have that wisdom where there is a prospect of advancement to suffer themselves tamely to be trod upon, and not only to put up all ill usage, but even to seem pleas'd and contented with it, and as they see the silly animals they serve delighted with the worship that's paid them, never fail to let them have their fill of it. But as this people are so exceeding humble while they are in a state of dependence, they are no less imperious when their fortunes happen to mend; they expect the same homage from their inferiors, which they were used to pay to those above them. To proceed in their character; they have a genius, says PUFFENDORF, fit to undertake any thing, whether it be in learning, trade, or manufactures, especially those things which depend more upon ingenuity and dexterity, than hard labour. Another author rightly observes, that they have generally quick and ready apprehensions, but too often run away with a superficial knowledge of things, not having patience to dive to the bottom of them: they are much commended by some for their hospitality to strangers, but I am really at a loss to discover wherein it consists, unless it be in formal compliments and ceremony, which they are ready enough to afford foreigners, or one another, but are not much given to make entertainments, or relieve the distress'd; our refugees scarce meet with so good entertainment there, as the French do here. They are more extravagant in their dress, than in eating and drinking: it has been observ'd in Flanders, that a French officer cover'd with gold lace shall dine upon a roll and a few raisins, or perhaps a dish of soup and herbs, when an English officer of the same rank shall spend three or four shillings at an ordinary; and this brings me to enquire into their diet. It is very certain, that the French do not eat that quantity of flesh that we do, nor do they often dress it in the same manner; soups, fricassées, ragouts and hashes, disguis'd with onions, herbs, and spices, are prefer'd before whole joints boil'd or roasted, and what they do boil or roast, has scarce a drop of gravy left in it; they chuse to hang up their meat also before it is dress'd, till it is so very tender, that an Englishman would think it fit for nothing but the dunghill, and were it not for the high seasoning and herbs they use with it, would scarce

CHAP. scarce be eatable : but if the French eat less
II. meat than we do, they are perfect devourers of
bread, of which they usually eat twice the quantity, and their bread is generally exceeding light and good.

They have also a great variety of wines which are their ordinary drink, and are suppos'd to contribute to that sprightliness and vivacity, so conspicuous in the French ; those people that use malt liquors, and eat great quantities of flesh, may well be suppos'd to be heavier and slower of apprehension, tho' they may be of a larger size and better fitted for laborious employments : cyder is pretty much drank in the northern provinces of France, which yield little or no wine ; and we are not to imagine that they commonly drink in the other parts of France, such good old generous wines as they transport abroad : no, they content themselves usually with those poor thin wines which will not keep, and are but a degree better than cyder, and send their best to market ; inasmuch that it is the opinion of many, that there is more good old wine drank in London, if we may take Portugal and Spanish wines into the account, than there is in Paris. It is within our memory that port bore an equal price with French wine here, nor was the ordinary French valued without a mixture of port, or some such strong wine ; it was the high duty laid upon it that contributed chiefly to that mighty esteem we have for it at this day ; the vanity also of being able to drink a wine that our neighbours pockets can't reach, may have had some share in the setting such an unreasonable value upon it. A native of France tells me, that they have several sorts of wine that will not bear the bringing over, and must be drank at such certain seasons, or they are good for nothing, a month sooner or later makes a great alteration in them ; but I shall have occasion to treat farther of their wines when I come to enquire into the produce of the country, I proceed now in the character of the people. It is observed that they allow their women all imaginable freedoms, and are seldom troubled with jealousy, a Frenchman will suffer you almost to court his wife before his face, and will even take it amiss if you do not admire her person ; and by the freedom the lady takes in company, it is difficult sometimes to distinguish which is the husband and which is the stranger ; nor are they much surpriz'd if you find them doing the offices of nature ; an English woman would sneak and put herself to great inconveniences, rather than a man should see her going towards the place where those things are usually done, whereas a French woman would not be out of countenance, or avoid you if she was actually about it ; and to say no more of them on this head, all that have had any conversation with them must allow, that they are not the cleanliest people in the world.

Their women.

Another observation made of the French is, CHAP
that they are a very litigious people, and ready to II.
commence a suit of law upon every trifle. Some
have carried it so far as to say, there are more law- A litigious
yers and law-suits in France, than in all the king- people.
doms of Europe, and these indeed find business for
the several parliaments of the kingdom, who are
the last resort in civil causes where the crown does
not think fit to interpose. Another instance of
their peevish querulous temper is, their being so
much addicted to duelling, which cost LEWIS Given to
XIV. more pains to break them of, than any one duelling.
transaction of his reign. This was really a noble
attempt, and reflects true glory on that monarch,
and is a thing that could never have been effected
but by a despotick prince, who would admit of no
evasions of his decrees. Whatever stated laws are
made may be eluded, but if this Prince or his judges
believ'd the party guilty but of designing or in-
tending a challenge, they were sure to be punish'd
with the loss of their lives and estates, and conse-
quently the entire ruin of their families : not that
I am an admirer of such arbitrary proceedings, but
am observing that it would have been exceeding
difficult to suppress this itch of duelling, in a go-
vernment where the judges were not vested with
such arbitrary powers. We see amongst our selves
that the pretence of a sudden quarrel, and the fact
being done in the heat of blood, renders all our
laws ineffectual against this species of murder : if a
formal settled malice is not prov'd beforehand, or
there be not some extraordinary aggravations of
the offence, the criminal ever escapes.

The French are commended much for their Esteem'd
ready obedience to their governors, and the un- good sub-
common veneration they pay their prince ; but jection.
very late histories will inform us it was not always
thus, rebellions and civil wars have been as frequent
in France as in any other country, while the peo-
ple had any thing left to contend with the crown
for ; but now as the king is entirely master of their
fortunes, and dispenses to them all temporal blef-
sings, no wonder that they adore him as a god ;
upon his frowns or smiles their happiness or misery
depends. They have the name of estates and pos-
sessions, but are really no more than tenants at
will, vassals and factors for him. Their lands are
tax'd at that rate, that they will scarce afford the
proprietor a subsistence who has not a place : and
'tis true, there is scarce a considerable family in the
kingdom that has not some preferment in the
church, the court, or the army, which are all in
a manner in the disposal of the crown, and con-
sequently the surest way to advance their fortunes
is, by expressing an unlimited devotion for their
Prince. In Russia they say, God and the Great
Duke knows every thing, and does every thing ;
and so it is in France, God and the Prince are
equally ador'd, as the subjects look upon them-
selves.



CHAP. II. selves to be equally in their power. What would all their struggling for their antient privileges avail them now, against such numerous armies of regular troops paid with their own money? They have neither forces or treasure to oppose against them; it is their wisdom therefore to make a virtue of necessity, and pretend to be contented with what they cannot remedy: nay, they do well to seem to be moved by a principle of love and affection for their Prince; because on his approbation depends their own and their families welfare.

It is observ'd of the nobility and gentry of France, that they never apply themselves to trade or merchandize, and that they lose their quality whenever they do; but if this was not the case, it is no wonder that they decline this way of making their fortunes, when there are so many other more suitable to their genius. A French gentleman seems naturally cut out for a courtier or an officer, and if he happens to be of a melancholy disposition, or a man of letters, here are always convents and numerous preferments to be met with in the church; and the court having given great encouragement the last hundred years to the liberal arts, France has produced many learned men in most arts and sciences: for tho' people may be inclin'd themselves to ingenious studies, they seldom make those advances as when they are morally sure their labours will be rewarded with honours and preferments.

Military virtues.

As to their military virtues, it must be acknowledged that the French have brought the art of war to great perfection; there are no people who attack or defend a place better than they do, or are better vers'd in fortification: their horse also, especially their gendarmerie, were deservedly esteem'd as good as any troops in Europe, till the battle at Hockstet, when they were miserably broke: by the continuance of a long war they had taught their enemies to equal them, if not surpass them. There is no wonder that the French had some advantage of us in the beginning of the war, their King having during a long reign made it his business to establish a good body of horse, and the nobility and gentry of France being fond of this service, and perpetually qualifying themselves for it; and it was to his superiority in cavalry, that his successes at the beginning of the war were principally owing. Their foot are also exceeding well disciplin'd, but unless they were assisted by Swiss or Bavarians, they were liable to be born down by the weight of the Dutch and German infantry, who are generally much larger bodies of men, for which reason they were seldom successful where they had not a superiority in point of number, after the confederates came to be equally disciplin'd: for to suppose that the courage of the French or the confederates gave them any advantage over their enemies is very idle; war is become a trade, and any people who have been seven years in constant service will be good

soldiers: if there be any advantages to be expected, it must be from the conduct of the general, or the weight and superiority of his troops; horses and men of a small size will never be a match for those of a larger bulk, and that side which hath the greatest weight and numbers, will infallibly carry their point, if there be not a very great disparity in the skill and conduct of the generals. It was indeed a prophane saying of LUXEMBURGH's, that give him a superiority of ten thousand men, and he would give providence leave to take the enemies side; but this we may say in regard to the courage of any people, that let the contrary party out-number them by ten thousand men in an hundred thousand, and they will run a great hazard of being defeated, let their natural or acquir'd courage be never so great.

As to their exercises, there are few French gentlemen that do not learn to dance, to fence, and ride the great horse; hunting also after their way is pretty much used, but we must not think they often ride a fox chase: when a French gentleman goes a hunting, he equips himself with a heavy pair of jack-boots, a huge war saddle, and a monstrous curb bridle, that you would think he was going to charge an enemy, rather than ride after a timorous hare or deer, but these gentlemen go rather to see the game kill'd than hunted; this is the business of the huntsmen, who only call their Lords to see the game destroy'd, which they have brought into the toils, or direct them to proper stations where they may take a view of the chase now and then. Their other diversions are much the same with ours, or rather we have introduced almost every French game amongst us, we follow them as closely here, as we do in the fashion of our clothes; nothing will go down with us that is not French, and therefore it is perfectly unnecessary to enlarge upon this head. I proceed in the next place to a description of the several provinces.

Their exercises and diversions.

CHAP. III.

Shews the several provinces, or general governments the kingdom of France is divided into, and treats particularly of the government of Paris.

FRANCE, when the three estates of the kingdom, the clergy, nobility and commons used to assemble in parliament, and give their consent to such laws as were enacted, was divided into twelve provinces, from whence they used to be summoned, viz. from Normandy, Picardy, the Isle of France, Champagne, Bretagne, Orleanois, Burgundy, Lyonois, Guienne, Languedoc, Dauphine and Provence: but these parliaments having been discontinued ever since 1614, there is now no foundation for this division. The kingdom is at present actually divided into thirty-six

General division of France.

pro-

CHAP. provinces, or general governments, which ordinarily go under the name of generalities, viz. 1. The general government of Paris. 2. Of the Isle of France. 3. Picardy. 4. Champagne. 5. Burgundy. 6. Dauphiné. 7. Provence. 8. Languedoc. 9. The government Du Foix. 10. Navarre and Bearne. 11. Guyenne and Gascony. 12. Saintonge and Angomois. 13. D'Aunis. 14. Poitou. 15. Bretagne. 16. Normandy. 17. Havre de Grace. 18. Du Maine and Perche. 19. Orleanois. 20. Nivernois. 21. Bourbonnois. 22. Lyonois. 23. D'Auvergne. 24. Du Limosin. 25. De la Marche. 26. The government of Berry. 27. Touraine. 28. Anjou. 29. Saumur. 30. Flanders. 31. Dunkirk. 32. Metz and Verdun. 33. Toul. 34. Alsace. 35. Franche Compté. And, 36. Roussillon. These I shall endeavour to describe in their order; but because the limits of the governments of Paris and the Isle of France are not exactly settled by any of their writers, I shall throw them both together.

The Isle of France, so named from its being encompassed with rivers, is bounded by Picardy on the north, by Champagne on the east, by la Beausse and Orleanois on the south, and by Normandy on the west, and is near fifty French leagues in length, and about as much in breadth, and is divided into the following districts, viz.

Subdivided. 1. The Isle of France proper, or the Parisis. 2. La Brie Francoise. 3. Le Hurepois. 4. The Beauvaisis. 5. The Valois. 6. The Soissonois. 7. The Laonnois. 8. The Noyonois. 9. The Vexin Francoise. 10. The Gatenois. 11. The Mantois; and 12. The county of Senlis. And the principal rivers are the Seine, the Marne, and the Oise.

The Isle of France properly so called, in which Paris stands, is not above fifteen French leagues in length, and nine in breadth; this district alone was anciently called France, and afterwards communicated its name to the whole monarchy; the most remarkable places in it are, 1. Paris. 2. The forest of Vincennes. 3. Montmorency. 4. Dammartin. 5. Charenton; and 6. St. Dennis.

Paris city, the name. The city of Paris was anciently called Lutetia, from its miry situation according to most writers, but this etymology some modern French authors seem very much ashamed of, they cannot conceive that the metropolis of this glorious kingdom should ever have so filthy an epithet belonging to it as dirty, the *dirty town*: they object, that it was called Lutetia before the time of the Romans, and that it is strange, the Gauls, who were unacquainted with their language, should give it a Roman name; but still they do not give any other account of the original of the name which is more satisfactory. However certain it is, that this town being the capital of a people, called Parisiens, at the time it was conquered by

the Romans, from them afterwards obtained the modern name of Paris, but took up no more ground then than the little islands enclosed by the branches of the Seine, which is scarce a twentieth part of the whole town at this day. But to proceed; modern Paris is of a circular form, encompassed with a wall, and divided by the river Seine, almost into two equal parts, being situated in 48 degrees 50 minutes north latitude, two degrees some odd minutes to the eastward of London, from which it is about two hundred miles distant, an hundred and twenty-eight to the southward of Calais, near six hundred north-east of Madrid, and as much to the westward of Vienna, and about seven hundred miles north-west of Rome.

Those who describe this city, usually divide it into three principal parts. 1. The town, which is the largest, situate on the north-side the river, containing the suburbs of St. Anthony, the temples St. Martin and St. Dennis, with the palaces of the Louvre, the Tuilleries, the royal palace, the place royal, the Bastile, and the arsenal. 2. The city, which is much the least, but the most antient, consisting of three little islands in the middle of the Seine, called the Palais, the isle of Notre Dame, and the Louviers, which have a communication with the rest of the town, and with each other by several bridges. And, 3. The university, which lies on the south-side of the river, and comprehends besides the colleges, the suburbs of St. Germain, St. Michael, St. James, St. Marcellus, and St. Victor: and these, as well as those on the other side the water, are denominated suburbs, not because they are without the present walls, but because they were all built since that part of the town which stands upon the little islands and the river, and is still called by way of eminence the city. I shall take an opportunity to observe farther, that all that part of the town, which stands on the north-side of the river, and to which the name of Town is appropriated, lies upon a perfect flat, and was heretofore a morass; the city also lies low, but that part which lies on the south-side of the river, and has obtained the name of the University, has several rising grounds and eminencies in it. The air of Paris is something gross, but generally esteemed healthful; the hills, which lie to the southward abound in pleasant springs, and the adjacent country is full of stone quarries, from whence they fetch their materials for building; and there are some pleasant groves on the banks of the Seine and Marne. The hills in the neighbouring country also afford excellent wine, as the plains to the southward do corn: all the country about Paris is watered with innumerable little streams, which fall into the Seine and Marne; and several of their springs are medicinal. Having thus given a pretty exact description

The form and situation

General description of the city.

The air and country about it.

CHAP. III. Description of the situation of Paris, I shall next proceed to give an account of the quarters it is at present divided into, and of the most celebrated palaces and publick buildings in them. About the year 1702, there passed an act of their council of state, for dividing the whole town into twenty several quarters or wards, as follows, viz. 1. The city, containing fifty-three streets. 2. St. James's of the shambles, containing fifty-five streets. 3. St. Oportune, thirty-four streets. 4. The Louvre quarter, comprehending St. Germain, l'Auxerrois, and containing twenty-five streets. 5. That of the palace-royal, or St. Honorius, containing forty-nine streets. 6. Mont Martre, containing forty-one streets. 7. St. Eustace, containing twenty-nine streets. 8. The halls, containing twenty-seven streets. 9. St. Dennis, containing fifty-five streets. 10. St. Martin's, containing fifty-four streets. 11. The Greve, containing thirty-eight streets. 12. St. Paul's, or the Mortellerie, containing twenty-seven streets. 13. St. Avoye, or the Verrerie, containing nineteen streets. 14. The temples, or Du Marais, containing fifty-two streets. 15. St. Antony's, containing sixty-eight streets. 16. The place Maubert, containing eighty-one streets. 17. St. Bennet's, containing sixty streets. 18. St. Andrew's, containing fifty-one streets. 19. The quarter of Luxemburg, containing sixty-two streets. And, 20. St. Germain de Prez, containing fifty-five streets.

CHAP. III. According to the author of the late description of Paris, written in French, the whole town is about two common French leagues in the diameter, and six in the circumference; but notwithstanding most of the French writers boast, that it takes up more ground than any town in Europe, and especially London, all foreigners who have viewed both, and some of their own authors, do agree, that it is not so large as London. And it is easily demonstrated, that it is not so populous from the bills of mortality of each city, those of London exceeding the other one third usually: and though it be objected, that we take in some of the adjacent villages about London into the weekly bills; it is certain, that these are not equivalent to the numbers which belong to the shipping, and are annually sent from London to the plantations, and other foreign countries who die abroad: and it being generally agreed, that London is one of the most healthful towns in the world, it cannot be supposed, that there die greater numbers in proportion here, than there do in Paris; therefore, when the French writers talk of their being eight or nine hundred thousand souls in Paris, they are certainly under a very great mistake, the bills of mortality in London seldom amount to more in one year than seven or eight and twenty thousand people of both sexes, and

supposing that one in thirty dies, which is the general estimate, as one in forty is for country places, and we multiply 28 by 30000, this makes but eight hundred and forty thousand. And as the bills at Paris are at least a third less, if we allow there are six hundred thousand souls in that city, we certainly over-do it: notwithstanding which, the French author above cited says, he can boldly affirm, that the city of Paris contains more inhabitants than any city in Europe, and that they amount to eight hundred thousand at least. Nay, before the late war, and the famine which happened in the year 1709, that they amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand more. He supports his assertion by another calculation, perhaps as wide as this; namely, the numbers of oxen, sheep, and other animals consumed annually in this city, telling us, that they do not kill less than seventy thousand oxen, seven hundred thousand sheep, &c. but this is a very uncertain way of computing, for an ox or sheep of one country, may be three times as large as those of another. We find here, that those of Lincolnshire far exceed the cattle of Wales and Scotland; and so no doubt they do the cattle in many of the provinces of France. He adds, that they use no less than twenty thousand coaches, and an hundred thousand horses; and yet gentlemen who have visited Paris, don't observe that there appear to be more there, than there are in London; and I believe every body, at first view, must admit, that this would be a very extravagant estimate even for London. He tells us farther, that there are twenty-four thousand houses in Paris, that they are generally seven or eight stories high, and filled from top to bottom, there being frequently several families in one house: now, if we allow, that there are one with another four families in every house, and six people in every family, that is, twenty-four in each house, which is a very large allowance, the number of inhabitants will not this way (multiplying 24000 by 24) amount to more than five hundred and seventy-six thousand men: but tho' some of the meaner tradesmens houses may be crowded with several families, it is to be observed, that the royal palaces, noblemens houses, colleges and monasteries, with the gardens belonging to them, take up a considerable part of Paris, and the inhabitants in these parts are but very thin. Can any one think, that when all the space between Temple-bar and Westminster was taken up with noblemens houses, gardens and monasteries, there were a fortieth part of the inhabitants there are now in the Strand, and the adjacent streets which have been built in the room of them? And this is the case at Paris at this day, there is scarce a French nobleman but has his hotel and gardens in that city, which take up an extent of ground equal to some streets; besides the royal palaces of the Louvre, and

CHAP. and others, which may be some miles in circum-
 III. ference ; so that put all things together, I believe
 it will be easily admitted, that Paris is neither so
 large or so populous as London is. I might ob-
 serve farther, the vast resort of ships to the port of
 London, which Paris wants, that must contribute
 to fill our streets and houses with people ; but
 whether London or Paris be the largest or the finest
 city, I must confess is not worth while to con-
 tend ; much less wou'd a writer render his vera-
 city suspected, by making untrue or extravagant
 calculations in favour of his native place : 'tis
 school-boy like, thus to be ever magnifying the
 town or society we happen to be of, and despising
 every thing that is foreign. By the encomiums
 the French are ever giving their country and their
 prince, they wou'd have us I presume applaud
 their happiness, and imagine, that some uncom-
 mon privileges are derived to them beyond the rest
 of mankind : but some will be apt to retort upon
 them ; if this be true, how come we to find so
 many of you in all the kingdoms of Europe, who
 voluntarily banish yourselves from this desirable
 place ? Those who are forced out of France on
 account of religion, are not so many as those who
 leave it out of pure necessity and want, and who
 are content to submit to a state of servitude in
 Spain, Italy, Germany, England and Holland, in
 popish as well as protestant countries, rather than
 remain in your own, which you have represented
 in such beautiful colours, suitable to the inscription
 on the Louvre ;

*Non orbis gentem, non urbem gens habet ullam,
 Urbisue domum, dominum nec domus ulla parem.*

The build-
 ings of Pa-
 ris.

The houses in Paris are generally built of hewn
 stone, five or six stories high, with sash windows ;
 there are abundance of spacious streets and squares
 in it, and the royal palaces and those of the nobi-
 lity are many of them exquisite pieces of architec-
 ture, much beyond any thing we can pretend to
 in or about London : but then they have no
 streets of tradesmen, which make an appearance
 comparable to those of Cornhill, Cheapside, Fleet-
 street, and the Strand, for near two miles toge-
 ther ; and tho' some of their Writers have been so
 vain to boast of the rich merchants that are found
 in Paris, I may modestly say, there are many more
 to be met with in London ; that our rich compa-
 nies and banks are not to be paralleled there.
 And lastly, which I am very sorry to observe,
 the taxes raised in London, tho' our government
 is not commonly thought arbitrary, I doubt ex-
 ceed those of Paris, if we reckon the customs, ex-
 cise, land-tax, &c. And I am informed, that Paris
 does not pay less than three millions sterling per an-
 num to the crown. But to be a little more par-
 ticular, the things which best deserve a travel-
 ler's attention at Paris, are, their palaces, their

churches and abbies, their university, academies, CHAP.
 libraries, hospitals, squares, statues, gates and III.
 bridges.

The royal palaces are four in number. 1. The
 old palace which gives name to the island on
 which that quarter of the town stands, which is
 called the city. 2. The Louvre. 3. The Tuil-
 leries. 4. The palace royal ; to which I shall add
 the palace of Luxemburg or Orleans, the Bastille,
 and the Hotel de Ville or town-house, tho' not
 properly royal palaces.

1. The palace situate at the east end of the
 island of that name, which was the constant re-
 sidence of the Kings of France, till the reign of
 LEWIS XII. who assigned it to the use of the par-
 liament and courts of justice ; it is a spacious old
 edifice, particularly the great hall, which is arched
 with stone, and supported with pillars, and serves
 like Westminster-hall for a kind of Exchange,
 where milliners, perfumers, booksellers, &c. keep
 their shops, as well as to accommodate the courts
 of justice. The great chamber of this palace is
 the place where the King holds his bed of justice,
 as 'tis call'd, and the Peers of France have their
 session : here also are the court of requests, the
 court of aids, &c.

2. The Louvre, said to have been antiently a
 hunting-seat of the Kings of France, standing then
 out of the town, and the wolf being their princi-
 pal game, from thence obtained the name of Lu-
 para, and afterwards by corruption that of Louvre,
 according to the French writers : it is situated in
 that part of Paris called the town, on the north-
 west bank of the river Seine, but was never finish'd
 according to the original design, consisting at pre-
 sent only of two piles of building three stories high,
 the first adorned with the Corinthian order, the
 second with the Composite, and the third with
 the Attick. LEWIS XIII. finished the west front,
 and built a large pavilion in form of a dome, in
 the middle over the gate, which is supported by
 two rows of large pillars of the Ionick order.
 LEWIS XIV. expended immense sums on the east
 front, in the middle whereof is the principal gate
 of the palace, being in length fourscore and seven
 toises and an half, or a hundred and seventy-five
 yards ; the beauty of the architecture, sculpture,
 incrustations of marble, paintings, and other rich
 ornaments, says an English gentleman who view'd
 it, are surprising, and had it been finished accord-
 ing to its first design, wou'd have been one of the
 most glorious palaces in the world ; but this it is
 never like to be, now Versailles is built, whither
 most of the fine statues and paintings which a-
 dorn'd the Louvre have been carried. The reader
 may form a tolerable idea of the east front of this
 celebrated palace, if he has ever seen the hospital
 of Bethlehem in London, which was built after
 the same model, tho' it falls much short of it in
 the

Palaces in
 Paris.

The old pa-
 lace.

The Louvre

CHAP. the value of the materials and ornaments, as well
 III. as in the situation, the Louvre standing on the
 banks of a fine river.

The Tuil-
 leries.

The Tuilleries is another fine palace, or as some will have it part of the Louvre, because it is join'd to it by a long gallery, which fronts the river Seine, and stands within that circuit of ground that was at first laid out for the Louvre. The front of the Tuilleries is an hundred and sixty-eight toises and an half in length, or twice so many yards, having four great square pavilions, with pillars of the Composite order, and a fifth pavilion covered with a dome in the middle, under which is the great hall and stair-case, which leads to the apartments. It was begun by CATHERINE de Medicis, and finished by LEWIS XIV. having on one side three fine courts, and on the other beautiful gardens, which, if compleated according to the first design, 'tis said, would fall little short of those of Versailles; and here it is the quality walk in fine evenings, as they do in the Mall at London. The terrace, which runs parallel to the river, is esteem'd one of the greatest ornaments to these gardens, being two hundred and eighty-six toises long, and fourteen broad, and planted with trees, from whence there is an admirable prospect both of the town, the river, and the adjacent country: the long gallery is also much admir'd, which runs from the Louvre to the Tuilleries, being two hundred and twenty-seven toises long, and four toises five feet broad, in which the painting and sculpture is admirable. Under this gallery is the royal printing-house, and the apartments of several ingenious artificers, employ'd and encourag'd by the crown, as engravers, painters, watch-makers, goldsmiths, cabinet-makers, &c.

The Palace
 Royal.

The Palace Royal stands not far from the Louvre, having been built by Cardinal RICHELIEU, and given by him to LEWIS XIII. in his life-time, on condition it shou'd never be alienated from the crown; it consists of several large piles of buildings, separated from each other by spacious courts, of which the two largest are in the middle, the outside makes no great shew, but is exceeding plain, tho' the apartments within are very noble. 'Tis said, the Cardinal avoided the making too great an appearance without, lest it should create him the envy of the nobility; and as it was, he thought it his wisest way to make a gift of it to the crown at last. What is most admired in this palace is a gallery, wherein most of the illustrious personages that France has produced, are drawn by the greatest hands. The gardens are small, but admirably well designed.

Luxemburg
 palace.

The palace of Orleans, generally call'd the palace of Luxemburg, from its being erected on the ruins of the Hotel de Luxemburg, is situated on an eminence in that part of the town called the

University, and was built by Queen MARY of Medicis, the dowager of HENRY IV. who laid the foundations of it about the year 1615, and having finish'd it in six years, left it by her last will to her second son JOHN GASTON, Duke of Orleans. This palace consists of one large court, at the end whereof is the principal building, having five pavilions or advanc'd works, two at each end, and one in the middle; in the last whereof is the stair-case and passage to the garden, and before it is a terrace the whole breadth of the court paved with marble. The outward building, by which we enter the court, consists of an open gallery or terrace, with a pavilion in the middle covered by a dome, adorn'd with pillars and statues, and at the end of each gallery on the right and left, is a large square pavilion which jetts out, and is advanced beyond the rest of the front: the court is terminated on the right and left with galleries and piazza's, both fronts of the principal building are adorned with double pilasters. The orders observed chiefly here, are the Tuscan and the Dorick with the Attick above them; and they have also added the Ionick to the pavilions, which renders them more lofty than the rest. But there is nothing more admired in this palace than the great gallery on the right, painted by the celebrated RUBENS; containing the history of MARY of Medicis, from her nativity to her death, in twenty large pieces, ten foot in height each, and placed between the windows.

The Bastille is an antique fortification, consisting of an ordinary wall and eight towers, encompassed with a ditch, and serves chiefly at present for the confinement of state prisoners; near it is the Arsenal, furnished with arms and old armour, not unlike the armoury in the Tower of London.

Their town-house or guild-hall makes no great appearance; it stands upon the Greve, a void space by the river-side, where the people assemble on festivals and rejoicing days; and here also criminals are executed.

The great church or cathedral of Notre Dame, is situated on a little island of the Seine, to which it communicates its name, and is joined to the larger island of La Palais and the rest of the town by several bridges. The church is a majestick old Gothick structure, sixty-five toises or fathoms long, and four and twenty broad, and its height seventeen toises or fathoms: it is supported by an hundred and twenty large pillars, and the front admired for its sculpture, on which are the statues of eight and twenty of their Kings; the last being that of PHILIP AUGUSTUS. Here are forty-five chapels built without, but opening into the body of the church, and two square towers in the front thirty-two toises in height, with galleries about them on the outside. But the greatest

CHAP. III. curiosity in this church is the high altar, begun by LEWIS XIII. and finished by LEWIS XIV. composed of the finest Egyptian marble: at the upper end of the choir where the altar stands, is an image of the virgin, in a sitting posture, at the foot of the cross, with a dead Christ upon her knees. On the right hand is the figure of LEWIS XIII. upon his knees, clothed in his royal robes, offering his crown and scepter to the virgin; and on the other LEWIS XIV. in the same posture. Six angels gilt, large as the life, carrying the several instruments of our Saviour's passion, are placed three on each side. The principal altar stands a little farther advanced in the middle of the sanctuary, an angel of a large size in the posture of adoration being placed without the rails at each end of it: the whole choir is beautified in an extraordinary manner, scarce inferior in the richness of the materials, the carving or workmanship, to any in Italy. The other churches and chapels in Paris, which make the best figure, belong generally to the abbies and convents, as the church belonging to the abbey of St. Genevive, that belonging to the antient abbey of St. Germain, and the church in the nunnery of Val de Grace, founded by Queen ANNE, upon the miraculous birth, as 'tis called, of LEWIS XIV. after she had been married two and twenty years without children. The cupola and high altar here are mightily admired, but nothing renders it more remarkable than the inscription over the portal, viz. *Jesu nascenti Virginique matri: To the infant JESUS, and to his virgin mother.*

The university.

Colleges.

The university, which gives name to that part of the town that is situated on the south-side the river Seine, the Parisians pretend is one of the most antient in Europe, and that it formerly consisted of an hundred colleges, tho' there are but fifty-four houses at present that bear that name, and of these not more than ten where exercises are performed; these are the colleges of, 1. Navarre. 2. Du Plessis, which prepares the students for the Sorbonne. 3. The college of Harcourt. 4. The college of Beavois. 5. The college of the Cardinal Moine. 6. The college De la March. 7. The college de Lisieux. 8. The college de Montagu. 9. The college de Grassins. And, 10. The college of the four nations. It is needless, says my French author, to name the rest, where no lectures are read: in this university are professed divinity, law, physick, and the liberal arts, comprehending humanity, languages and philosophy: the Sorbonne and the college of Navarre, are appropriated chiefly to divinity; the schools for law are in the college of Cambray, and in the street Beavais; and the physicians have a noble anatomical theatre in the street de Boucherie, and a hall where they read lectures. The Sorbonne, esteemed one of the finest colleges in Eu-

rope, not only on account of its buildings, but CHAP. III. the learned doctors who inhabit it, received its name from ROBERT de Sorbonne its founder, and made but a very mean appearance till Cardinal RICHLIEU rebuilt and beautified it; the church is a very elegant structure, having this inscription over the portal, viz. DEO OPT. MAX. ARMANDVS CARDINALIS DE RICHLIEV. It has a dome and four towers, and on the side of the court next the house, is a handsome portico ascended by sixteen steps, where we read another inscription, viz. *Armandus Joannes, Card. Dux de Richlieu, Sorbonæ Provisor, ædificavit domum & exaltavit templum sanctum Domino 1642.* The inside of the church is adorned with pilasters of the Corinthian order, between which are niches filled with statues of angels and apostles; the dome is finely painted, and the high altar adorned with six marble pillars of the Corinthian order; their bases and chapiters brass gilt, and on it a fine crucifix of white marble is placed, esteemed an admirable piece of workmanship. The tomb of the Cardinal is in the middle of the choir, on which he is represented in an almost cumbent posture, supported by religion, and the afflicted sciences weeping at his feet: the library is a handsome fabrick, extremely well furnished with manuscripts as well as printed books, having the Cardinal's picture at one end of the room, and his bust in brass at the other, the fathers and school-divines are regularly placed one after another, with their respective annotators under them; the college contains apartments for thirty-six doctors, those who are admitted amongst them before they have obtained their doctor's degree, are only said to be of the hospitality of Sorbon, and not of the society; such is the reputation of this college, that the whole university is sometimes denominated the Sorbon. After the students have attended publick lectures three years, they are qualified for the degree of batchelors, and wear lambskins and tippets two years; afterwards they are advanced to the degree of licentiates, when they are generally made opponents to those who come for their doctor's degree; transubstantiation, the trinity and incarnation, are frequently the topicks they dispute of; and in these debates my author observes, they take as much liberty almost as they wou'd in protestant countries. The university of Paris, according to their own writers, was founded about the latter end of the eleventh century, their first statutes were instituted anno 1215, by ROBERT CORCEON, legate of the holy see, in which there is no mention made of any other faculties, but arts, philosophy and divinity. INNOCENT III. introduced the canon law about the year 1216. And it appears by a bull of Pope GREGORY's, anno 1231, that there were physicians then members of this university: canon law only was read in the uni-

CHAP. III. university till the last century, when lectures were instituted for the civil law, and the common law of the nation, their schools being first founded for the liberal arts only. The head of the university, who is called rector, is always elected from that body, and never of the other faculties. He has the precedence in the university of all persons who are not princes of the blood; his habit of ceremony is a violet-colour'd gown with a mantle of ermins; he is elected every three months. The faculty of arts is distributed among the four nations. 1. The nation of France. 2. The nation of Picardy. 3. The nation of Normandy. And, 4. The German nation, which comprehends all foreign nations, as German, English, Irish, Italian, &c. The head of each nation is called the procurator, and is of the rector's council, without whom he transacts nothing of consequence. The usual titles given to the four nations are, *Honoranda Gallorum Natio* for France; *Fidelissima Picardorum Natio* for Picardy; *Veneranda Normanorum Natio* for that of Normandy; and *Constantissima Germanorum Natio* for that of Germany: the other three faculties also have their titles, as *Sacræ Theologiæ Facultas*, for that of divinity; *Consultissima Decretorum Facultas*, for law; and *Saluberrima Medicorum Facultas*, for that of physick. Before a person is admitted a graduate in the university of Paris, he ought to continue his studies five years, namely, two in philosophy, and three in divinity, law, or physick.

This university had formerly civil jurisdiction, and if any of its members had committed a crime, he was not answerable for it in other courts; but the case is far otherwise now, they have lost most of their privileges, and other colleges, academies and societies for improving arts and sciences, have been erected of late years by the royal licence and encouragement, in opposition as it were to the university, which have no dependance on it; to which the university made a strenuous opposition, but cou'd not prevent it.

The revenues of the university which arose from a grant of the letter-office were resumed by the government, and only a pension of forty thousand livres allow'd to the ten colleges where exercises were held, till the year 1619, when the duke of Orleans by letters patent raised it to an hundred and twenty thousand livres and upwards, which may amount to eleven thousand pounds per annum sterling. But I do not perceive the colleges are endowed with any estate in lands, but lie wholly at the mercy of the government; and whenever the court have extraordinary occasion for money again, probably the university will have their pension reduced. What contributes most to make arts flourish in this university at present, is that emulation that is between them and the other colleges and academies set up against

them, and an apprehension that they may one day be judged useless by the state, if they do not exert their talents. CHAP. III.

The colleges which have no dependance on the university are, 1. The college royal, founded by FRANCIS I. about the year 1531, for philosophy, eloquence, mathematicks, physick, the eastern languages, &c. situate near the college of Cambray. 2. The Jesuits college, on the front of which is written in capitals, *Collegium Ludovici Magni*; besides which, the Jesuits have another college or two, wherein they observe their own discipline; but the students cannot take their degrees, unless admitted of some college in the university. The college royal. Jesuits college.

Their academies are, 1. The academy Francoise, which was at first only a society of ingenious men, who met once a week at their respective lodgings for conversation, who being encouraged by Cardinal RICHELIEU, attempted the improving and polishing the French language, and in 1635 the academy was established by a royal edict; LEWIS XIV. appointed them an apartment in the Louvre, for holding their assemblies. Academies.

The royal academy of sciences was established by Mr. COLBERT, about the year 1666, and is composed of the most celebrated philosophers, mathematicians, &c. for whose use the King built the royal observatory in St. James's suburb, their institution being much of the same kind as that of the royal society in London.

There was also a royal academy established for painting and sculpture, by LEWIS XIII. and another for architecture, by LEWIS XIV. and the Gobelins was erected by royal authority, wherein all mechanick arts are exercised and improv'd, as the manufacture of tapestry, mosaick work, wrought plate, hard ware, or works of iron, steel, copper or brass, embroidery, &c.

The principal libraries in Paris are, 1. The royal library, containing according to the French account sixteen thousand volumes of valuable manuscripts in the Oriental, Greek, Latin, French, and other living and dead languages; and about eighty thousand printed volumes: and in the year 1720, it was ordered by an arret of the council of state, that the books, medals, and rarities which were in the king's cabinet at the castle of Versailles, should be convey'd to Paris to be kept in his majesty's library there; that no book or medal should be lent out on any pretence, but by the King's express order; but that all persons, as well foreigners as others, should be admitted to peruse the books, &c. and accommodated with conveniencies for their studies. Libraries.

The library of St. Victor, famous for its manuscripts, and a great number of excellent books, is open to the publick three days in a week.

CHAP. III. The library of Cardinal MAZARIN also has been publick ever since the year 1688.

The library of M. RIFONFONDS, advocate of the parliament of Paris, was left to the order of advocates, on condition it should be publick.

The library of the fathers of the christian doctrine near the gate St. Marnel, has been made publick since the year 1718.

There are several other excellent libraries, which are only open to the respective societies to which they belong, as the library of St. Martins in the Fields, the library of St. Genevive, that of the Sorbon, the Jesuits, &c.

Hospitals.

I come now to the hospitals of Paris, which are about thirty in number, some founded for poor old infirm persons, some for foundlings, or children whose unhappy parents know not how to provide for them, whether legitimate or not; others for orphans, mad people, blind, vagrants, and incurables: of which the four chief are those called, the Hospital General, the Hotel Dieu, the Hospital of Charity, and the Hotel Royal des Invalides. The Hospital General is a vast pile of building, containing six distinct houses, one whereof is for poor old women and girls: another for poor families and foundling children, the others for poor women sent hither to lie-in: beggars, vagrants, &c. in all the six, 'tis said, there are frequently ten thousand people who are made to work when they are well, and taken care of when they are sick: it was finished by Cardinal MAZARIN, anno 1657. The Hotel Dieu is the most antient hospital in Paris, and entertains all people who are brought thither, whether natives or foreigners; whereupon it is often too much crouded: the sick are attended here by the nuns of St. Austin's with great tenderness, and the danger and trouble of this office making it esteem'd meritorious here, the ladies of the first quality have sometimes undertaken it; the Dutchesse of Nemours being among these heroic ladies thus charitably employ'd, took the small pox and died of it: the number usually taken care of here amounts to about two thousand.

In the Hospital of Charity, the friars of St. John's perform the same offices as the nuns do in the former.

The Hotel Royal des Invalides, or the royal hospital for wounded and infirm soldiers, is much the most magnificent; it is compos'd of five handsome quadrangles built of hewn stone, of which the largest stands in the middle of the rest, the squares being surrounded with piazzas and galleries above them make a very splendid appearance. In the refectories where the soldiers eat, are all the famous battles and sieges painted which have been fought of late years; the apothecaries shop is extremely well contriv'd, and furnish'd with drugs, and the sick are attended by the sisters of St. Lazarus. Our countryman Dr. NORTHLEIGH is of opinion, that

Paris is the best school in the world for young physicians and surgeons, on account of the freedom allow'd to strangers to be present at their operations perform'd in all their hospitals, the advantage of their chymical lectures, physick-garden, and frequent practice of anatomy. There are usually entertain'd in the hospital of Invalides two hundred officers, and three thousand common soldiers; the officers lie two in a chamber, and the private men six or seven in a room, but every one has a bed to himself, and may follow what business he thinks fit: they eat in common, but every man has his portion of meat serv'd up to him, and they are permitted to go out and negotiate their affairs two days in a week.

The Jardin Royal, or physick-garden, in the suburb of St. Marcel, is well stor'd with all kinds of plants, and committed to the care of one of the King's physicians, being maintain'd at his Majesty's charge; and here botanick lectures are held during the best season for plants: it is something longer, but not broader than that of Oxford, there belongs to it also a good anatomy-school well provided with skeletons. In the King's laboratory every body is admitted to see the operations; and the medicines made here are bestow'd on the poor.

The Observatory already mention'd stands in St. James's suburb, and was built by LEWIS XIV. for astronomical observations; it is a vaulted fabrick without either wood or iron work, three stories high, and you descend from it into a cave with little alleys two hundred steps; from whence one may see quite thro' the top of the house to the sky: by this contrivance they propos'd to observe the motion of the stars in the day-time, but it does not answer expectation, no stars being seen from hence, for none they say pass through the Zenith of Paris; but this defect might have been foreseen by the learned, as my author observes, before they had given themselves the trouble of digging this subterraneous apartment.

As to the places or squares in Paris, some reckon up near fourscore, of which the principal are, Le Place de Louis le Grand, or of conquest, Le Place de Victoires, Le Place Royal, the Greve, the Place Dauphine, and the Place Maubert; the square call'd the Place of Lewis the Great, or des Conquêtes, is a large octogon, open towards the street of St. Honore, capable of containing ten thousand men, and surrounded with glorious buildings; but the greatest ornament is the fine equestrian statue of the late King LEWIS XIV. in the middle of it, twenty foot in height, and made of brass, said to be run at one cast; it stands on a marble pedestal fill'd with inscriptions, containing the great actions of this prince's reign.

The Place de Victoires is not of a great extent, but of an oval figure, and encompass'd with uniform magnificent buildings; in the middle of it is

CHAP. III.

Physick-garden.

The Observatory.

Places or squares.

CHAP. an admirable statue of the late King, brass gilt, III. and thirteen feet in height, dress'd in his robes, with a Victory standing behind him of the same size and metal crowning him, and under his feet is a three-headed Cerberus: the whole was cast at once, and weighs thirty thousand pounds and upwards, exceeding, say the French, any thing that ever was done of this kind, either by the Greeks or Romans; under the statue is that inscription already mention'd: *Viro immortalis*, to the immortal man. The pedestal is of white marble twenty foot high, having at the corners the figures of four slaves in brass, much larger than the life: the pedestal also is adorn'd with bas-reliefs and inscriptions, shewing the most memorable events of his reign. This proud monument was erected by the Duke de la Feuillade, to his master's glory in the year 1686. The tenour of the grand inscription is as follows, viz. *Ludovico Magno, Patri Exercituum & Duætori, semper Felici, domitis Hostibus, protectis Sociis, adjectis Imperio fortissimis populis, extructis ad Tutelam Finium firmissimis Arcibus. Oceano & Mediterraneo inter se junctis, prædari Vetitis toto mari piratis: Emendatis legibus. Deleta Calviniana Impietate; Compulsis ad Reverentiam Nominis Gentibus remotissimis, cunctisque summa providentia & virtute domi forisque compositis. — Franciscus Vicecomes Daubusson, Dux de la Feuillade, ex Franciæ paribus, & Tribunus Equitum unus, in Allobrogibus Prorex, & prætorianorum peditum Præfectus, ad memoriam posteritatis sempiternam P. D. C.* English'd thus; To LEWIS the great, the father, and always successful leader of his armies, having subdued his enemies, protected his allies, added mighty people to his empire; built impregnable citadels to defend his frontiers; joined the Ocean and Mediterranean; clear'd the sea of pirates, reform'd the laws, eradicated Calvinistical impiety, compell'd the remotest nations to revere his name, and settled all things at home and abroad by his great prudence and valour: FRANCIS Viscount Aubusson, Duke de la Feuillade, Peer of France, Colonel of horse, Viceroy of Savoy, and Captain of the royal guards, to perpetuate his memory to posterity, has erected, dedicated, and consecrated this statue.

The Place Royal.

The Place Royal is perfectly square, and one of the largest in Paris, about the same dimensions as Lincolns-inn-fields in London; it has a piazza on every side, and the buildings are magnificent and uniform; in the middle of it is an equestrian statue of LEWIS XIII. erected by Cardinal RICHLIEU, with several inscriptions, expressing the most remarkable events of his reign.

The Greve.

The Place of the Greve, I have observed already, lies by the river side, and is the place where the people assemble on rejoicing days, and here also offenders are executed for capital crimes.

The Place Maubert.

The Place Maubert serves for the holding one

of the greatest markets in Paris, on Wednesdays and Fridays weekly, and lies near the keys de Tournelle and St. Bernard. CHAP. III.

The gates. The principal gates are those of St. Denis, St. Martin, St. Antony and St. Bernard, which are not unlike that of Temple-Bar in London.

The port of St. Denis was the design of the Sieur BLONDEL, master of mathematicks to the late Dauphin; it is seventy two foot broad and of the same height, being built after the model of an antient triumphal arch; there are two little portals on the sides of the great one, the largest is twenty four foot in height, and on it are bas-reliefs, representing the French armies passing the Rhine, Waal, &c. with the following Inscription, viz.

Ludovico Magno quod Diebus vix sexaginta Rhenum Wahalim Mosam Isalam superavit, subegit Provincias tres, cepit Urbes munitas quadraginta, Emendator male memori Batavorum gente. Præfectus & Aediles P. CC. Anno Dom. M.DC.LXXII.

And indeed the rapidity of his conquests surpriz'd all Europe, the Dutch were unprovided of forces, and quarrelling about a Stadtholder; some of their towns wou'd not admit of the States troops to defend them, and others were probably corrupted with French money, insomuch that many of them surrender'd to the French King without giving him the trouble of sitting down before them. But this inscription ought to have inform'd us also, that when the Dutch were recover'd from their consternation, and their allies march'd to their assistance, this mighty conqueror left all his boasted acquisitions, and retreated with almost as much precipitation as he advanc'd, scarce retaining any one town he had made himself master of.

The gate of St. Martin was built in the year 1674, after the same model as that of St. Denis, resembling a triumphal arch, having three overtures, one great one, fifty foot in height, and as many in breadth in the middle, with a little portal on each side, and this inscription, *Ludovico Magno, Vespontione Sequanisque Bis Captis, Et Fractis Germanorum Hispanorum & Batavorum exercitibus. Præf. & Aedil. P. CC. Anno R. S. H. M.DC.LXXIV.* And on the other side the following inscription, viz. *Ludovico Magno quod Limburgo Capto impotentes Hostium minas ubique repressit. Præf. & Aedil. P. CC. Anno 1674.* The port of St. Martin.

The gates of St. Antony and St. Bernard, are also both of them built after the model of a triumphal Arch; that of St. Bernard's is adorn'd with bas-reliefs on one side, representing the King distributing the wealth brought into this city by navigation, with this inscription, *Ludovico Magno Abundantia parta, Præf. & Aedil. poni CC. Anno R. S. H. M.DC.LXXIV.* On the other side we see a god steering a ship under full sail, with the following inscription, *Ludovici Magni Providentiæ, Præf. & Aedil. poni CC. Anno R. S. H. M.DC.LXXIV.* And

The gates of St. Antony and St. Bernard.

CHAP. III. And in fact most of the principal gates are so many triumphal arches, design'd to eternize the memory of LEWIS XIV. the vainest King of the vainest people upon earth. But I must not here forget the great and little Chatelet, which were the gates of Paris when the city was confin'd to the island of the palace surrounded by the branches of the Seine.

The great Chatelet.

The great Chatelet, or gate of Paris, according to tradition, was built by CÆSAR, of which there remains now no more than some antique towers, all the rest having been built since the year 1684; here the courts of justice are held for the provostship and viscounty of Paris, and it serves for a prison for criminals.

The little Chatelet.

The little Chatelet also is an antique fortress and a prison for criminals, and generally pretty well stock'd with them; and having a large overture in the middle, serv'd for a gate to the city.

Bridges.

As Paris is divided by the Seine into three parts, there are not less than ten or twelve bridges over the several branches of it, of which the three principal are the Pont Royal, the Pont Notre Dame, and the Pont Neuf.

The Pont Royal.

The Pont Royal is a plain stone bridge of five arches, built cross the united stream of the Seine, over-against the Tuilleries, about the year 1685, in the room of a wooden bridge which was broken by the floods. LEWIS XIV. to perpetuate his name, lodg'd in the stone-work of this bridge several cedar boxes adorn'd with the arms of France, in which he inclos'd twelve copper medals, twelve of gold, and twelve of silver, one of which had for its motto, *Germania Servata*; another *Iussit Quiescere*; a third, *Rheno Batavisque una Superatis*; and on a fourth, JUPITER is represented with this motto, *Vibrata in Superbos Fulmina*; and underneath, *Genna emendata*. This bridge is seventy-two fathoms long, and eight fathoms four feet broad.

Pont Notre Dame.

The Pont Notre Dame, or Our Lady's Bridge, so called from its lying over that part of the Seine which runs between the island of Notre Dame and the south part of the town, is also built of stone, and hath houses on each side as London-Bridge, but is much shorter; it was built by LEWIS XII. about the year 1507, in the room of a wooden bridge which was carried away by the stream.

Pont Neuf.

The Pont Neuf, or New Bridge, is a handsome piece of architecture, and lies over both branches of the Seine, and the west end of the island of la Palais: it is an hundred and seventy fathoms long and twelve broad, rais'd on each side for foot people to walk on, in which respect it is more commodious than London-Bridge, but is not near so large and substantial, nor indeed is there any occasion it should, the water not running with that force it does at London, and there being no manner of tide here. This bridge was begun by HENRY III. anno 1578, and finish'd by HENRY

IV. in 1604. On it is an equestrian statue of this last CHAP. prince, much larger than the life, set upon a pedestal of white marble, with four slaves at the four IV. corners, and the inscriptions and bas-reliefs shew the most memorable transactions of his reign. And thus I have given such an account of the palaces and publick buildings of Paris, as is consistent with the work I am upon.

I shall only add what the late author of the description of Paris says of this city in general, namely, that there are in it twenty two thousand houses, many of which are seven stories high, fifty two parishes, an hundred and thirty four monasteries, of which fifty six are for fryars and seventy eight for nuns, and nine hundred seventy nine streets; more than fourteen thousand coaches, and seven or eight hundred thousand persons, in which he is more modest than many of his country-men. The conventual and parochial churches and chapels amount to two hundred and upwards.

A general account of Paris.

Paris was a bishoprick suffragan to the archbishop of Sens, till Pope GREGORY XI. erected it into an archbishoprick, at the request of LEWIS XIII. anno 1622. the suffragans whereof are Chartres, Meaux, Orleans and Blois; and in the year 1674 the archbishops of Paris were made perpetual dukes and peers of France by LEWIS XIV. This archbishop exercises a civil as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the lands belonging to his see: his revenue is computed at an hundred thousand livres per annum, which amounts to between nine and ten thousand pounds a year English money. As to the ecclesiastical government of Paris and the rest of the kingdom, I reserve a chapter particularly for it.

Paris an archbishoprick.

The civil government of Paris is distributed amongst several courts of justice, of which the highest is the parliament, that extends over several of the neighbouring provinces, and is the last resort in all causes where the court does not interpose, as will appear in the chapter set apart for treating of the civil government of France. The parliament of Paris consists at this day of the chief president, nine presidents a mortier, one and twenty presidents by commission, two hundred and fourteen counsellors, with the necessary officers, as attorney and solicitor general, register, &c. and is divided into nine chambers or houses that have their respective branches of business assign'd them, on which I shall enlarge hereafter in treating of the civil government of the kingdom in general. The other courts in Paris are the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, the court des monoyes, which regards the coinage, weights and measures, the court of the treasury, the court of the waters and forests, the court of the constable and marshals, the court of admiralty, the Chatelet, or the ordinary court of justice for the civil government of the city, of which the provost or mayor, with the four eschevins or

The civil government of Paris.

CHAP. III. or aldermen, and twenty six counsellors are judges: the court of the Hotel de Ville, or Guild-Hall, which takes an account of the city rents, and of the taxes on all provisions brought into Paris; and the court of the consuls, which takes cognizance of all things relating to commerce; in which courts the provost (by himself or his lieutenant) presides, who is nominated by the King.

The military government.

And there is a military, as well as a civil government in Paris, which in this and in every other province is independent if not superiour to the civil power: the courts above-mention'd are suffer'd to go on without interruption where the crown is not concern'd, and while they obey the dictates of the ministry; but shou'd they presume to dispute the King's pleasure, they wou'd soon be made sensible of their error by a military force; Paris being in reality subject to a lieutenant general. The captains of the castles or palaces of the Louvre and Tuilleries receive orders also immediately from the King; and the governours of the Bastile and the Hotel des Invalides are accountable only to his majesty.

The manufactures of Paris, and her trade with the neighbouring provinces, are very considerable, beyond estimation say the French.

Trade of Paris.

Their principal manufactures are gold and silver stuffs, wrought silks, velvet, gold and silver lace, ribbands, tapestry, linnen and glass; not to mention their wines and other provisions consum'd there; and there are two great fairs annually held here, viz. one in the suburb of St. Germain, which begins on the 3d of February and lasts a fortnight, and till passion week by the royal licence; and the other at St. Laurence's, which begins on the festival of that saint, and ends the seventh of September. There are in this city six principal bodies or companies of tradesmen, out of which the consuls who have the regulation of trade are chosen, viz. the drapers, the grocers and apothecaries, the mercers and jewellers, the skinners, the hatters, and the goldsmiths: besides which, there are the booksellers, the vintners and wine-merchants, the wool-merchants and timber-merchants, who have equal privileges, and are in a capacity of being elected consuls.

CHAP. IV.

Contains an account of the principal places in the isle of France.

Places in the neighbourhood of Paris.
Vincennes.

THE most considerable places in the isle of France proper, or the Paris isle, are, 1. Vincennes on the east-side of Paris, remarkable chiefly for its park or forest, as 'tis call'd, where the citizens go to take the air; in it is an antique castle or palace, in which some of their Princes formerly resided, and was repair'd and beautified by the

late King LEWIS XIV. 2. St. Denis situate near the Seine, in a fine plain about four miles to the northward of Paris, said to have receiv'd its name from St. DENIS the Areopagite, who first planted religion in this kingdom, and is suppos'd by some to have been the first bishop of Paris: but I find the generality of their writers agree, that St. DENIS the Areopagite never was at Paris, and that the christian religion was not planted in France till the third century, when another St. DENIS preach'd the gospel here, and was constituted the first bishop of this city. But however that be, there is a magnificent abby at St. Denis founded by DAGO-BERT I. about the year 636, in the place where one of the saints of this name was buried, who is generally accounted the patron of France, and in it are several magnificent tombs and monuments of the Kings and Princes of the blood royal of France, of which the chief are those of FRANCIS I. and LEWIS XI. Here also is a tomb erected to the memory of the celebrated Marshal TURENNE, by LEWIS XIV. in an elegant marble chapel built for that purpose: the great altar of this abby is plated with silver, and has a cross of massy gold over it seven foot high, set with pearls and diamonds: the abbot kept the Regalia used at the coronation of the King, and was vested with great privileges; but I find that in the year 1692, the title of Abbot of St. Denis was suppress'd, and his revenue given to the nuns of St. Cyr, by a bull of Pope INNOCENT XII. 3. Montmorency, a little town situate on a hill twelve miles north-west of Paris, which gives name to a pleasant valley about it, beautified with the country seats of the nobility and gentry, and gave a title to one of the most ancient families in the kingdom: it was erected into a dutchy and peerage by HENRY II. anno 1551, in honour of — de Montmorency constable of France, who being put to death by LEWIS XIII. he conferr'd that honour on HENRY de Bourbon Prince of Conde, with the title of Enguien instead of Montmorency, and it belongs at present to his highness the Duke of Bourbon. 4. Dammartin is an antient town and castle, twenty miles north-east of Paris, formerly the capital of a county. 5. Charenton-le-Pont, situate a little above Paris, at the conflux of the Seine and Marne, remarkable chiefly for a fine church, which the Hugonots had here before the repeal of the edict of Nants, in the year 1685. Hither the Protestants of Paris us'd to resort to divine service, and as they generally went by water, wou'd in the view and hearing of their enemies set a psalm or hymn, and sing all the way up the river, whereby they highly provok'd the Roman catholicks; and this is thought to be one occasion of drawing the resentment of the government upon them; for I find their conduct in this particular very much censur'd even by their friends. The protestant church was demolish'd on reversing the

CHAP. IV.
St. Denis.

Montmorency.

Dammartin.

Charenton.

the

CHAP. IV. the said edict, and a nunnery erected in the same place in the year 1703. Had that church been a heathen temple, the catholicks would have made no scruple, of converting it into a christian oratory; but such was their hatred and detestation of the Calvinists, that no new consecration could be suppos'd sufficient to purify a place defil'd by this sect. Thus we find it frequently happens among sects of the same religion, who have usually a greater aversion for each other, than for those of a different faith, which probably proceeds from the daily insults and provocations they give and receive.

District of
Brie Francoise.
Lagny.

In the district call'd the Brie Francoise the chief places are, 1. Lagny. 2. Brie Count Robert.

Brie Count
Robert.

1. Lagny, the capital of the Brie Francoise, is situated on the Marne five or six leagues above Paris; it is a little town, and scarce remarkable for any thing but a convent of Benedictines, founded by St. FURSI a North-Briton. 2. Brie Count Robert, a little town six leagues south-east of Paris, considerable only for its market, and a convent.

Hurepois
district.

In the district of Hurepois the chief places are, 1. Melun. 2. Dourdan. 3. Monthery. 4. Chartres. 5. Corbeil.

Melun.

Melun, *Melodunum*, is situated on the river Seine, ten leagues to the southward of Paris, a large antient town, the form and situation whereof exactly resemble that capital, the river Seine forming an island in the middle, and dividing it into three parts, which have a communication by bridges: here are the ruins of an antient temple dedicated to the goddess Isis, several handsome churches, an abby dedicated to St. PETER, and other religious houses. It has a good trade in corn, flower, wine and cheese, which they send to Paris by the river Seine.

Dourdan.

Dourdan stands about thirteen leagues south-west of Paris, it is a little town, considerable chiefly for its manufacture of silk stockings.

Corbeil.

Corbeil is a pleasant little town, situated at the conflux of the Seine and the Juynes, seven leagues to the southward of Paris, and was antiently, according to tradition, a Roman colony; the principal trade of the place is in hides and tann'd leather. The rest of the towns in this district, do not require a particular description.

The Gate-
nois.

In the district of Gatenois the chief places are, 1. Nemours. 2. Courtenay. 3. Fontainebleau. 4. Moret.

Nemours.

Nemours, *Nemofium*, situate between two little hills on the river Loing, eighteen leagues to the southward of Paris, from whence the noble family of Nemours took their title, but not considerable on any other account.

Courtenai.

Courtenai is a little town, situated on the river Clairy, between Montargis and Sens, about five leagues from either, and gave name to several French princes celebrated in the histories of Con-

stantinople, of which they were some time sovereigns.

CHAP
IV.

Fontainebleau is situated in the middle of a forest, fourteen leagues south-east of Paris, and is considerable chiefly for the royal castle or palace there, from whence it received its name, the palace being so denominated from a noble fountain in one of the courts: this palace has long been a hunting-seat of the Kings of France; and tho' it contains some magnificent piles of building, is a very irregular piece, having been built at several times, without any order or symmetry, containing as 'tis said nine hundred rooms. There are some fine paintings in the galleries, and the gardens are adorn'd with statues, fountains, fine walks, canals, grotto's, and every thing that can render a place pleasant in the summer. The forest of Fontainebleau was antiently called the forest of Bierre, and contains six and twenty thousand acres and upwards; it is of a round form, the palace standing in the center.

Fontain-
bleau.

In the district of Mantois the chief places are, 1. Mante. 2. Montfort. 3. St. Germain en Laye. 4. Versailles. 5. Trianon. 6. Marly. 7. Meudon. 8. St. Cloud. 9. Madrid. 10. Anet. 11. Poissy. 12. Dreux.

The Man-
tois.

Mante, *Medunta*, is situated on the Seine, twelve leagues north-west of Paris, remarkable for a handsome stone bridge over the Seine of thirty-nine arches, and a convent of Celestins, which hath a little hill within its bounds that produces the best wine in France. The river Seine forms abundance of little islands hereabouts.

Mante city.

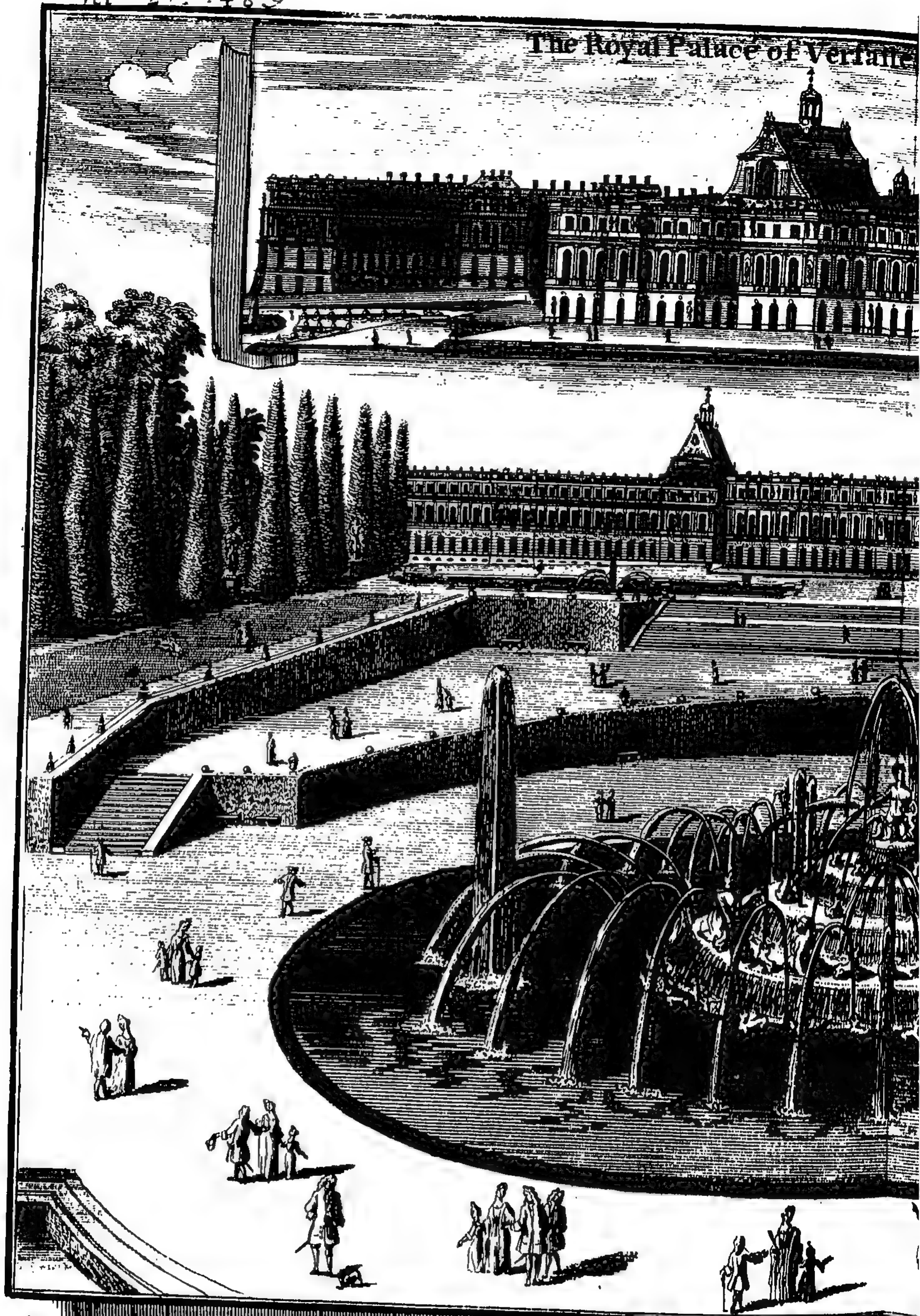
Montfort is a little town situate on an eminence, at the foot whereof there runs a rivulet, ten leagues from Paris, and has the additional name of D'Amauri, from several lords of that name who have possess'd it. The trade of this place consists in corn, wine, cyder, fruit and wood, of which the last is the most considerable, bearing a great price at Paris.

Montfort.

St. Germain en Laye stands four leagues to the westward of Paris, and one from Versailles; it is most remarkable for the royal castle or palace there, situate on a hill near the Seine, begun by CHARLES V. and enlarged and beautified by succeeding Princes, but by none more than by LEWIS XIV. who seems to have had the best taste for building of any Prince of the last age: he added particularly the terrace of above three thousand paces in length, the grand parterre, and the valley garden, as 'tis call'd, and cut most of the ridings thro' the neighbouring forest. The water-works here are very fine; in one of the grotto's is a virgin playing on the organs, and her eyes so artfully mov'd, that she seems to be alive: in others, artificial birds singing and chirping; and in another, the representation of ORPHEUS playing on a lute and keeping time, while the beasts, birds, woods and rocks seem

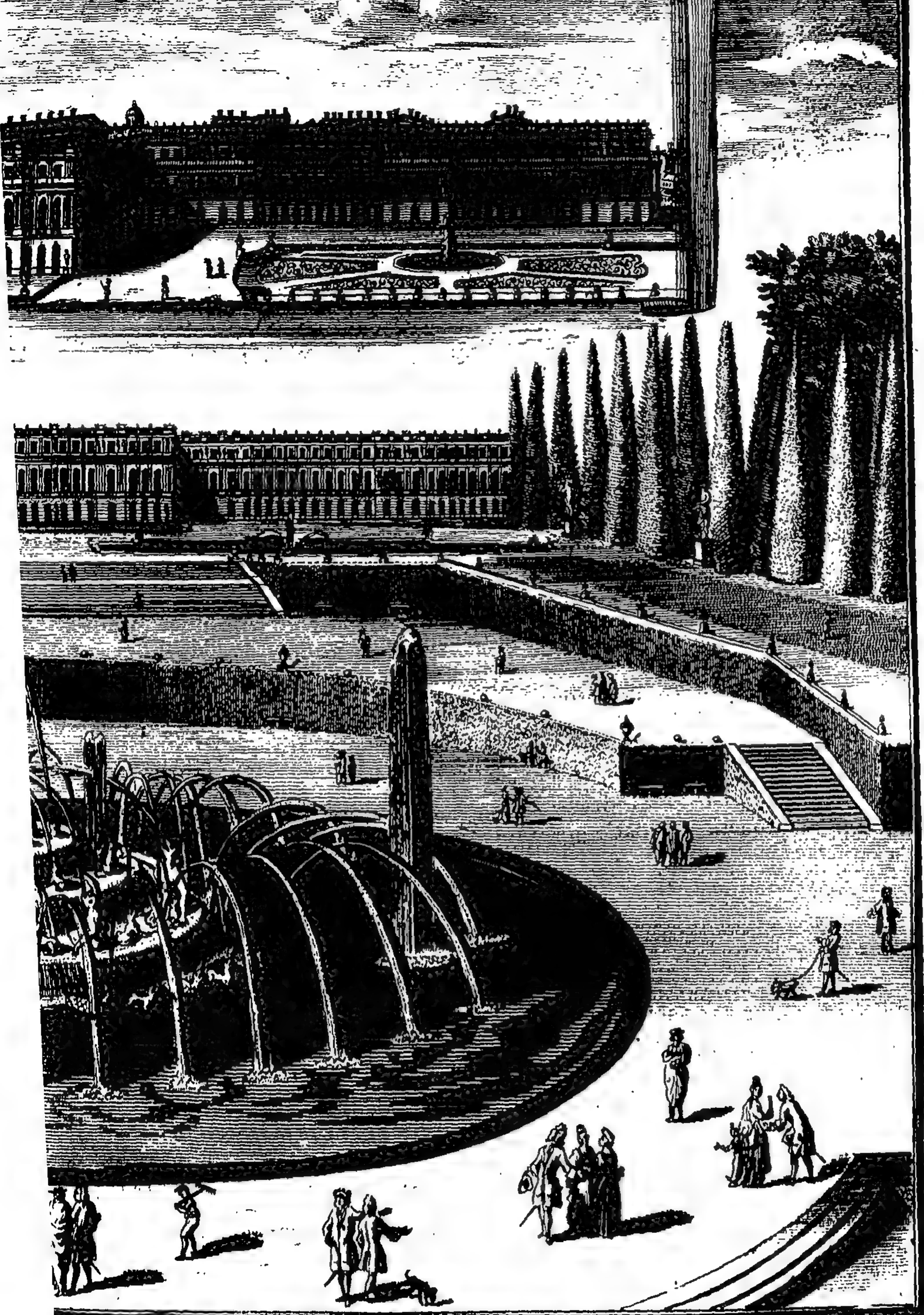
St. Ger-
main en
Laye

The Royal Palace of Versailles



The FOUNTAIN of LATONA. It is a large Circular Basin in the middle of which making complaints to Jupiter of the barbarity of the Peasants of Lycia surrounded by those Clowns who for their punishment are Metamorphos'd with fall upon Latona. The Figures are the work of Marsi & are of w. w. the Water flows in Sheets, & 2 Streams of Water a

Fronting the Gardens



is Latona & her 2 Children Apollo & Diana: She is represented
 who had hindered her from gathering Refreshments. She is
 hised into Frogs, they cast forth 74 Spouts of Water, some of
 hite Marble & the Steps w^h support them green Marble over
 the sides of the Basin rise 30 foot high.

CHAP. seem to follow him, with several representations of
IV. the like nature, all put in motion by water. This
palace is built in the form of a castle, and surrounded with a dry ditch, a magnificent stone gallery runs round the middle of the whole structure, which is of an oval figure, and the roof is cover'd with thin flat free stone instead of tiles. The prospect from this castle is admirable, especially towards the river and the plains, having Paris, St. Denis and Marli within view of it. It stands in a healthful air, and the neighbouring forest contains five thousand acres and upwards, and is cut thro' with an infinite number of large ridings, well replenish'd with wild beasts and game, which makes it a most agreeable situation for hunting. Here the late King of England, JAMES II. resided with his court during his exile, being hospitably entertain'd by his old allie, LEWIS XIV, till his death, which happened in the year 1701. His corps was afterwards interr'd in the convent of the English Benedictines in Paris.

Versailles.

Versailles is situated about eleven English miles to the westward of Paris, on an eminence in the middle of the valley, encompass'd with little hills at an agreeable distance. Before the reign of LEWIS XIV. neither the town or palace had any thing extraordinary to recommend them, unless their being situated in a country fit for hunting, which occasion'd LEWIS the Thirteenth's building a hunting seat here in form of a castle. There are now three noble avenues to the palace leading from so many several towns, consisting each of three beautiful walks of trees, which terminate on a kind of parade, being a large void space at a proper distance from the buildings. The middle walk of the grand avenue is fifty yards wide, and each of those on the side of it twenty, the town of Versailles stands on the right and left of it; that on the left is the old town, which the King hath enlarged and beautified; and that on the right is perfectly new, consisting of elegant uniform buildings, erected on purpose to grace the royal palace. At the upper end of the grand avenue, on the right and left, are the stables in form of a crescent, so magnificently built and adorn'd, that few royal houses excel them, in which the King has five hundred horses, the finest that the world can furnish him with for the coach or saddle. From the parade we pass into the first court thro' an iron pallisade set upon a low wall; this court is flank'd with four large pavilions, where are the apartments of the secretaries of state, comptroller-general of the finances, and other persons of distinction: from hence we ascend by three steps thro' another iron gate adorn'd with trophies into the second court, which is separated from the first by an iron pallisade also, and is something less than the former, there being a noble fountain in the middle of it, and magnificent buildings on each wing. From the second

court we pass into a third still less than the former, pav'd with black and white marble, to which we ascend by five steps; this court has a marble basin and fountain in the middle, adorn'd with statues, copper gilt, and is terminated by a noble pile of building, which with the wings constitute the royal apartments. In the front of the palace is a glorious portico with three iron doors richly gilt and wrought, which gives an entrance into the hall and salons adorn'd with marble pillars, statues and paintings done by the greatest hands. The principal stair-case is above ten yards wide, and consists of the finest marble that could be procur'd, and is beautified with admirable sculptures and paintings. The grand apartment consists of a long succession of large lofty rooms exquisitely furnish'd, where the very bedsteads and tables are of massy silver, or more valuable materials. The cabinet of rarities is of an octogonal figure, and receives its light from the vaulted roof, being in the form of a dome or cupola. Here are an infinite number of curiosities in agate, crystal, jewels, and precious stones, medals, coins, and other antiquities, with several admirable paintings. The gallery, esteem'd the finest in Europe, is seventy-two yards long and fourteen broad, having seventy windows towards the gardens, from whence there is a most delightful prospect: between the windows are pannels of looking-glass and marble pilasters, with a great variety of busts and statues, antient and modern; the painted ceiling contains the battles, and other memorable occurrences of the late King's reign.

The finest front is next the gardens, on which side there is a magnificent portico, supported by marble pillars, and floor'd with marble an hundred yards in length: and the gardens themselves are not to be parallel'd; all the beautiful models that Italy or the world affords, were consider'd in order to render them the most perfect of any thing of that kind, the water-works especially are inimitable: here marble and copper statues spout up water in different forms, which fall into basins of excellent workmanship; the fountain of the pyramid, the cascades, the water alley, the water parterre, the triumphal arch, the pavilion fountain, the water bower, the theatre and APOLLO's basin, require a more artful hand to describe them, and perhaps nothing but an actual view can furnish us with an adequate idea of their various beauties. The groves, grotto's, labyrinth and orangery also are exquisitely contriv'd. The great canal is sixteen hundred yards long and sixty-four broad, on which there are several yachts and galleys, in which the court sometimes divert themselves. Towards the middle of the grand canal is another which crosses it; at one end whereof is the menagery, well stock'd with all manner of wild beasts, and other exotick animals; and at the other end is the beautiful

CHAP. tiful little palace of Trianon. The water which
IV. supplies these gardens is brought from the Seine,
 which is a league and a half distant from Versailles,
 being carried to an aqueduct of thirty-six arches,
 which stands on the top of a hill, by a prodigious
 machine, which costs the King five and twenty
 thousand pounds sterling per annum to keep in re-
 pair; from this reservoir the water is convey'd by
 large iron pipes to the fountains and canals, in the
 gardens of Versailles and Marli. The fountains do
 not play but upon some extraordinary occasions,
 and when they do, it is no small expence: it is a
 common observation, that if the King had chosen
 a proper situation where there was plenty of water,
 these works wou'd not have cost him a tenth part
 of the money they did; but it was to shew his
 grandeur, or rather his vanity, that he made choice
 of a place which had no water near it, to erect the
 finest water-works in the world, and which no-
 thing but a boundless treasure cou'd have effected.
 And thus it was, this Prince by the most extrava-
 gant expences at home, and unnecessary wars a-
 broad, propos'd to eternize his memory, and ac-
 quire a reputation equal to any of the antient Greeks
 or Romans. But posterity ought to know, that to
 effect all this, he beggar'd his subjects, and depop-
 ulated his country; that he brought his people low
 by excessive taxes, and then enslav'd them; that
 the nobility and gentry were forc'd to depend on
 the court for their bread, and that many of them,
 because the King's duties exceeded the profits of
 their lands, chose to let them lie uncultivated.
 And this is too frequently the case, where a peo-
 ple happen to be govern'd by heroes, or glorious
 monarchs, as the world are pleas'd to call the great
 oppressors of mankind.

Trianon.

The palace of Trianon already mention'd, is of
 an oval figure, the architecture and ornaments
 not inferiour to Versailles, only the building is
 much less; both the outside and inside are adorn'd
 with the finest porcelane or china, even the floors
 are laid with it, and the sides of the rooms lined
 with china instead of wainscot, but this is rather
 look'd upon as a summer-house to the gardens of
 Versailles, than a distinct palace.

Marli.

Marli is another palace built by LEWIS XIV.
 between Versailles and St. Germain, containing
 one large pavilion and twelve little ones, six on
 each side. The situation is lofty and extremely
 pleasant, but the buildings are not comparable to
 those of the palace last mentioned. The water-
 works are very beautiful, being supply'd from the
 same reservoir that furnishes Versailles, and the
 grand Cascade resembles a river tumbling from a
 precipice; the basins below it are adorn'd with
 groups of figures, and the gardens afford a vast va-
 riety of pleasing objects; insomuch that the late
 King and Madam MAINTENON chose to spend a
 great part of their leisure hours here.

The palace of Meudon was the residence of the **CHAP**
 late Dauphin, and stands on an eminence in the **IV.**
 middle of a forest; there is a noble avenue that
 leads to it three quarters of a mile in length; on **Meudon.**
 the right of which is a convent belonging to the
 Capuchins, and on the left the vineyards of Meu-
 don. At the entrance of the court of the palace
 there is a large pile of building on the right, and
 another on the left, which open in form of a semi-
 circle, but are disjoin'd from the body of the
 house. In the middle of the front is a lofty ad-
 vanc'd building with a portico, enter'd by three
 doors; above it runs an order of architecture, con-
 sisting of arches and pillars finely design'd, and
 above them another order accompany'd with pi-
 lasters; over all is a frontan containing two sta-
 tues in a cumbent posture, admirably well done;
 the wings are not so high as the principal building,
 and each of them terminated by a square pavilion.
 The inside of this palace was adorn'd with the
 richest furniture, and a fine collection of statues,
 paintings, medals, and other antiquities, in the life
 of the late Dauphin, which have been since remov'd.
 The front towards the garden also consists of a
 lofty advanc'd building, with wings considerably
 lower, which terminate on the right and left in
 two pavilions of the same height with the body of
 the building. The gardens of this palace are much
 admir'd for their fine walks, parterres, canals and
 water-works; and adjoining to them is a spacious
 park encompass'd with a brick wall, and adorn'd
 with woods, basins and reservoirs of water; the
 woods being cut thro' and divided by beautiful ri-
 dings, among which there is one distinguish'd by
 the name of the Dauphin, which leads to the gates
 of Paris. The town of Meudon is not consider-
 able for any thing, unless it be a pleasant garden
 belonging to the Capuchins cloyster, and some ex-
 cellent stone quarries.

St. Cloud is a large open town upon the Seine, **St. Cloud.**
 about two leagues west of Paris, as populous as
 most in France, which is occasion'd by the great
 resort of the citizens of Paris, who come hither
 by water on Sundays and Holidays to divert them-
 selves. This town was erected into a duchy and
 peerage, in the year 1674, when FRANCIS DE
 HARLEY archbishop of Paris, and his successors
 were created perpetual Dukes and Peers of France,
 with the title of St. Cloud. The royal palace
 here belongs to the Dukes of Orleans, and is si-
 tuated at the side of a mountain, at the foot of
 which the river Seine runs. The avenue to the
 palace is upon the declivity of the hill, adorn'd
 with three fine walks of trees, having the town
 on the right, and the park on the left, and ter-
 minates at the base court, from whence we pro-
 ceed to the grand court at one of the angles, on
 account of the irregularity of the ground. The
 palace consists of a large advanc'd building in the
 middle

CHAP. IV. middle of the front, and two wings, each of them flank'd with a pavilion; nothing can be conceiv'd more rich and beautiful, says my French author, than this palace is within: the gallery and the salon are esteem'd the best pieces of MIGNARD, the King's chief painter; and the orangery behind the body of the building is an excellent piece: notwithstanding the gardens are irregular, they are exceeding pleasant, having terraces one above another with an unbounded prospect, the cascade is one of the finest in France; and the neighbouring park has every thing that can render it agreeable. The town of St. Cloud is most remarkable for the fine earthen ware made there, which the French after their way of magnifying every thing their country produces, are pleas'd to compare to china, of which they say it falls short but very little; there is a stone bridge over the river Seine here, consisting of fourteen arches.

Madrid. Madrid is another royal palace, situate at a little distance from Paris, built by FRANCIS I. It has the river Seine on one side, and a wood on the other, and consists of one large pile of building of three stories besides the ground-floor, and is flank'd by two grand pavilions; but it seems to have been neglected, being neither finish'd or furnish'd; the rest of the places in the Mantois, do not require a particular description.

The Vexin Francois. In the Vexin Francois, the principal places are, 1. Pontoise. 2. Cheaumont. 3. L'Isle Adam. 4. Magny. 5. The castle of Roheguyon.

Pontoise. Pontoise, *Pons ad Æsiam*, is situated on the river Oyse, six leagues to the northward of Paris, upon the descent of a hill, which extends to the banks of the river. It has a castle which commands the town, in the outer court whereof stands a collegiate church; it consists of two parishes only, and has a stone bridge over the Oyse of fourteen arches, from whence it takes its name: the principal trade of the place is in corn, which is brought hither from Picardy by the river; the rest of the towns in the Vexin Francois do not merit a particular description.

The Beauvais. The county of Beauvais, or the Beauvaisis, is a little country between the river Oyse and the province of Normandy, being bounded by Picardy Proper on the north; by the county of Senlis on the east; by the Vexin Francois on the south; and by the Vexin Norman on the west: the chief towns whereof are, 1. Beauvais. 2. Clermont. 3. Gerberoy. 4. Bulles. And, 5. Merlou.

Beauvais. Beauvais, *olim Bellovacum* and *Cæsaromagus*, is situated on the river Therin, sixteen leagues north of Paris, almost surrounded by hills. CÆSAR having besieged and taken this town, 'tis said, gave it the name of *Cæsaromagus*. It is memorable also for the English besieging it in vain, anno 1443; and its making a brave defence afterwards against CHARLES Duke of Burgundy, in

1472, when the women signaliz'd their courage under the conduct of that heroine JOAN HATCHET, whose picture they preserve in the town-house. And in memory of this action also, the women are allow'd to march first in a procession they observe annually on the tenth of July. It is the see of a bishop suffragan of Rheims, whose revenue is computed to be fifty thousand livres per annum. The cathedral dedicated to St. PETER is a magnificent building; it is a fortified town, but of no great strength, being commanded by the neighbouring mountains. Here is a pretty good manufacture both of linnen and woollen; the adjacent country abounds in corn, good pasture and fruits, and affords some of the best mutton in France.

Clermont. Clermont is situated on a hill near the river Breche, five leagues from Beauvais, and as many from Senlis, and formerly gave the title of Count to the family of Bourbon. The devotion of the neighbouring country for their patron St. GENON, brings a great concourse of people hither annually on the eleventh of May.

Gerberoy. Gerberoy is a little town strongly situated on a mountain, the foot whereof is wash'd by the river Therin, five leagues north-west of Beauvais; it was besieged by the English under the command of the Earl of Arundel, who lost his life before it, and the field where he receiv'd the mortal wound, is still call'd the valley of Arundel; it was taken by the English in the year 1437, who kept it till 1449, when it was retaken by the French.

Bulles. Bulles is a very pretty town, four leagues to the eastward of Beauvais, in the neighbourhood whereof grows excellent flax, of which they make cambricks and the finest linnens.

The dutchy of Valois is situated between three great rivers, viz. the Seine, the Marne and the Oyse, extending fourteen leagues in length and seven in breadth; the late King LEWIS XIV. erected it into a dutchy, and peerage, and conferr'd it on PHILIP Duke of Orleans his brother: the chief places in it are, 1. Crespy or Crepi. 2. La Ferte Milon. 3. Villers Cotrets. 4. Senlis. 5. Creil. 6. Pont St. Maxence. 7. Compeigne. 8. Bithisy. 9. Chantilly.

Crespi. Crespi, the capital of the dutchy of Valois, is situated thirteen leagues north-east of Paris, on a peninsula almost surrounded by rivulets; it is a pretty good town, and at the end of it stands an old castle. The shrine of St. ALBIN draws a great concourse of people hither, for they believe the intercession of this saint goes a great way in preventing or abating the plague, and other contagious distempers. The church dedicated to St. ALBIN is collegiate and a royal foundation; and the church of St. Denis is said to have one of the finest choirs in France.

La Ferte Milon. La Ferte Milon is situated sixteen leagues north-east of Paris, on the river Ourques, which divides it

CHAP. it into the high and low town; it is a pretty large
IV. place, and defended by a castle.

Senlis. Senlis is situated ten leagues to the northward of Paris, on the side of a hill, at the foot whereof runs the little river Nonete. It is of an oval figure, encompass'd with a wall, a ditch, and other fortifications, the bastions and half-moons some of them faced with stone. It was antiently call'd *Sylvanectum*, *Augustomagus* and *Silviacum*, and is a bishop's see suffragan of Rheims, having in it seven parochial and two collegiate churches; and here are the ruins of an old castle and some other buildings, which they conjecture were the works of the antient Romans.

Creil. Creil, *Creolium*, is a little wall'd town situate on the Oyse, two leagues north of Senlis; and has an old castle said to be built by CHARLES V.

Pont St. Maxence. Pont Sainte Maxence, *Pons Sanctæ Maxentiæ*, is a little trading town, situate also on the Oyse, three leagues north-east of Senlis.

Compeigne. Compeigne stands on the river Oyse, seven leagues north-east of Senlis, and seventeen north-east of Paris, fortified with a wall, half-moons and bastions, and defended by a castle, which is look'd upon to be one of the most antient palaces of the Kings of France. It was repair'd and beautified by the late King LEWIS XIV. The abbey of St. Bennet here was founded by CHARLES the Bald, but united to the nunnery of Val de Grace in Paris about the year 1656. The Jesuits also have a college in the place. The town does not consist of more than two parishes. It was here that the famous JOAN of Arc, or maid of Orleans, was taken prisoner by the English in the year 1430, in a sally she made out of the town, and our wise ancestors were pleas'd to burn her for a witch. The neighbouring forest, which takes its name from the town, contains near thirty thousand acres, and affords variety of game.

The Soissonois. The Soissonois, which receives its name from Soissons, the only considerable city in it, is bounded on the north by the Laonois, on the east by the Rhemois, on the south by the Brie, and on the west by the Valois; the chief places whereof are, 1. Soissons. 2. Brenne. And, 3. Veilly.

Soissons. Soissons, *Augusta Sueffionum*, supposed to be the *Noviodunum* of CÆSAR, is situated in a pleasant fruitful valley on the river Aisne, two and twenty leagues north-east of Paris, and was the capital of the kingdom under the first race of their Kings. It is a large populous place, encompass'd with a wall and other fortifications, and has a good trade in corn. The castle is an antique building, flank'd with great round towers; the walks by the river extremely pleasant. It is a bishop's see, suffragan to Rheims, and famous for several councils held here; as it will be hereafter probably for the congress of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries from all the powers of Europe, who attended here to receive

CHAP. their doom from the French. This nation have
IV. by their dexterity obtain'd the umpirage of all their differences, and thereby render'd themselves much more considerable than ever they did by their arms, even in the reign of LEWIS le Grand: and it is well if some of these wise powers don't find themselves shortly in the condition of the as that hunted with the lion.

The Laonois. The Laonois is bounded by Picardy on the north, by Champagne on the east, and by the Soissonois on the south and west; the chief places whereof are Laon and Liefse.

Laon. Laon, *Laudunum*, is pleasantly situated on the top of a hill, in a healthful air, about twenty miles north-east of Soissons. It is strong by its situation, but has no modern fortifications. It is well built, the streets spacious, and supply'd with water by wells, which do not lie very deep. They lay up great magazines of corn here, with which they supply Picardy and Hainault in scarce years. It is the see of a bishop, suffragan to Rheims, who is also a Duke and Peer of France, and carries the sacred phial, call'd the St. Ampoule, at the consecration of their Kings.

Liefse. Liefse is a little town, about four miles to the northward of Laon, consisting only of one street, but considerable on account of the perpetual pilgrimages made to the church of Notre Dame, and the image of the blessed Virgin there, which, according to tradition, was miraculously made and brought hither from the Holy Land. The French King himself comes hither in pilgrimage soon after his coronation, till when his touch for the evil, 'tis said, is of no virtue.

The Noyonois. The Noyonois is bounded by Picardy on the north, and by the Soissonois and Beauvaisis on the south; the chief places whereof are Noyon, Chauny and Premontre.

Noyon. Noyon, *Noviodunum Belgarum*, stands two and twenty leagues north-east of Paris, on the little river Verfe, which a little below falls into the Oyse. It is an antient town, tolerably large, and advantageously situated for trade. It is the see of a bishop, suffragan of Rheims, who is also a Peer of France; but more memorable for the birth of JOHN CALVIN, who was born here the 10th of July 1509, and died at Geneva the 27th of May, 1564; about whose character the Papists and Presbyterians will never agree, the one looking upon him as an infamous heretick, and the other adore him as equal, if not superiour to any of the Apostles.

Chauny. Chauny is a little town situate on the Oyse, nine or ten miles to the eastward of Noyon, where the river begins to be navigable. It has a chatelany belonging to it; but I don't find it considerable on any other account.

Premontre. Premontre, *Præmonstratum*, is only taken notice of for a great abby of canons regular of St. Austin's, called *Præmonstratenses*, three leagues from Soissons.

These

CHAP. V. These are the principal places in the isle of France, the military government whereof is committed to a governour general, and lieutenant general, and four other lieutenants, who have their respective commands; one in the Vexin Francois, the second in the Beauvaisis, the third in the counties of Senlis, Soissons, Noyonois, Laonois, and that part of this government which extends beyond the Marne and the Seine as far as Champagne and Picardy; and the fourth commands in the remainder of the isle of France, which lies on the left of the Seine; besides which, every great town has its particular governour. The trade and produce of this government has been already taken notice of in the description of the particular towns and districts.

C H A P. V.

Contains a description of Picardy.

THE province or general government of Picardy, is bounded by Hainault, Artois, and the Streights of Calais, towards the north; by Champagne and the Netherlands, on the east; by the Isle of France, on the south; and by the English channel and Normandy, on the west; being a long narrow province, usually resembled to a bent arm, and in this winding figure may be about an hundred and fifty miles in length, but not more than forty in breadth, and in many places not half so broad. It is generally a plain open country, without mountains or woods; neither does the country produce wine, but abounds in corn, pasture, and fruits of all kinds. The wood of Creci, near Amiens, is the largest they have in the country; and indeed firing is so scarce amongst them, that they generally burn stinking turf. They pretend to have something like a coal-mine; but it is inconsiderable, and not comparable to the Newcastle coal. The chief rivers are the Oyse, the Somme, the Canche, and the Authia.

The Oyse, *Oesia*, *Ifara*, has its source in Picardy on the confines of Hainault, and takes its course thro' the generalities of Soissons and Paris, receiving the Verre, the Delette, the Aisne, the Terrein, the Aronde, and many other lesser streams, becoming navigable at La Fere, and falls into the Seine a little below Constans Sainte Honorine.

The Somme. The Somme, *Somona*, or *Samara*, rises in the Vermandois, two leagues below St. Quintin, and runs to the westward by Abbeville, almost the whole length of Picardy, till it falls into the British channel between Valery and Crotoy. It begins to be navigable at Brug, and is very deep, most of the merchandize from England and Holland being brought up this river.

The Canche. The Canche, *Cancius*, or *Quentia*, rises in Ar-

tois, six leagues above Hesdin, and runs westward to Montrevil, where it becomes navigable, and afterwards falls into the British channel below Estaples.

The Authie, *Authia*, *Ætilia*, has its source on the confines of Picardy and Artois, a little above the castle of Authie, and running westward, falls into the British channel between the mouths of the Somme and the Canche.

Picardy is usually divided into the Higher, the Middle, and the Lower Picardy. The Higher Picardy includes the Vermandois and the Thierache: the Middle comprehends the county of Amiens, and the country of Santerre: and the Lower consists of the Bolonois, the Reconquer'd Country, and the county of Ponthieu and Vimen.

The Vermandois, *Ager Veromandensis*, is bounded by the Cambresis, on the north, by the Thierache on the east; by the Isle of France, on the south; and Santerre, on the west; the chief towns whereof are, 1. St. Quintin. 2. Ham. And, 3. Catelet.

St. Quintin, *Quintinnopolis*, or *Fanum Quintini*, is situated on a rising ground, near the head of the Somme, having the river on one side, and a precipice on the other, lying about fifteen miles to the westward of Guise, and as many to the northward of La Fere. The collegiate church is a handsome pile of buildings; and there are several other fine churches and monasteries in the place. They have a prodigious manufacture of fine linen, of which, 'tis said, they make in the town and neighbourhood no less than sixty thousand pieces annually.

Ham is a little fortified town, situate in a plain on the river Somme, four leagues to the westward of St. Quintin, defended by a castle.

The Thierache is the most eastern part of Picardy, lying between Hainault, Champagne, Vermandois and Laonois; the chief towns whereof are, 1. La Fere. 2. La Capelle. 3. Guise. 4. Marie. 5. Vervins.

La Fere is situated on the confines of the Isle of France, in a morass near the river Oyse, naturally strong, and defended by a castle; but most of the fortifications have been demolished. In the neighbouring forest, to which this town communicates its name, is abundance of glass made of all kinds, which occasions a pretty brisk trade here.

Vervins stands upon an eminence near the river Serre, not far from Laon, famous for a treaty of peace concluded there between France and Spain, anno 1598. They have a pretty good trade in corn.

Guise, *Guisia*, *Guisium Castrum*, is situated on the river Oyse, fifteen miles north-east of La Fere, a fortified town, defended by a castle and other works, and was erected into a dutchy and peerage by

CHAP. by FRANCIS I. which title was conferred on V. CLAUD, the youngest son of the Duke of Lorraine, whose grandson HENRY, Duke of Guise, was head of the catholick league, and fomented a rebellion against HENRY III. and HENRY IV. of France for several years. He was near advancing himself to the throne, but was at length reduc'd by HENRY IV. and peace restored to the kingdom.

Middle Picardy.
Amiens county.

Chieftowns.

Amiens city.

Middle Picardy comprehends the county of Amiens, and the country of Santerre. The county of Amiens, *Ager Ambionensis*, is bounded by Artois, on the north; by Santerre, on the east; by Beauvaisis, on the south; and by the county of Caux, on the west; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Amiens. 2. Dourlans. 3. Corbie. 4. Conti. 5. Pecquigny. 6. Poix. And, 7. Ligniers.

Amiens, *Ambianum*, a large city, the capital of Picardy, pleasantly situated on the river Somme, which here divides itself into three channels, and having run thro' the town, unites its streams again. It stands about twenty-eight leagues north of Paris, and as many to the southward of Calais. The houses are well built, the streets spacious, and it is adorned with some handsome squares. It is a bishop's see, suffragan of Rheims. The cathedral is esteemed one of the largest and finest in France, and boasts much of its valuable reliques. CÆSAR having taken this town, convened a general assembly of the Gauls here. The Emperors Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Constantine, Constant, Julian, and several others, resided here a considerable time; and here King EDWARD III. did homage to PHILIP de Valois, King of France, for the duchy of Guienne. It is encompassed with a wall and other fortifications, and the ramparts pleasantly planted with trees. They have lately erected societies of men of wit and learning in this and several other great towns of France, in imitation of the cities of Italy.

Corbie.

Corbie is a little fortified town on the Somme, six miles north-east of Amiens, most remarkable for its abbey founded by BETHILDA, Queen of France, anno 662, the abbot whereof is lord of the place and of the adjacent country.

Conti.

Conti is a little town situate on the Selle, five leagues south-west of Amiens, considerable only for giving title to a prince of the house of Bourbon.

Santerre district.

The district of Santerre is bounded by Vermandois on the east, and the county of Amiens on the west; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Montdidier. 2. Roye. 3. Peronne. 4. Ancre. 5. Nesly. 6. Chaunes. 7. Halluin. 8. Morevil. 9. Crevecoeur.

Montdidier.

Montdidier, *Mons Desiderii*, a little strong town situate on a hill five leagues to the southward of Amiens, containing five parishes and several convents, besides the great priory of Notre Dame.

Peronne is situated in a morass on the river Somme, twenty-five miles to the eastward of Amiens, and esteemed a very strong town. The country about it is famous for the linnen manufacture. The other towns of this part of Picardy do not merit a particular description.

The Lower Picardy, as has been observed, comprehends the Boulonois, the Reconquer'd Country, the county of Ponthieu and the Vimen.

The Boulonois, *Comitatus Boloniensis*, lies between Artois, the county of Ponthieu, the Reconquer'd Country and streights of Calais; being about twelve leagues long and eight broad; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Boulogne. 2. Ambleteuse. 3. Monthulin. 4. Estaples.

Boulogne, supposed to be the *Iccius Portus* of CÆSAR by some, and *Getoraicum* by others, is situated on the sea-coast at the mouth of the little river Liane, about fifteen miles south-west of Calais; it was formerly very considerable on account of its trade, but the harbour is spoiled, and will not admit of vessels of burden. It is divided into the upper and lower town, the whole encompassed with a wall and other fortifications, and defended by a citadel. It is a bishop's see, suffragan of Rheims, and has a cathedral, two parochial churches, an abbey, and several other monasteries within its walls. King HENRY VIII. of England took this town, but restor'd it by a treaty afterwards for eight hundred thousand crowns; the English ministry being of opinion, it seems, that it would cost more keeping than it was worth.

Ambleteuse is a little town situated on the sea, about seven miles to the northward of Boulogne, where, 'tis said, a good harbour might be made for receiving men of war of forty guns; but the French, tho' they begun it in the last war, did not proceed in this work, which inclines me to believe that they did not find it feasible.

Estaples, *Stapulæ*, is situated at the mouth of the river Canche, four leagues to the southward of Boulogne, a little fortified town, but upon the decline at present.

The Reconquer'd Country obtained its name from its being retaken from the English, and contains the counties of Guines and Oye, lying to the northward of the Boulonois. The county of Guines is about four leagues long and as many broad, the chief towns whereof are Guines and Ardres.

Guines is a small town situate in a marsh, four miles south of Calais, and about six distant from the sea. The English possessed themselves of it, and it was confirmed to them by treaty in the year 1360, and they kept possession of it near two hundred years.

Ardres is a little town situate also in a morass, four miles south-east of Guines.

The county of Oye is contiguous to that of Guines, The county of Oye.

CHAP. V. Guines, the chief town whereof is Calais, *Cale-tum*, situate in a flat marshy country upon the sea-coast, about ten miles to the westward of Graveling, and twenty-four south-east of Dover. The figure of the place taking in the citadel is an oblong square, of which the two longest sides are about twelve hundred yards, and the shortest five hundred. It extends itself along the sea-coast, on which side it is fortified as well as towards the land, and is surrounded with a good cover'd way. The fort Nieulai, which stands at one end, is looked upon as an excellent piece of fortification, and the citadel is advantageously situated, so as to command the town, the harbour, and the adjacent country; and there are sluices by which they can overflow the country on the land-side. The harbour is choaked up, and will not admit of vessels of burthen. There is but one parish and four convents in the place, and yet the French compute the inhabitants to be about five thousand. King EDWARD III. of England took this town in the year 1347, after eleven months siege, and peopled it with English, who held it till 1558, being two hundred years and upwards, when it was taken by the Duke of Guise, during that weak and unfortunate reign of Queen MARY I. There is a noble canal at Calais, by which the town has a communication with St. Omers, Graveling, Dunkirk, Bergues and Ypres.

Ponthieu
county.

The county of Ponthieu lies between the rivers Somme and Canche, and takes its name from the great number of bridges laid over the several rivers and marshes, with which the country abounds; the chief towns are, 1. Abbeville. 2. Crecy. 3. Montrevil. 4. Pont de Reny. 5. Rue. And, 6. St. Riquier.

Abbeville.

Abbeville, *Abbatis Villa*, the capital of Ponthieu, forty miles south of Boulogne, is situated on the river Somme, which divides it into two parts, in a marshy dirty country, and consists of twelve parishes, besides several monasteries of both sexes. Here is a considerable manufacture of coarse linnen, and a pretty good trade, the town being but fourteen or fifteen miles distant from the English channel, with which it has a communication by the river Somme.

Crecy.

Crecy, or Cressy, is a little town situate on the river Authie, three leagues to the northward of Abbeville, remarkable for the victory which the English obtained over the French, the 24th of August, 1346, under the conduct of King EDWARD III.

Montrevil.

Montrevil, *Monasteriolum*, is a fortified town situated on a hill, the foot whereof is washed by the river Canche, being about three leagues to the eastward of the British channel, from whence boats of good burthen come up to the town; it contains eight parishes, besides several monasteries.

The Vemen is a little district, sometimes reckoned part of Ponthieu, the chief towns whereof are St. Valeri, Gamaches, and Crotoy.

CHAP. VI.

St. Valeri, *Fanum Sancti Valerici*, is situated at the mouth of the river Somme, four leagues below Abbeville, and is a place of some trade. Picardy lying upon the sea, and abounding in navigable rivers and canals, with several good manufactures both of linnen and woollen, is one of the most considerable provinces for trade in the kingdom.

The Vemen.
St. Valeri.

The governour of Picardy has under him three lieutenants-general, viz. one for Picardy; a second for Santerre; and a third for Artois, which last, notwithstanding it is one of the provinces of the Low Countries (and was describ'd amongst them) yet since it has been conquer'd and yielded to France, is included in the general government of Picardy. The towns within the government of the lieutenant-general of Picardy are, Calais, Ardres, Boulogne, the town of Montreville, St. Valeri on the Somme; Abbeville, of which the mayor and aldermen have the government, only in time of war the King sends them a commander; Dourlans, the town and citadel of Amiens, St. Quintin, the town and castle of Ham, Guise, La Fere, Rebemont and Marle. The general lieutenancy of Santerre, comprehends Peronne, Roy and Montdidier. And in the general lieutenancy of Artois are the towns of St. Omers, Aire, Fort St. Francis, Hesdin, the town and citadel of Arras, and Bethune, which are all fortified towns, and most of them very strong places. It is to be observed also, that in time of war, the inhabitants of the Boulonois are all obliged to be under arms, and signaliz'd themselves in the late wars; they consist of ten regiments of infantry, of ten companies each, the officers are named by the governour, and have the King's commission as regular troops; the cavalry is composed of five regiments, of four troops each, besides which they have a troop of carabineers, and two troops of dragoons, making in the whole a body of three thousand men.

The milita-
ry govern-
ment of Pi-
cardy.

CHAP. VI.

Contains the description of Champagne.

CHampagne obtain'd its name from the face of the country, consisting chiefly of wide fields and plains, and is bounded by Picardy and the Low Countries, on the north; by Lorrain, on the east; by Burgundy, on the south; and by the Isle of France, on the west; extending fifty-four leagues in length from north to south, and forty-six in breadth from east to west: but tho' the middle of the country is plain and open, the extreme parts are cover'd with woods, mountains and little fruitful

Champagne,
the situation
and extent.

CHAP. fruitful hills, producing corn, and excellent wine
VI. and fruits. It was the seat of the Rhemi, so often mentioned by Cæsar, who were divided into the Tricasses, Lingones, Catalauni, Meldæ and Senones. The principal rivers are the Maese or Meuse, the Seine, the Marne, the Aube, and the Aisne, which have already been described. They have also some excellent mineral waters, and the air is temperate and healthful, which occasions the natives, according to my author, to be of a mild sweet disposition, but soft and simple even to a proverb.

Rivers.

Subdivision
of the coun-
try.Champagne
Proper, chief
towns.

Troyes.

Chalons.

It is usually divided into eight almost equal parts, viz. 1. Champagne proper. 2. The Remois. 3. The Perthois. 4. The Rhetelois. 5. The Vallage. 6. Bassigny. 7. The Senonois. And, 8. The Brie Champenoise.

Champagne Proper, is situated about the middle of the country, the chief towns whereof are, 1. Troyes. 2. Chalons. 3. St. Menehoud. 4. Vertus. 5. Espernay. 6. Pont sur Seine. 7. Méry. 8. Rameru. 9. Plaucy. 10. Ai. And, 11. Dormans.

Troyes, *Augustomana* and *Civitas Tricassium*, is supposed to have taken its name from three castles antiently erected here. It is the capital of the province, and situated on the river Seine, about fourscore miles south-east of Paris, in a fruitful country, being surrounded with a wall and other fortifications, and contains two collegiate, six parochial churches, and three abbeys, besides the cathedral, for it is a bishop's see, suffragan of Sens. The principal trade is in linnen, and it was once computed to contain fifty thousand souls, but so much declined, that there are not fifteen thousand people in it at present.

Chalons, *Catalaunum*, is situated in a pleasant fruitful plain on the river Marne, by which it is divided into three parts that have a communication by bridges, being fifty miles to the northward of Troyes, and eighty east of Paris. It is encompassed with a wall and other fortifications, and contains twelve parishes, three abbeys, and several other monasteries; the streets and publick places are neat and spacious, and make the better appearance on account of the houses being built with white stone; it is a bishop's see, suffragan of Rheims, the cathedral dedicated to St. STEPHEN is remarkable only for its high tower. This city was antiently governed by Counts, who transferring their right to the bishop, he was dignified with the title of Count and Peer of France. The plains about this city being exceeding large, the French writers are of opinion, that these were the fields where that memorable battle was fought between MEROVER, King of the Franks, THEODORICK King of the Goths, and ÆTIUS the Roman general, on one side; and ARILA the Hun, on the other; wherein, according to tra-

dition, the Huns lost two hundred thousand men. CHAP. VI.
This town has a pretty good trade in linnen and woollen cloth, and corn, which they transport to Paris by the Marne. The parliament of Paris was adjourned hither during the rebellion of the Guises and the League.

Pons sur Seine, *Pons ad Sequanam*, is a little town situate on the Seine, seven leagues below Troyes, remarkable for a magnificent castle or palace built here, by Monsieur CHAVIGNY, secretary of state to the French King, and for its beautiful gardens.

The Rhemois lies on the north-west part of Champagne, on the confines of the Isle of France; the chief towns whereof are, Rheims, Fimes, and Chateau Portien.

Rheims, *Civitas Rhemorum* and *Durocortorum*, is situated on a fine plain on the river Vesle, about seventy miles north of Troyes, and as much north-east of Paris, encompassed with a wall a league in circumference, being one of the most elegant cities in France. The houses are well-built, the streets and squares spacious, the churches magnificent and beautiful, especially the cathedral dedicated to the VIRGIN MARY, built by CLOTHILDIS, the wife of CLOVIS, the first christian King of France. It is a vast Gothick building, but admirably well designed; in the front whereof is abundance of good sculpture, containing part of the sacred history; besides which, there are four abbeys, several convents, and a university established by CHARLES Cardinal of Lorraine, formerly archbishop of this see. The city is held to be very antient, three of the gates still bearing the name of so many heathen Gods; as the gate of the SUN, and the gates of MARS and CERES. In the year 1677, a triumphal arch was dug up, which was formerly the northern gate, supposed to be erected to the honour of CÆSAR, or, according to others, of JULIAN the apostate, when after the conquest of the Germans, he passed by Rheims in his way to Paris. It is composed of three arches of the Corinthian order, that in the middle being thirty-five foot high and twelve broad; the bass-reliefs whereof represent a woman with a Cornucopia, to shew the fertility of the country; and that on the right, hath RHEMUS and ROMULUS sucking a wolf, with the shepherd FAUSTULUS and LAURENTIA his wife standing by them. On the third arch, LEDA is seen in JUPITER's embraces, metamorphos'd into a swan, and CUPID holding a lighted torch in his hand. Near this arch are the remains of an antient Roman castle, and about two hundred paces from the town, the ruins of an amphitheatre, and of another triumphal arch. The abbey of St. Remy is a spacious building, and in the church belonging to it are the tombs of King LEWIS de Outremer, LOTHAIRE and LEWIS V. who

CHAP. VI. who were of the line of **CHARLEMAIN**. In the treasury they have abundance of precious reliques, and among the rest the holy phial, which contains the oil used at the consecration of their Kings, and the pastoral staff of St. Remi, whose tomb is beautifully adorn'd with sculptures, pillars and statues, and in the middle of them the bust of **LEWIS XIII.** in his robes of state. The holy oil, according to tradition, was brought from heaven by a white dove, at the consecration of **CLOVIS I.** The Archbishop of this see, ever since the reign of **LEWIS VII.** has been deemed to have right to consecrate the Kings of France, being the first Duke and ecclesiastical Peer of the realm; besides whom, that Prince appointed eleven more to assist at this ceremony, viz. the Bishops of Laon and Langres, who are also Dukes and Peers; the Bishops of Beauvais, Noyon and Chalons, who are Counts and Peers, and six of the lay nobility, viz. the Dukes of Burgundy, Guienne, and Normandy, and the Counts of Thoulouse, Champagne, and Flanders; the ceremony being always performed in the metropolitan church of this city, if nothing extraordinary happen to prevent it, as the plague, civil wars, or the like.

The Perthois, chief towns.

The Perthois lies on the frontiers of Lorrain, between the rivers Marne and Ornay, the chief towns whereof are, 1. Vitry le Francois. And, 2. St. Disier.

Vitry.

Vitry Francois, *Victoriacum Francium*, is a fortified town situated in a fine plain on the river Marne, seven leagues south-east of Chalons, and receiv'd its name from **FRANCIS I.** The principal trade of the place is in grain.

St. Disier.

St. Disier, *Fanum Sancti Desiderii*, is situated also on the Marne, seven leagues above Vitry; the forges in the neighbourhood occasion its having a pretty good trade in iron ware.

The Rhetelois.

The Rhetelois is the most northerly part of the province of Champagne, the chief towns whereof are, 1. Rhetel. 2. Mesieres. 3. Charleville. 4. Doncheri. 5. Ronoy. 6. Sedan. 7. Roncourt. And, 8. Monsan.

Rhetel.

Rhetel is situated on the Aisne, about twenty miles north of Rheims, and is the capital of a Dutchy, remarkable for little but a victory obtained near it by the French over the Spaniards, in the year 1650.

Mesieres.

Mesieres, *Maderiacum*, situate on the Meuse, thirty miles north-east of Rheims, strongly fortified and defended by a citadel, being a pass towards Luxemburg.

Charleville.

Charleville, *Caroleopolis*, stands also on the Meuse, five miles north-west of Meziens, esteem'd one of the prettiest towns of France; and on the opposite side of the river lies the fortress of Mount Olympus.

Rocroy.

Rocroy, *Rupes Regia*, is a little fortified town advantageously situated on the Frontiers of Hainault, so encompassed with woods that it is of

very difficult access, remarkable chiefly for a victory obtained by the French, commanded by the Duke of Anguien, afterwards Prince of Conde, over the Spaniards, anno 1643.

CHAP. VI.

Sedan is situated on the Meuse, fifteen miles south-east of Charleville, and twenty-five west of Luxemburg, and gives title to a little principality. It is a small town, but well fortified and defended by a castle, where the famous Marshal **TURRENE** was born, being descended from the family of **DE LA TOUR**, formerly Princes of Sedan.

The Vallage is a little country which takes its name from its valleys, and lies between the Perthois and Bassigny; the chief places whereof are, Joinville, Vassi, Escaron, Briene, Vignoris, Bar sur Aube, Clairvaux and Chateau-Villain.

The Vallage. Chief towns.

Joinville is situated on the Marne, at the foot of a mountain six leagues south of St. Disier. It is a small town, and most remarkable for the holy league being form'd here an. 1552, which occasion'd such distractions in France.

Bar sur Aube, situate on the river Aube, twenty-five miles east of Troyes, is remarkable for its excellent wine.

Bar sur Aube.

Bassigny is situated on the south-east part of Champagne, their chief towns whereof are, Langres, Chaumont, Montigni le Roy, and Bourbonne les Bains.

Langres, *Givitas Lingonum*, is a fortified town, situate on a hill near the confines of Lorrain and Franche Comte, thirty miles to the southward of Joinville. It is a bishop's see, suffragan of Lyons, the bishop being one of the Dukes and Peers of France, and temporal as well as ecclesiastical Lord of this city. The town of Bourbonne, famous for its baths, lies about six leagues from hence.

Langres.

Chaumont is situated on the top of a high mountain, at the foot whereof runs the river Marne, thirteen miles north-west of Langres.

Chaumont.

The Senonois is the south-west part of Champagne, the antient inhabitants whereof made great conquests in Italy, giving their name to the town of Senigallia, *Senonum Gallia*, Sienna, &c. The chief towns are Sens, Pont sur Yonne, St. Florentin, Tonnerre, Brais, Chablais, and Nogent sur Seine.

The Senonois. Chief towns.

Sens, *Civitas Senonum*, is situated on the river Yonne, twenty-six leagues south-east of Paris, and fifteen to the westward of Troyes. It is a large well-built town, and the see of an Archbishop (who calls himself primate of the Gauls and Germans) the cathedral dedicated to St. **STEPHEN** is a magnificent structure; at the altar whereof is a golden table enrich'd with precious stones, and upon it in bass-relief the four Evangelists, with St. **STEPHEN** on his knees in the middle of them.

Chably, about thirty miles south-east of Sens on the frontiers of Burgundy, is a good town, and

Chably.

CHAP. remarkable for its excellent wines growing in the neighbourhood.

VI. The Brie Champagnoise lies on the north of the Senonois, between the rivers Seine and Marne, and abounds in pasture, corn and fruits; the chief towns whereof are Meaux, Provins, Chateau-Thierry, Colomiers, Sezanne, and Montereau-faut-Yonne.

Meaux. Meaux, *Meldarum Urbs*, is situated on the river Marne, ten leagues to the eastward of Paris, a well-built flourishing populous city, divided into two parts by the river; it is the see of a bishop, suffragan of Paris, the cathedral is dedicated to St. STEPHEN, besides which there are several collegiate and parochial churches and monasteries in the place. Here CALVIN's doctrine was first preached in the kingdom, for adhering to which, several of the inhabitants were executed in the year 1525. The English took this town in the year 1421, after a three months siege. The adjacent country produces corn, wine, and wool; but their wine is not the best.

Provins. Provins is situated on the little river Voulzie, about thirty miles to the southward of Meaux, not considerable for any thing at present, unless the Provins roses, which this town has communicated its name to.

Chateau-Thierry. Chateau-Thierry is a strong town with a castle pleasantly situated on the Marne, about thirty miles to the eastward of Meaux, being the capital of a dutchy and peerage; the adjacent country abounds in corn and wine, which they transport to Paris.

Montereau. Montereau is situated at the conflux of the Seine and Yonne, twelve leagues south of Meaux, most remarkable in history for the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, an. 1419, in the presence of the DAUPHIN, afterwards King of France, by the name of CHARLES VII. Whereupon PHILIP, Duke of Burgundy, his son, introduced the English into France, and caused the spilling of more blood in the kingdom, than any of their former wars. The rest of the towns in Champagne, do not require a particular description.

The antient state of Champagne. CÆSAR found Champagne inhabited by the Rhemi, Tricasses, Lingones, Catalauni, Meldæ and Senones, being so many petty principalities or states, of whom the Rhemi were the most powerful. It afterwards constituted part of Celtick and part of Belgick Gaul. In the division, which the sons of CLOVIS I. and CLOTAIRE I. made of their dominions, Champagne made part of the kingdom of Austrasia, of which Mets was the capital. These Princes established Dukes and Counts in this country, with a limited authority, who at length however assumed the absolute sovereignty of the province, and became so potent, that they maintain'd wars against the Kings of France and Burgundy. The French historians

VI. relate, that ROBERT the Son of HERBERT II. CHAP. was the first hereditary Count, whose posterity took the title of Palatins, about the year 958. This country continued to be governed by Counts upwards of three hundred years, but that they were vassals or feudatories of France is evident, say the French historians, because they were Peers of that kingdom, and carried the royal banner at the consecration of their Kings; and possibly they might be as much subject to France, as the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia are at this day to the Emperor, who have their respective offices at the coronation of the Emperor, and the titles of Electors and Princes of the Empire. But however that be, the Counts of Champagne had a power of assembling their states, by directing their writs of summons to the seven Counts, who were their subjects, and to enact laws without asking leave of the French King. The last Count of Champagne was HENRY I. King of Navarre, who leaving issue one only daughter named JANE, that married PHILIP the Fair, King of France, about the year 1285, this province thereby became united to the kingdom of France.

The province of Champagne produces corn, wine, wool, iron, wood, cattle and good pasture; their principal manufactures are those of linnen, woollen and iron ware. The wine of Champagne which they export has a mighty reputation, but there is a great deal of wine spent in the country that is very indifferent, the best goes to market.

The government of Champagne is one of the most considerable in the kingdom; besides the governor-general, and his lieutenant-general, there are four other lieutenant-generals, who have each of them their separate divisions; one of them commands in the baillage of Rheims; a second the baillages of Vitry and Chamont; a third the baillages of Troyes, Langres and Sens; and a fourth the Brie Champenois. Of all the fortified towns, there were in this province before the late King extended his conquests beyond it, there are not more than three of any strength at present, viz. Mezieres, Rocroy and Sedan; but several other towns however still retain their respective governours, as Troyes, Chalvas, Menehead, Vitry, Langres, Chaumont, St. Dizier, Espernay, Bar sur Aube, Vaucouleurs, Sezanne, Fimes, Vassy, Sens and Meaux. The city of Rheims has no governour, only a captain of the gates.

CHAP. VII.

Contains a description of the Dutchy of Burgundy.

THE government of Burgundy comprehends the Dutchy of Burgundy, the Bresse, Bugey, and the Baillage of Gex; and is bounded by Champagne, on the north; by Franche Comte, or

CHAP. VII. or the county of Burgundy, on the east ; by Lyonois, on the south ; and by the Bourbonnois and Nivernois, on the west ; extending about five and forty leagues in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west.

Rivers. The rivers which water this province are the Saone, the Seine, the Armaucon, the Dehune, the Brebince, the Ouche, the Tille, and the Aine. The Saone rises in Lorraine, and runs the whole length of this province from north to south, uniting its streams with the Rhone at Lyons, and is much the most considerable of the above-mentioned rivers.

Subdivision. The French geographers divide the government of Burgundy into thirteen districts, or subdivisions, viz. 1. The Dijonois. 2. The Autunois. 3. The Chalonois. 4. The Baillage of the Mountains. 5. The County or Baillage of Auxerre. 6. The Auxois. 7. The County of Chalons. 8. The Briennois. 9. The Masconois. 10. The Bresse. 11. The Principality of Dombes. 12. The Bugey. And, 13. The Country of Gex.

The Dijonois. The Dijonois lies between Champagne, Franche Comte, the Auxois and the Autunois ; the chief towns are Dijon, Nuits, Beaume, St. John de Laune and Auxonne.

Dijon city. Dijon, *Divio*, the capital of the dutchy, is situated between two small rivers which surround it, namely, the Ouche and the Suzon, about sixty miles south of Troyes in Champagne, and about an hundred and forty south-east of Paris. It is an hour's walk in circumference, fortified after the antique way, and defended by a castle flank'd with great round towers. There are in it seven parishes, two abbeys, and several other convents and hospitals ; the Jesuits college is one of the finest in France, and there is a large antient palace of the Dukes of Burgundy ; but neither this or the town-house have any thing very remarkable in them. The rest of the towns in this district do not require a particular description.

The Autunois. The Autunois lies south-west of the Dijonois, the chief towns whereof are, 1. Autun. 2. Bourbon Lancy. And, 3. Montcennis.

Autun city. Autun, *Bibraete*, *Augustodunum*, is situated on the river Aroux, at the foot of three great mountains ; one whereof is so replenished with springs, that it supplies every part of the town with water. It is about a quarter of a league in length, and as much in breadth, a bishop's see, contains besides the cathedral church eight parishes, and several convents and hospitals, and is a place of very great antiquity. In the middle of the town is an open space, call'd the Field of Mars, and there are still the remains of three Pagan temples, one of them dedicated to JANUS, and another to DIANA. Here are also the ruins of a theatre, a cirque and a pyramid ; which last to all appearance hath been a tomb. There are also two antient gates of ex-

cellent workmanship, which some have taken for CHAP. VII. triumphal arches.

Bourbon Lancy, *Borbonium Anselmum*, is situated on the side of a mountain, twelve leagues south-west of Autun, near the river Loire. It is divided into three parts, and defended by an old castle, and other antique fortifications, and contains three parishes ; but what it has been famous for ever since the time of the antient Romans, is its hot baths and mineral waters, which are in good esteem at this day.

The Chalonois is bounded by the Dijonois, on the north ; Franche Comte, on the east ; La Bresse, on the south ; and the Charolois, on the west ; being about fifteen leagues long and ten broad ; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Chalon. 2. Verdun. 3. Seurre. And, 4. Lohans.

Chalon, *Cabillonum*, is pleasantly situated on the river Saone, in a large fruitful plain, thirty miles south of Dijon. It is surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, and defended by a castle, a bishop's see, suffragan of Lyons, the cathedral a magnificent structure ; besides which, there are several convents of both sexes ; it is also a place of good trade.

The Baillage of the Mountains is bounded on the north and east, by Champagne ; on the south, by the Dijonois ; and on the west, by another part of Champagne. The chief towns are, 1. Chatillon. 2. Bar sur Seine. 3. Mussy-l'Eveque. 4. Aisey le Duc. And, 5. Val des Choux.

Chatillon sur Seine, *Castellio ad Sequanam*, is situated on the river Seine, partly on a hill, and partly in a bottom, resembling an amphitheatre. It consists but of one parish, besides which there are several collegiate and conventual churches, and an hospital for the entertainment of poor travellers, with a college for teaching humanity.

The County or Baillage of Auxerre, is bounded by Champagne, on the north and east ; and by Nivernois, on the south-west. The chief towns are, 1. Auxerre. 2. Crevant. And, 3. Coulange.

Auxerre, *Antissiodorum*, is situated on the river Yonne, eighteen leagues north-west of Dijon. It is a bishop's see, suffragan of Sens, and contains eight parishes, besides several convents and a college for Jesuits.

The Auxois lies between the Dijonois, the Autunois, and the Auxerrois. The chief towns are, 1. Semur. 2. Flavigny. 3. Montbard. 4. Noyers. 5. Avalon. 6. Arnay le Duc. 7. Saulien. And, 8. Tanlay.

Semur is situated on the river Armancon, thirty miles north-west of Dijon, the greatest part of it on a steep rock, and is about two thousand four hundred paces in circumference, besides the suburbs, being surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, and defended by a castle.

CHAP. VII. The county of Charolois hath the Chalonois on the north, and the Masconois on the east, being twelve leagues in length and seven in breadth. The chief towns are, 1. Charolles. 2. Paray le Monial. And, 3. Toulon.

The county of Charolois.
Charolles.

Charolles is a little town situate on the Recouse, thirty miles south-west of Chalons; it is a pleasant place, but not remarkable for any thing but the remains of an antient castle which belong'd to the Counts of Charolois.

The Briennois.

The Briennois is a little baillage, not above four leagues over, on the south-west confines of Burgundy, and hath in it only one little town call'd Semur, situate about half a league from the river Loyre.

Semur.

The Masconois.

The Masconois is divided from Bresse by the river Saone, and contains the towns of, 1. Mascon. 2. Tournus. 3. Clugny. 4. St. Geugoux. And, 5. Mercigny.

Mascon.

Mascon is situated on the west side of the river Saone, which separates it from La Bresse, but has a communication with it by a fine stone bridge; the town extends it self in form of a crescent, and is about three thousand paces in circumference, containing about six thousand people, but the streets are narrow and ill paved, and there are scarce any squares or open places; it is a bishop's see, suffragan of Lyons, the cathedral a dark old building, besides which there are several convents of both sexes, and hospitals.

Clugny.

Clugny is situated in a valley between two hills upon the little river Grosne, about three leagues south-west of Mascon, and is of a larger extent, but not so populous, famous chiefly for its fine abby, which depends immediately on the Pope. The church whereof is one of the largest in the kingdom, and great numbers of illustrious persons have been interr'd there, particularly Cardinal BOUILLON, who erected a most magnificent mausoleum here for himself and his family. This abbey was possess'd antiently of a prodigious treasure, which the Catholicks complain they were plunder'd of by the Calvinists in the civil wars, as they were of their library, which contain'd abundance of valuable manuscripts.

La Bresse.

La Bresse is situated to the eastward of the Masconois and the river Saone, being about sixteen leagues in length from north to south, and nine in breadth from east to west. The chief towns are, 1. Bourg. 2. Pont de Vaux. 3. Pont de Vesse. 4. Montluel. 5. Chastillon. And, 6. Beauge.

Bourg.

Bourg, the capital of La Bresse, is situated in a flat country on the river Resousse, twenty miles south-east of Mascon, and is about two thousand six hundred paces in circumference, being divided into seven quarters or wards. The church of Notre Dame is both collegiate and parochial; besides which there are convents of Cordeliers, Ja-

cobites, Capuchins, Jesuits, and several nunneries, which have their respective churches or chapels. All the trade of the place consists in horses, black cattle and skins; their horses are in great esteem. The Dukes of Savoy were heretofore possess'd of this town and country; and in the beautiful church of St. Brou, which stands about a mile to the eastward of the town, are still several noble monuments of that family, particularly the tomb of PHILIBERT II. Duke of Savoy, and of MARGARET of Austria his widow, which stand in the choir, and are esteem'd admirable pieces of workmanship.

The principality of Dombes, formerly a part of Bresse, is bounded by the Masconois on the north, by La Bresse on the north-east, and by Lyonois and Dauphiné on the south and west, being about nine leagues in length, and as many in breadth, a pleasant fruitful country, and divided into twelve chatellanies. The chief towns are, 1. Trevoux. 2. Thoissey. And, 3. Montmerle.

Trevoux, *Trivortium*, is situated on an eminence near the river Saone, twenty-five miles south-west of Bourg, and is said to have taken its name from its situation on one of the highways which AGRIPPA made into Gaul, and here divides into three branches. It is the capital of the principality of Dombes, which belongs to the Dukes of Maine, who have built a handsome palace for the parliament and courts of justice held here, a palace for the governor, a mint, a printing-house, and other publick edifices; besides which, there are several convents, and an hospital founded by ANNE-MARY-LOUISE of Orleans, late sovereign of Dombes.

The district of Bugey is bounded by Franche Comte, or the county of Burgundy and Gex on the north; by Savoy, from which it is separated by the Rhone on the east; by Dauphiné, from which it is also separated by the Rhone on the south, and by La Bresse on the west, being sixteen leagues in length and ten in breadth; the Savoyards were antiently lords of this country also, which they yielded to the French in 1601. The chief towns are, 1. Belley. 2. Nautua. 3. Seissel. And, 4. St. Rambert.

Belley, *Bellica*, is situated at the south-east part of the country, not far from the Rhone, about thirty miles south-east of Trevoux, being two thousand paces in circumference. It is a bishop's see, who is both spiritual and temporal Lord of the place, and while it belong'd to the empire claim'd a seat in the diet. The cathedral is dedicated to St. JOHN BAPTIST; besides which, there is but one parish church and some convents of both sexes.

Seissel is a large town situate on the river Rhone, by which it is divided in two parts that have a communication by a bridge, being about twenty miles to the northward of Belley, and fifteen to the westward of Annecy in Savoy. Here the Rhone

The principality of Dombes.

Trevoux.

The district of Bugey.

Belley.

Seissel.

Rhone

CHAP. VII. Rhone first begins to be navigable, and here they unload all the salt that is carry'd into Savoy and Switzerland. The church of Notre Dame is the only parochial church; besides which there are several convents in the place.

The country
of Gex.

The country of Gex is bounded by the country of Vaux in Switzerland towards the north; by the lake and town of Geneva on the east; by the Rhone and the Genevois, a county of Savoy on the south, and by the mountains of St. Claude a Jura, and the Franche Comte towards the west, being about seven leagues in length and three in breadth. This country, as well as La Bresse, was yielded to France by the Duke of Savoy, in the year 1601. The only considerable town whereof is Gex, situate at the foot of mount St. Claud, which divides it from Franche Comte, being twelve miles north-west of Geneva. The church of St. Peter and St. Paul is the only parish church in the place; besides which, there are three convents of fryars, and one of nuns; which last gives entertainment chiefly to such as are new converts to the catholic faith, of whom they pretend to have a great many from the neighbouring country of Switzerland and Geneva.

The town
of Gex.

The antient
state of Bur-
gundy.

The Burgundians, according to the best historians, were comprehended under the general name of Vandals, in the reigns of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS, who after having remain'd some time in that part of Poland call'd the Arch-bishoprick of Gnesna, advanc'd into Germany and possess'd the Palatinate; from whence they proceeded along the banks of the Rhine in the time of VALENTINIAN, and enter'd Gaul about the year 408, settling themselves in Switzerland and part of Franche Comte, from whence they extended themselves insensibly to the Rhone and Saone, and at length establish'd their first kingdom, which lasted an hundred and twenty years under six kings, who reign'd here successively. This kingdom was united to the monarchy of France by CLOTHAIRE I. and possess'd by his descendants under the title of the kingdom of Burgundy. It was afterwards divided into Burgundy Trans-Jurana, and Burgundy Cis-Jurana, on account of mount Jura, at present mount Claud, which separated the one from the other. The Lower Burgundy call'd the Dutchy, which we have now describ'd, was given by CHARLEMAIN to HUGH his natural son, surnamed the Great, and CHARLES the Bald confirm'd that grant to ROBERT, who married the only daughter of the said HUGH. This dutchy continued to be possess'd by the Dukes of Burgundy of the line of France, till the year 1361, when Duke PHILIP dying at fifteen years of age without issue, it was united to the crown of France. King JOHN granted it afterwards to PHILIP the Hardy his fourth son, on condition to revert to the crown on default of heirs males,

which happen'd not long after, on the death of CHARLES IV. Duke of Burgundy, whose only daughter married the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN I. afterwards Emperor; but the Emperor however kept possession of the county of Burgundy.

The dutchy of Burgundy is the first Peerage of the kingdom, and the ducal coronet was enrich'd with the like ornaments as the royal crown, on account of their being the successors of the antient Kings of Burgundy. And by a decree of the council of Constance 26 May 1433, the Dukes of Burgundy were order'd to sit next the King in all christian assemblies. It is now the title of the Dauphin's eldest son.

This province does not only abound in grain, good pasture, fruits, cattle and game, but produces the most excellent wine in France, which from the place of its growth has obtain'd the name of Burgundy; the places most celebrated for it are Nuis, Chambertin, Beze, Coulange, Chassagne, Beaune and Volenai.

As to the military government of this province, is has a governor general, who is usually a person of the first rank; the Dukes of Bourbon, of the branch of Bourbon-Conde, have of late been governors of it, under whom is a lieutenant general, besides six lieutenants general who have their particular commands; the first commands the Bailiages of Dijon, of the mountains, and that of Bar sur Seine; the second, the Autunois, the Auxerrois, and the Auxois; the third commands in the Chalonois; the fourth, the Masconois; the fifth, the Charolois; and the sixth takes in the Bresse, Bugey, the valley of Romey, and the country of Gex; besides which, most of the towns have their respective governors. They don't reckon there are above five places well fortified in the dutchy of Burgundy, and those are, 1. Dijon. 2. Auxonne. 3. Chalon upon the Saone. 4. Bourg in Bresse. And, 5. Pierre Chattel.

Produce of
the country.
The mili-
tary govern-
ment and
fortified
towns.

CHAP. VIII.

Contains a description of Franche Comte, or the county of Burgundy.

FRanche Comte is bounded by Lorraine on the north; by Switzerland on the east; by La Bresse on the south; and by the dutchy of Burgundy and Champagne on the west.

Franche
Comte, the
situation and
extent.

It was a woody country till the last century, when it came into the hands of France; since when, great part of the woods have been destroy'd to supply their iron-works. It is very mountainous, especially on the sides of Switzerland and Lorraine, mount Jura runs along all the eastern boundaries and separates it from Switzerland. The chief rivers of this country are, 1. The Saone. 2. The

Face of the
country.

The

CHAP. The Lougnon. 3. The Dou. 4. The Louve.
VIII. And, 5. The Dain.

Subdivision. It is usually divided into four baillages, viz. 1. Besançon. 2. Amont. 3. Dole. And, 4. That of Aval.

Besançon,
baillage and
city.

The Baillage of Besançon was constituted by LEWIS XIV. a little after the conquest of this country, an. 1674. the capital whereof and of the whole province is the city of Besançon or *Vissantium*, call'd by some historians Chrystopolis: it is an antient town, and according to the tradition of the natives founded some hundreds of years before Rome; it is situated in 47 deg. 10 min. north lat. about 150 miles south-east of Paris, and 70 north of Geneva, on the river Dou or Doux, which divides it in two parts, of which one is call'd the high and the other the lower town. It is surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, and defended by a citadel which stands on a steep rock, and is an oblong square flank'd with four irregular bastions, the ground here and about the town being too uneven to admit of regular works. It is a bishop's see, and the cathedral dedicated to St. JOHN, stands at the foot of mount St. Stephen, antiently called mount Cælius. There are in the town also seven parish churches, two chapters, two abbeys of men and two of nuns, a seminary, a college of Jesuits, seven convents of fryars and five of nuns, an hospital for the education of poor children, an hospital for foundling or expos'd children, and another general hospital; and the town is suppos'd to contain eleven thousand inhabitants and upwards. The town-house, the governor's palace, and that of Granville are the most remarkable buildings in the place; the last of which is furnish'd with a great variety of excellent statues and pictures, and a library containing abundance of valuable books and manuscripts. There are also five noble fountains in the town embellish'd with statues and other ornaments. Besançon was a free imperial city till the peace of Munster, when the Emperor exchange'd it with the King of Spain for Frankendal (which his Catholick Majesty was then possess'd of) but it continued however to be govern'd as a Republick by its own magistrates, till the French King possessing himself of it in the year 1674, alter'd the form of government and constituted a Baillage, of which this was made the capital, as hath been intimated already. In the neighbourhood of Besançon there are several places, the names of which shew that the antient Romans were possess'd of this town, as mount Jovot, *Mons Jovis*; Mercurio, *Mons Mercurii*; mont Delie, *Mons Delii*; Cham Vacho, *Campus Bacchi*; Chamuse, *Campus Musarum*. There are still to be seen also the ruins of an amphitheatre, an hundred and twenty feet in diameter, and of some Pagan temples, and a triumphal arch dedicated to the Emperor AURELIAN, in whose time

this town is suppos'd chiefly to have flourish'd, it being then the capital of the Sequani. But I must not forget the holy handkerchief, a precious relique, which draws multitudes of devout people hither annually at Easter. They don't pretend however to have more than a piece of it here, tho' at Turin, and I think at Rome, they assure us they have the whole; for which I refer to the description of those cities. The rest of the towns of this baillage, tho' very numerous, their writers have not thought fit to give us a particular description of.

The Baillage of Amont or Gray lies north-west of that of Besançon; the chief towns whereof are Gray, Vesoul, Marnay, Beaume, Jonvelle, Dampierre, Amance, Belvoir, Bouilans, Faucogne, Lure, Montbelliard and Pesme.

Gray is a pretty trading town, situate on the Saone, about ten miles north-west of Besançon, and was well fortified till taken by LEWIS XIV., who demolish'd the works. Here they embark great quantities of corn, iron, and other merchandizes, which they transport to Lyons. The place consists but of one parish, five convents, a collegiate church, and a college of Jesuits. The inhabitants are computed to amount to about four thousand.

The Baillage of Dole lies south-west of Besançon, and is much less than either of the former, the chief towns whereof are Dole, Quingey and Ornans.

Dole, *Dola Sequanorum*, is situated on the river Doux, about fifteen miles south-west of Besançon, in a pleasant fruitful country, and was antiently the capital of Franche Comte, and the residence of the sovereign. The French King demolish'd the fortifications when he took it in 1674, but it is still a pretty town, the streets spacious, and the houses tolerably well built. The publick edifices best worth the viewing, are the church of our Lady, the Jesuits college, and the palace where their parliament was held. There is also a university in the place, founded by PHILIP the Good, and eleven convents of both sexes. The inhabitants are computed to amount to between four and five thousand. Here are still the ruins of several Roman antiquities, particularly of two aqueducts. Their great highway also from Lyons to the Rhine lay thro' this town. The French were confirmed in the possession of this place and the rest of Franche Comte by the treaty of Ryswick.

The village of Sampans, two miles from Dole, is remarkable for its fine quarries of jasper and other marble.

The Baillage of Aval is the most southern part of Franche Comte: the chief towns are, 1. Salins. 2. Arbois. 3. St. Claude. And, 4. Poligny.

Salines Villa, and *Puteus Salinarum*, so call'd from an excellent salt-spring, which yields the crown a great revenue, is pleasantly situated on a rivulet between two mountains, twenty miles south

CHAP. VIII. south of Besançon. It is a long town, consisting chiefly of one street, in which are four parishes, and nine or ten convents. The churches have nothing extraordinary in their fabrick; but the hall in which they have their magazine of salt, and where their courts of justice are held, is a magnificent building. It is defended by a wall, and some forts, and was formerly reckon'd a very strong place. It contains at present between five and six thousand inhabitants.

The antient
state of
Franche
Comte.

Franche Comte, or the county of Burgundy, was inhabited by the Sequani, who were more antiently comprehended under the name of Helvetians. They implor'd CÆSAR's protection against ARIOVISTUS, a German monarch who invaded them: CÆSAR having driven him beyond the Rhine, put his army into winter quarters in this province, which afterwards continu'd faithful to the Romans. The Burgundians made themselves masters of it in the time of the Emperor HONORIUS, and united it to their kingdom of Burgundy. CLOVIS having conquer'd that kingdom, this part of it remain'd under the power of THIERRY, King of Austrasia, who had married the daughter of SIGISMOND, King of Burgundy; and THEOBALD the son of THIERRY dying without issue, CLOTHAIRE reunited it to the crown. A considerable time afterwards, LEWIS the Debonaire granted it to LOTHAIRE his eldest son, to whom succeeded CHARLES the Bald. But not to tire the reader with a long dry pedigree of the Princes of this house, I shall pass them over till we come to the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN of Austria, afterwards Emperor, who having married MARY the only daughter of CHARLES Duke of Burgundy, became possess'd of this province by virtue of that marriage, (tho' the French King seiz'd the duchy of Burgundy as reverted to him.) His grandson CHARLES the Fifth uniting it with the Netherlands, constituted the tenth circle of the empire, under the title of the circle of Burgundy; and the Kings of Spain of the house of Austria enjoy'd it till the year 1668, when LEWIS XIV. made himself master of it under pretence that it was devolv'd on his Queen, but was forced to restore it by the treaty of Aix la Chappelle. He made a second conquest of it in the year 1674, and it was confirm'd to him by the peace of Ryswick, anno 1697, being since new modell'd, and reduc'd into the form of a French province.

Produce of
the country.

This country abounds in corn, wine and cattle, and the mountainous part of it, 'tis said, produces better pasture than the valleys. Their wine will keep five or six years, and about that age it is admirably good: those of them who can afford to keep stocks by them, usually get estates by it.

There are several iron-mines and works in this country, that have consum'd abundance of the wood with which this province was replenish'd

when the French conquer'd it. There are no less than thirty forges or furnaces along the banks of the rivers Doux, Saone and Lougnon, where they make bombs, grenades, and bullets for the artillery. There are also abundance of good armourers, cutlers, and artificers in hard-ware at Besançon, especially gun-smiths; the French being about to establish a magazine of arms at Besançon, which lies conveniently for supplying the garrisons on the frontiers of Germany and Italy with arms. They cut also masts for shipping on the mountains of this country, and breed a prodigious number of oxen and cows, with which, and the cheese and butter they produce, they drive a great trade. Their breed of horses also brings a great deal of money into this country, for they sell one year with another five thousand colts, besides full-grown horses, of which some serve for draught, and others to remount the cavalry and dragoons. In the campaign of 1696, 'tis said, there were not less than four thousand horses bought up here for the King's service. The inhabitants of the mountains have also a considerable trade in hogs; but the country is not proper for sheep, and the wooll of those they have is not good, which is the reason they have no woollen manufactures in the country. Their quarries of alabaster are exceeding white and clear, and there are others of jasper about Salins, of which the blocks are so large that they will make pillars of twelve or fifteen foot in length; and in some pits they find a black marble. But scarce any thing brings so considerable a revenue to the crown as the salt-works in Franche Comte, and particularly those of Salins. They make also, as 'tis said, annually, twelve hundred thousand weight of salt-petre.

As to the military government of this province, it hath a governor general, who is also governor of Besançon, and hath under him one lieutenant general, and as many particular governors as there are fortified places; viz. the governor of the citadel of Besançon, the governor of fort Griffon, of Salins, of fort St. Andrew, of the fort de Blin, of the castle of Joux, and the castle of Blamont.

CHAP. IX.

Contains a description of Dauphiné.

DAUPHINE is almost of a triangular figure, each side of the triangle near an hundred English miles in length, being bounded by La Bresse and part of Savoy on the north, by another part of Savoy and Piedmont on the east, by Provence on the south, and by the river Rhone, which separates it from Languedoc, on the west. It is a very mountainous country, especially towards the east, being separated from Piedmont by the Alps. The chief

Dauphiné,
its situation
and extent.

Face of the
country.

CHAP. chief rivers are the Rhone, the Durance, the Isere
IX. and the Drome.

Rivers. The Rhone, which has been already described, washes the west side of the triangle.

The Isere has its source in mount Iseran in Savoy, from whence it runs south-west to Grenoble, and so on till it falls into the Rhone about a league and half from Valeure, receiving in its passage the rivers Aire, Drap, Vence and Gie, and begins first to be navigable for small boats at Montmelian, and for larger at Grenoble.

The Drome rises in the valley of Drome, near the village of Bastie, and running first north-west, and afterwards west, falls into the Rhone four or five leagues below the Isere.

Division. This province is usually divided into high and low Dauphiné: the higher and more barren lies to the eastward, and the lower and fruitful part of the country to the westward, near the banks of the Rhone. The higher is again subdivided into six districts, viz. 1. The Grasivaudan. 2. The Briançonois. 3. The Ambrunois. 4. The Gapençois. 5. The Royanez. And, 6. The Baronies. The lower comprehends, 1. The Viennois. 2. The Valentinois. 3. The Diois. 4. The Tricastra. And, 5. The Principality of Orange.

The Grasivaudan. The Grasivaudan, *Gratianopolitanus Ager*, lies between the rivers Isere and Drap, on the confines of Savoy, the capital whereof is Grenoble. The other places of any note are the great Chartreuse, Les Eschelles, and fort Barraux.

Grenoble. Grenoble, *Cularo, Gratianopolis*, is pleasantly situated at the foot of a mountain on the river Isere, which divides it in two unequal parts, of which the largest is much the finest. The streets are wide and well pav'd, and it contains several handsome publick buildings; as the cathedral dedicated to our Lady, the collegiate church of St. Andrew, the hospital general, the palace where the parliament meets, the hotel de Leslequieres, the arsenal, and the governor's house. It consists of two parishes only, and nine or ten monasteries, and is about a mile in length. The Bishop is suffragan to the Archbishop of Vienne.

Fort Barraux. Fort Barraux is situated at the entrance of the valley of Grasivaudan, two leagues from Montmelian, and is esteem'd the strongest fortress on the confines of Savoy.

Chartreuse. The grand Chartreuse, which is the mother of all the convents of the same denomination, is situated seven miles north-east of Grenoble, upon a high rock, to which we ascend by a very strait passage for above a league, and it is surrounded by an almost impenetrable forest of fir-trees. It is a magnificent building, and endow'd with large revenues. The general meeting of the order by deputies from all other countries assemble in this convent, there being about two hundred monaste-

ries under its direction; and travellers who come to view the place are entertain'd with abundance of humanity. The monks are not allow'd to speak to strangers, or to one another, but at certain hours, and in certain places. In the way to this convent, the monks have a house where they follow all manner of mechanick arts. They spin the wool of which their gowns are made; they do joiners work, cutlers work, &c. and their store-houses and cellars are well worth the viewing. On Sundays and holidays they are allow'd to walk out for their diversion, and as soon as they have pass'd the courts of the convent, are permitted to open their mouths, and pay their compliments to each other; which is certainly no small refreshment to a Frenchman, who has had the mortification to have silence imposed upon him for several days before.

The Briançonois is bounded by the Grasivaudan on the north-west, and Piedmont on the south-east; a very mountainous country, about eighteen leagues long and sixteen broad, and was antiently the seat of the Brigantes; in which a way being cut thro' the rocks to facilitate the passage from Italy to Gaul, some suppose this to be the work of HANNIBAL, others of CÆSAR, and some ascribe it to COTTIUS, a Prince of the Gauls, whose dominions lay in this part of the country; and tho' they were but small, their situation enabled him to defend himself so well against the Romans, that they thought it more expedient to receive him into their alliance than to attempt the conquest of it. From this Prince it is suppos'd that these mountains obtain'd the name of Alps Cottiani. The chief places are, 1. Briançon. 2. Exilles. 3. Fenestrelles. 4. Oux. And, 5. Queyras.

Briançon, *Virgantia Brigantum*, is situated on the side of a steep rock, on the top whereof stands a castle; this is suppos'd to be the highest part of the Alps, and consequently the highest ground in Europe, being about seven leagues to the westward of Suza in Piedmont, and as much north-east of Ambrun in Dauphiné. Two small rivers, the Dura and the Ancre, unite their streams a little below this town, and form the river Durance. It is a town naturally very strong, and the fortifications no doubt improv'd, since France has been oblig'd to yield the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles, on the frontiers of Piedmont, to the King of Sardinia. Upon one of the old gates is this inscription, *D. Cæsari Augusto Dedicata, Salutate eam*, over which 'tis suppos'd the statue of CÆSAR was placed.

Exilles, *olim Ocellum*, is situated on the river Doire, five leagues north-east of Briançon, and two to the westward of Suza, defended by a strong castle which stands upon a pass between France and Piedmont; it was taken from the French by the Duke of Savoy, in the year 1708, and confirm'd to him by the peace of Utrecht.

Fene-

CHAP. IX. Fenestrelles is a strong fort on the confines of Dauphiné and Piedmont, which was taken by the Duke of Savoy in the year 1708, and confirm'd to him by the peace of Utrecht; Pignerol being also then surrender'd to him, he has thereby obtain'd a pretty good barrier against France.

Oux. Oulx or Oux, formerly Admartis, from a temple here dedicated to MARS, is situated on the river Doire, about three leagues to the westward of Suza.

The Ambrunois. The Ambrunois is bounded by the Briançonois on the north; by Piedmont on the east; by Provence on the south; and by Gapençois on the west. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Ambrun. 2. Gillestre. 3. St. Crespin. 4. Mont Dauphin. 5. Chorges. And, 6. Savius.

Ambrun. Ambrun, *Embrun, Ebrodunum*, which in the Celtick language signified a fruitful mountain, is an antient town situated on a steep rock, at the foot whereof runs the river Durance, and is about twenty miles south of Briançon. It is a strong place both by art and nature, an Archbishop's see, who is metropolitan of the Maritime Alps, and stiled Prince of Ambrun; besides the cathedral, it contains five parish-churches and several monasteries; the archiepiscopal palace is a magnificent structure, standing in the highest part of the town.

The Gapençois. The Gapençois, a mountainous country, lies to the westward of the Ambrunois, being about eighteen leagues long and fourteen broad. The chief towns are, 1. Gap. 2. Tallard. 3. Veines. 4. Lesdeguieres. And, 5. Aspres.

Gap. Gap, *Civitas Vappincensium*, is situated at the foot of a mountain about fifteen miles south-west of Ambrun; it is a bishop's see, but neither the cathedral nor the other buildings deserve a particular description, nor are the fortifications considerable: about a league from hence is a church and image of the Virgin, call'd Notre Dame du Lait, which occasions a great concourse of the country people from all parts, who come hither in pilgrimage; the church is a handsome edifice built with a kind of marble.

Tallard. Tallard is a little town two leagues to the southward of Gap; most remarkable for giving a title to Marshal Tallard General of the French, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Hochstet, anno 1704, and remain'd prisoner in England till the peace of Utrecht.

The Royance. The Royance is a little country about six leagues in length and four in breadth (which receiv'd its name from a town call'd Pont de Royance) formerly a principality, but at present a marquifate.

The Barones. The Baronies are the most southern part of Dauphiné, and lie on the confines of Provence, being about sixteen leagues in length and seven in breadth, being so call'd from the several Baronies into which it is divided. It is a country that produces good wine, olives, oranges, pomegranates,

figs, and other fruits. The chief towns are Buis and Nions.

CHAP. IX. Buis is a little town on the river Oreze near the borders of Provence, of which the French geographers have not thought fit to give a further description.

Nions. Nions is a little town situate in a valley on the river Aigues, the bridge whereof according to tradition was the work of the Romans: near this town is a mountain from whence issues a cold wind that refreshes the country, which would otherwise be excessive hot.

The Lower Dauphiné consists of the western part of the country next the Rhone, and comprehends, 1. The Viennois, the most north-west part of Dauphiné, being almost surrounded by the Rhone and the Isere, about twenty four leagues in length and eighteen in breadth, and was antiently part of the country of the Allobroges. The chief towns are, 1. Vienne. 2. St. Saphoria. 3. Pont de Beauvoisin. 4. St. Rambert. 5. St. Vallier. 6. Tain. 7. Romans. 8. St. Anthony. And, 9. La Tour du Pin.

Vienne. Vienne, *Vienna Allobrogum*, is situated at the foot of a mountain on the river Rhone, about forty miles north-west of Grenoble, and sixteen south of Lyons; it was the capital of the Allobroges, afterwards a Roman colony, the metropolis of *Gallia Narbonensis secunda*, and the first of their conquests on this side the Alps. JULIUS CÆSAR relided a considerable time here, and here are still the remains of an amphitheatre and other Roman buildings. The Burgundians took it from the Romans and made it the capital of their kingdom; it is much less than it was antiently, being now but one league and a half in circumference. The Archbishop of this see, 'tis said, disputes the primacy of France with the Archbishop of Lyons; the cathedral is a magnificent Gothick structure and stands on an eminence, to which we ascend by twenty steps and upwards: there are besides in Vienne several beautiful collegiate churches, abbeys and convents, and a college of Jesuits. The fifteenth general council was held here in the year 1311. The situation of the town is not pleasant, being almost cover'd with the mountain, the streets narrow, uneven and ill pav'd. On the other hand the neighbouring fields on the side of Avignon, and the banks of the Rhone, are exceeding beautiful: the most considerable manufactures here are sword-blades, and other iron and steel wares, and paper.

The church of St. Severus, according to tradition, is built in the place where formerly grew a tree, under which the Pagans sacrificed to an hundred Gods, which St. Severus ordering to be pull'd up, to remove the superstition the people had for it, found under the root a man's skull fill'd with gold and silver enough to erect this church, and a pillar with the following inscription, viz. *Arborem*
T t t *Dens*

CHAP. IX. *Deos Severus evertit Centum Decorum.* The chapel of St. Maria de la Vie was the Roman *Prætorium*, over the door of which is a stone ball with this inscription, *Hæc est Pomum Sceptri Pilati*; and they pretend to shew the house where PONTIUS PILATE liv'd during his banishment, the tower where he was imprison'd, and the lake where he drown'd himself, to which they have given his name.

St. Saphoria. St. Saphoria lies two leagues to the northward of Vienne in the road to Lyons; but I don't find it remarkable for any thing but the post-asses which go from hence to Lyons, and perform their stage as well as horses, but are not to be driven beyond it by any means whatever.

Pont Beauvoisin. Pont Beauvoisin is situated on the river Gier near the frontiers of Savoy, about thirty miles to the eastward of Vienne, and is one of the most considerable passes between France and Savoy.

Tain. Tain or Theine is a little town situated near the Rhone, about twenty-five miles to the southward of Vienne, remarkable chiefly for that excellent wine called hermitage wine.

Romans. Romans is situated on the river Isere, over which it has a bridge, thirty miles to the southward of Vienne; the situation of this town is said to resemble that of Jerusalem, having a hill in it with buildings not unlike those on mount Calvary, by which name the convent is call'd that is built upon it.

The Valentinois. The Valentinois lies to the southward of the Viennois, from which it is divided by the river Isere. It was antiently a county, and has been three times erected into a duchy. The chief towns are, 1. Valence. 2. Montelimart. 3. Livron. 4. Pierre Late. And, 5. St. Marcellin.

Valence. Valence, *Valentia, Civitas Valentinarum*, is situated on the Rhone, a little below its confluence with the Isere, thirty-five miles to the southward of Vienne. It was once a Roman colony, and is still a pretty large well-built town, and the see of a bishop suffragan to Vienne; the cathedral is a noble structure, besides which there is a collegiate church, the fine abbey of St. Ross, with several other convents, and it has an university in which the civil and canon laws are chiefly studied, founded by LEWIS XI. anno 1452. In the church of the Jacobins they shew the bones of a giant of a prodigious size; for according to the dimensions of those we saw, says my author, the whole body must have been sixteen foot long. The neighbourhood of this place is extremely pleasant, the hills lying about it in form of a crescent on the one side, and the Rhone with its beautiful meadows open to it on the other.

Montelimart. Montelimart is situated on the river Robion, about a league from the Rhone, in a fruitful plain about thirty miles to the southward of Valence. It is a little populous place, remarkable for several

councils held here against the Albigenes in the 13th century; and it was, says my French author, one of the first towns that follow'd the errors of CALVIN; but since the revocation of the edict of Nants, they have been very faithful to God and their King: that is, the government has put it out of their power to dispute its commands. It suffer'd very much on occasion of its adhering to the Hugonots in the civil wars. The learned CHAUCIER, so celebrated among the French Protestants, was minister of this place.

The Diois lies to the eastward of the Valentinois, being eighteen leagues in length and sixteen in breadth, and is the most mountainous part of the Lower Dauphiné. The chief places are, 1. Die. 2. Crest. 3. Bourdeaux. 4. Chastillon. 5. Valdrone. 6. Saillans. 7. Luc.

Die, *Dea Vacantiorum*, and *Dea Augusta*, is situated at the foot of the mountains on the river Drone, thirty miles to the southward of Grenoble. It is the see of a Bishop, who has also the title of Count of the place. The Protestants had a university here before the revocation of the edict of Nants, and were very numerous in this city; but it suffer'd very much in the civil wars, the castle and several of its churches being demolish'd.

The Tricastin is bounded by the Valentinois on the north, and the Venaissin on the south, a district of a very small extent; the only considerable town whereof is,

St. Paul trois Chateaux, known antiently by the name of *Augusta Tricastinorum*, situated on a rising ground about a league to the westward of the Rhone, and four to the southward of Montelimart. It is the see of a Bishop suffragan of Arles, who is also styled Count.

The principality of Orange was always esteem'd a part of Provence till the year 1714, when an edict pass'd for annexing it to the government of Dauphiné; it is bounded by the county of Venaissin or Avignon on the north, east and south; and by the river Rhone, which divides it from Languedoc, on the west. It was govern'd by a Prince of its own for many years, the last of whom was WILLIAM III. of England; for the King of Prussia, who pretends to be heir to that Prince, exchang'd it with the last French King LEWIS XIV. at the treaty of Utrecht for part of Guelderland, which the French King had possess'd himself of during the war; his Prussian Majesty still retaining the title of Prince of Orange. It is a very small district, being no more than four leagues in length and three in breadth, and the Prince's revenue amounted to about five thousand pounds per annum. The chief towns are, 1. Orange. 2. Courtezon. 3. Jonquieres. And, 4. Gigondos.

Orange, *Aurasio*, is situated in a fine large plain water'd with abundance of little rivulets, about three miles to the westward of the Rhone, and eighteen

CHAP. IX. eighteen north of Avignon. It has been of much larger extent than it is at present, and was a town that made a considerable figure in the time of the Romans, as appears by the remains of part of a cirque, an amphitheatre and a triumphal arch almost entire. MAURICE of Nassau, its sovereign, also built a regular fortress, consisting of eleven bastions, on a neighbouring eminence, in the year 1622, which LEWIS le Grand demolish'd in the year 1660, with all the other fortifications about it. It is still a university and a bishop's see, suffragan of Arles; and there have been three councils held in this city.

The ancient
state of
Dauphiné.

Dauphins of
Vienne.

The province of Dauphiné was part of the country of the Allobroges, who joining with HANNIBAL, were subdu'd by the Romans about an hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. Upon the declension of the Roman Empire, they fell under the dominion of the Goths and other barbarous nations that ravaged Italy and Gaul; after which Dauphiné became part of the kingdom of the Burgundians. The Counts of Albon made themselves masters of the country, (in the reign of RODOLPH the slothful) whose successors reign'd here under the title of Dauphins of Vienne. The name of Dauphin was the christian name of GUY, the eighth Count of Albon, who govern'd this province in the year 1130; his successors made it a name of dignity, and annex'd it to the province. Dauphiné has twice fallen to the females for want of male issue: the first time in the year 1184, by the death of GUIGUES IX, who leaving only one daughter named BEATRIX, she married to HUGH III, Duke of Burgundy, who was the founder of the second race of the Dauphins of Vienne. The second was after the death of GUY X, who leaving issue an only daughter named ANNE, she was married in the year 1282 to HUMBERT, Lord Tour Dupin. This Prince begun the third race of Dauphins, which ended with HUMBERT the Second, a weak Prince, who becoming inconsolable for the loss of his only son, whom he let fall into the river Isere as he was playing with him at a window in his palace at Grenoble, he transferr'd his dominions to CHARLES Duke of Normandy, the grandson of PHILIP de Valois, King of France, upon condition that the eldest son of France should always bear the name of Dauphin, and his arms be quarter'd with those of France. And the King on his part promis'd the Dauphin an hundred and twenty thousand gold florins; which treaty was executed the sixteenth of July, 1349. HUMBERT the next day shut himself up in a cloyster, and Dauphiné has ever since been annex'd to the crown of France.

Dauphiné
transferred
to the house
of Valois.

The soil and
produce.

The soil of this country in some parts is tolerably fruitful, producing corn, wine, olives, salt, silk and hemp, besides which they have some mines of copper, iron and lead; but two thirds of the pro-

vince is so barren, occasion'd by the high mountains which encumber it, that the natives are many of them oblig'd to remove their habitations one part of the year, to get a livelihood elsewhere, and to enable them to pay their taxes. Their mountains however produce a great variety of beautiful flowers, simples, timber, precious stones and minerals. There are also upon them abundance of deer, game, wild goats call'd Chamois, bears, and wolves. Their goats, particularly on the mountains of Diois, are red in summer and grey in winter. There are also on the Alps in this province great numbers of white hares, and partridges, eagles, goshawks, pheasants, &c. And in the dutchy of Tallard are several salt-springs. Two leagues from Die is a hill called the inaccessible mountain, being in form of a pyramid revers'd; but some people have however found means to ascend it, and report that there is a plain on the top of it a quarter of a league in length, on which they found herds of the wild goats call'd Chamois, tho' it is not to be conceiv'd how they climb'd up thither. They tell us also of a kind of manna which is found in the district of Briançon, upon the leaves of a tree called Meleze, resembling a pine, which falls as soon as the sun comes upon it, and is never so plentiful as in excessive hot weather. There are reported to be abundance of other merveilles, or strange productions in Dauphiné, as a burning fountain, an unfathomable gulph, &c. which I find their best writers do not give much credit to.

Curiosities.

It was one of the privileges of Dauphiné anciently to have their governor and lieutenant general natives; but this is now frequently broke through. Besides the governor and lieutenant general, the King has four other lieutenants general of particular districts, and governors of the fortified towns.

The fortified places are Grenoble, Valence, Die, Montelimart, Gap, Ambrun, Mont Dauphin, Guillestre, Chateau de Queyras, Briançon, Exilles, Barrault and L'Ecluse.

CHAP. X.

Contains a description of Provence.

AFTER the Romans had made themselves masters of the country of the Salii, Cavari, Deluviati, &c. they gave it the name of Provincia, the province, being the first they conquer'd on this side the Alps, and it retains the same name to this day, having only changed the letter i for an e, and instead of Province is call'd Provence. It is bounded by Dauphiné on the north, by the river Var and the Alps, which separate it from Piedmont and the county of Nice, on the east; by the Mediterranean on the south, and by the Rhone, which divides

Provence,
the name.

Situation
and extent.

CHAP. divides it from Languedoc, on the west; being about forty leagues in length from east to west, and thirty in breadth from north to south.

The air. The air is temperate in the mountainous part of this province, but in the valleys excessive hot, unless on the sea-coast, where they have usually refreshing breezes, which blow from nine or ten in the morning until the evening; and whenever the wind sits north-east, it brings cool weather along with it.

Rivers. The chief rivers are the Rhone, the Var, the Durance, the Verdon, the Argens, the Sorgue and the Larc.

The Rhone. The Rhone has been already describ'd, which washes the western boundaries of this province.

The Var. The Var hath its source in the mountains, on the north-east part of Provence, and running to the southward, falls into the Mediterranean between Nice and Antibes, dividing Italy from France.

The Durance. The Durance rises in the eastern part of Dauphiné, and running above an hundred miles to the south-west, joins its streams with the river Verdon; after which it takes its course to the westward, till it falls into the Rhone near Avignon.

Argens. The river Argens, so called from the pureness of its waters, rises in the south-west part of the country, and taking its course almost directly east, falls into the Mediterranean near Frejus.

The Sorgue. The Sorgue has its whole course thro' the county of Venaissin, where it rises, and running south-west, falls into the Rhone two leagues above Avignon. The springs where it rises throw out the water so plentifully, that it bears the name of a river from its very source, and immediately carries small boats.

The Larc. The Larc is a little river, or rather a dangerous torrent, which rising in the south part of this province, takes its course to the westward by Aix, from whence it runs on south-west till it falls into a bay of the Mediterranean sea near Berre.

There are also mineral-waters and salt-springs in several parts of the country.

Roads. The most considerable roads and harbours on the coast of Provence are those of Marseilles, Toulon, Hieres, Grimant and Lerins, which will be describ'd hereafter in treating of those places.

Mountains and woods. The country is very mountainous towards the north and east, being taken up by the Alps, which divide it from the Duke of Savoy's dominions in Italy. The rest of the province next the sea and the river Rhone, is for the most part plain and even. Neither the one or the other abounds in wood, tho' few countries are better stock'd with fruits, as will appear when I come to treat of the soil and produce of the country.

The division of Provence. The French geographers divide Provence into 15 parts or dioceses, besides the islands, which make a sixteenth: 1. The diocese of Aix. 2. The diocese of Riez. 3. That of Senez. 4. The

diocese of Digne. 5. The Archbishoprick of Arles, CHAP. 6. The diocese of Marseilles. 7. The diocese of X. Toulon. 8. The diocese of Frejus. 9. The diocese of Grasse. 10. The diocese of Vence. 11. The diocese of Glandèves. 12. The diocese of Sisteron. 13. The diocese of Apt. 14. The county of Venaissin, or Avignon. 15. The valley of Barcelonnette. And, 16. The islands.

The diocese of Aix extends itself along the banks of the river Durance; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Aix. 2. St. Maximin. 3. Brignole. And, 4. Lambesc.

Aix, *Aquæ Sextiæ*, called *Aquæ* on account of its baths, and *Sextiæ* as it was enlarged and beautified by SEXTIUS CALVINUS, a Roman consul. It is situated in a plain, at the foot of the hill St. Eutropius, and about a musket-shot from the little river Arc, in the latitude of 43 degrees 30 minutes, twenty miles to the northward of Marseilles, and thirty-five south-east of Avignon. It is a large well-built city, and, according to my French author, resembles Paris the most of any town in the kingdom, in the magnificence of its buildings, the politeness of its inhabitants, its spacious squares and beautiful fountains. The Course consisting of three fine walks of trees of a great length, with elegant uniform buildings on each side of it, and embellish'd with fountains, is very much admir'd by travellers, as are the baths and mineral waters. The principal publick buildings are the palace where the parliament and courts of justice are held, the town-house, the cathedral, the church of the fathers of the oratory, and the Jesuits church. Aix is an Archbishop's see, and a university founded by Pope ALEXANDER V, anno 1409, where the students enjoy equal privileges with those of the university of Paris.

St. Maximin is situated to the eastward of Aix, and consists of one parish only; but is famous for a convent of Dominicans, where, according to the tradition of the place, they have preserv'd the head of MARY MAGDALEN, and a phial containing the drops of blood which she collected at the foot of our Saviour's cross; with many other reliques of that saint, which draws a great concourse of superstitious people thither.

The diocese of Riez lies on the river Verdon, north-east of that of Aix; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Riez. 2. Monstiers. And, 3. Valensole.

Riez, called by the Latins *Alabece Reiorum Apollinarium*, because the inhabitants had a particular devotion for APOLLO, is situated about forty miles north-east of Aix, being a handsome little town, and a bishop's see, suffragan of Aix. The country about it yields the best wine in Provence.

The diocese of Senez lies along the river Verdon, to the north-east of Riez. The chief towns are, 1. Senez. 2. Castellane. And, 3. Colmars.

Senez,

CHAP. X. Senez, *Sanitium*, or *Sanecium*, situated about twenty miles north-east of Riez, is now reduc'd to a very small city, or rather a village, but remains however a bishop's see, suffragan to Ambrun.

Senez city. Castellane. Castellane is a handsome town, situate at the foot of a mountain on the river Verdon, where the Bishop of Senez usually resides.

Digne diocese. Digne city. The diocese of Digne lies to the northward of Senez; the only town of any note is,

Digne, *Dinia*, situated at the foot of the mountains; five or six leagues north of Senez, is the see of a bishop, suffragan of Ambrun, formerly the capital of the Senii, but of no great consequence at present.

Arles diocese. The diocese, or archbishoprick of Arles, lies in the south-west part of Provence, having the Mediterranean on the south, and the river Rhone on the west, and is about eighteen leagues in length, and fourteen in breadth. The chief towns are, 1. Arles. 2. Salon. 3. Berre. 4. Les Beaux. And, 5. Troies Maries.

Arles city. Arles, *Arelatum*, by PLINY call'd *Arelate Sextanorum*, because the Romans sent a colony of the sixth legion hither, is situated on the east bank of the Rhone, upon very uneven ground, and almost surrounded by a morass, which renders the air thick and unhealthful. They have a bridge of boats over the Rhone, that preserves their communication with Languedoc, on which side CONSTANTINE the great built great part of the town, but there is scarce any thing remaining of it at present. This Prince it seems was mightily taken with the situation of the place; and made it the seat of the Roman Empire in Gaul, giving it the name of *Constantium*. Among the antiquities that remain here is an obelisk of granite marble, all one entire stone, fifty two foot high, and seven feet in diameter at the base, like those of Rome, says my French author, only there are no hieroglyphicks upon it; but 'tis perfectly plain, and thus happily reserv'd, as he observes, to record the actions of LEWIS le Grand, who caus'd it to be dug out of the ruins and set upon a pedestal in the year 1676. The town consecrated this monument to the glory of his Majesty, placing an azure globe on the top of it, strew'd with golden flowers de lys, and a sun, which was this Prince's device. The four angles of the pedestal were adorn'd with four lions in marble, and the several faces contain'd inscriptions pointing out the most remarkable events of his reign.

There are also the ruins of an amphitheatre, which the French writers are confident was built by JULIUS CÆSAR. It is of an oval form, and an hundred and ninety four fathoms in circumference; the longest diameter of the area seventy one fathoms, and the shortest fifty two. The portico's are three stories high, built with free stone of a prodigious size; every story contains sixty arches,

CHAP. X. which still remain. The walls are of a surprising thickness, but very much batter'd and defac'd.

The more modern publick buildings are the cathedral, a vast Gothick structure, the front whereof is charg'd with an infinite number of figures. The high altar is adorn'd with a fine tabernacle of silver, representing the martyrdom of St. STEPHEN, to whom the church is dedicated, which is an admirable piece.

The town-house is an elegant regular building, and finely situated. It is of a square figure, built with white stone, and adorn'd with three orders of architecture one above another. The portico is magnificent, and embellish'd with the busts of the Counts of Provence, and the roof sustain'd by twenty double pillars.

There is a territory of thirty miles extent depending on this city, which contains the islands made by the three branches of the Rhone, call'd Camargne and the Cran, the *Campi Lapidei* of STRABO and PLINY, which is a large country cover'd with stones, extending to the sea of Martigne from the banks of the Rhone; which notwithstanding the stony surface, according to the French writers, makes excellent pasture for sheep, who turning up the stones, find an herb underneath that fats them.

Berre is situated on a bay of the Mediterranean, Berre. most considerable for the great quantities of salt that are made here. But good Catholics, I find, have a mighty veneration for the place, on account of the precious reliques that are preserv'd here, as the hair and milk of the blessed Virgin, some of her clothes, the bones of St. LAURENCE, and the finger of St. GERMAIN. It stands in a very unhealthful air.

The diocese of Marseilles lies along the coast of the Mediterranean, to the eastward of the diocese of Arles. The chief towns are, 1. Marseilles. 2. Roquevaire. 3. Ambaigne. 4. Avriol. 5. La Ciotat. 6. La Sainte Beaume. And, 7. Gemenos.

Marseilles, *Maffilia*, is situated on the Mediterranean, twenty miles south of Aix, and thirty north-west of Toulon, being divided into the old and new town. The old stands on an eminence above the port, the streets whereof are narrow and dirty, and the houses very indifferent. On the other hand, the new town is perfectly well built, particularly the street call'd the Course, which is one of the finest in Europe, the houses on each side being uniform and magnificent, and a noble walk of trees between them. The cathedral is said to have been the temple of DIANA, and the antientest in France. On the land-side there is one of the most beautiful plains in the world, in which there are not less than eight hundred country-seats of the citizens, with their gardens and vineyards, whither

CHAP. whether they retire from the noise of the town ;
 X. for, says my author, the multitude of slaves in the streets, with their rattling chains, would make one think he was in the confines of hell : some of them serve as porters ; and others have little shops and huts, where they are allow'd to work at their trades.

The abbey of St. Victor is a beautiful edifice ; the Hotel de Ville, or town-house, has a noble front ; the hospital and the arsenal are well worth the viewing, and there are abundance of fine convents in the place. The town is fortified and defended by a castle and two citadels ; the harbour one of the safest and most commodious in Europe, where the French King lays up his galleys, but it will not admit of ships of above five or six hundred tons. It is a populous city, the natives being computed at an hundred thousand souls and upwards before the last plague, which happened anno 1720, and swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. It has as brisk a trade as most towns in the Mediterranean, and several beneficial manufactures, particularly their silk-manufacture is in good esteem, and those which relate to their shipping ; their magazines of arms and warlike stores are said to be equal to any in Europe. This city is held to be of great antiquity, generally said to be founded by the Phocians, a people of Ionia in the Lesser Asia. It was celebrated for a fine academy antiently, whither the Romans, Greeks, and Gauls resorted for education ; inasmuch, that it obtained the title of the learned city. They were also considerable on account of the brave defence they made against the Roman power, who thereupon entered into an alliance with them, but afterwards deprived them of their privileges, and used them as a conquer'd people.

St. Beaume. St. Beaume is situated on a rocky mountain, almost inaccessible, between Aix, Marseilles and Toulon ; where, according to tradition, MARY MAGDALEN did penance thirty years. The grott, where this Saint is supposed to have resided, is enclosed with an iron grate, having abundance of flambeaux burning day and night before it. On the side of it is a fountain which cures many diseases, and runs on every side of the rock except the place where the Saint reposed herself, where there never was seen a single drop. Near this grott, they have built a pretty little church and a convent of Jacobins ; from hence devout people ascend to the holy pillar, whither, according to the same tradition, the Saint was lifted up seven times a day by Angels.

Toulon diocese. The Diocese of Toulon lies south-east of that of Marseilles ; the chief towns are, 1. Toulon. 2. Hieres. 3. Sixfours. 4. Olioules. And, 5. Cuers.

Toulon city. Toulon, *Tolonium*, is situated in a bottom, almost encompassed with hills on the land-side, and

on a bay of the Mediterranean sea, which forms CHAP. a secure and commodious harbour, in the latitude X. of 43 degrees 8 min. six degrees to the eastward of London, four hundred miles almost south-east of Paris, and fourscore south-west of Nice. The town is not large or beautiful, tho' there are some fine buildings in it, especially the magazines and offices, which the late King erected for the use of the navy : for here the French lay up their largest men of war, and have the finest docks and yards in the kingdom for fitting out a royal fleet ; such as, in the strain of the French writers, are not to be parallell'd in the world : but those that have seen Portsmouth and Chatham, or the Dutch magazines and yards in Holland, possibly may be of another opinion. I shall however give a short abstract of what the French say of their naval magazine and works at Toulon. They tell us, that there is a cover'd rope-yard of a surprizing length, that a man cannot see from one end to the other ; and over it is an infinite number of workmen employed in sorting of hemp and spinning, &c. That they have schools for the marine guards, where they are taught navigation, and their exercises. That the hall of arms is a noble fabrick, where they make muskets, pistols, halberts, &c. That in another magazine, they have all manner of utensils for cannoneers and bombarders ; that the offices where the smiths, carpenters and coopers work are of a vast extent ; that the park where the cannon, bombs, and bullets are piled up in a regular manner, and the vast number of anchors, astonishes a man ; that the storehouse, where the sails and rigging for the men of war are laid up, is of a prodigious length ; that the foundery, where all manner of cannon and mortars are cast, requires our attention ; and the royal bake-house, with its numerous ovens, is admirably contrived ; that the machine for putting masts into ships at the old dock is the admiration of all that see it ; and lastly, that there have been found in Toulon at one time near six hundred brass cannon, upwards of three thousand iron guns, sixteen first rates, eight second rates, twenty-four third rates, and six fourth rates, besides frigats, bomb-vessels, fire-ships, &c. There were not less in the place, they assure us, when the allies came before it in the year 1707, the miscarriage of which attempt was partly occasioned by the perverseness of some of the confederates, and partly by some unavoidable accidents : for though the town be as well fortified as the nature of the ground will admit, yet there being two hills which command it, the place could not have held out long against such a force as was at first designed for this expedition. The first false step that was made therefore in this great attempt, was the detaching fifteen thousand men from that army to Naples, which would have fallen into our hands, of it self, if

CHAP. X. if we had been once masters of Toulon, and as it was, cost but very little blood-shed; but the confederate army was so much weakned by making this detachment, that when they came before Toulon, they found the enemy almost as numerous as themselves, and possess'd of all the heights about it; for on two sides of the city, as has been observ'd, lie steep, and almost inaccessible hills, viz. that of St. Anne, on the north-east, and mount St. Catherine, on the south-east; and as the hill of St. Anne perfectly commands the town, so the possession of it secures it against any attack; therefore the French general, Marshal Thesse, having made a very expeditious march, and entrenched himself on this hill before the confederates arriv'd, did thereby in a good measure frustrate their design. The hill of St. Catherine, which the allies possess'd, is more to the eastward, and on the south-east is the hill of Maligne, between which and the town there is a morass. Over the mouth of the harbour lay a boom, between which and a little neck of land there was a deep passage defended by a great tower, on which were thirty guns mounted. This was the tower the confederate fleet attacked, and was in a fair way of taking it, if an unlucky shot had not blown up the magazine of gunpowder in Fort St. Laurence, which they had taken before, and thereby deprived them of the shelter they had gained from the shot of the great tower, &c. after which they found it impracticable to carry on their attacks against it. The army at land also not being able to dislodge the enemy from St. Anne's hill, and intelligence being brought of the French troops marching towards them from all parts, which would have been superior to the allies in a very short time, it was thought adviseable to draw off their forces, and return to Italy the same way they came, as they did without any disturbance from the French, having destroy'd several men of war in the harbour, and set fire to part of the town with their bombs. Had this design succeeded, the French would have suffer'd a prodigious loss in their shipping and naval stores; such a one as they could not have recovered in an age, tho' the confederates had been obliged to quit the town again. But as the allies were masters at sea, and could have pour'd in fresh supplies from time to time, it might have been difficult for the French to have retaken it; tho' I must confess I never desire to see England carry on a war at such a distance, where every man and horse must stand us in seven times the expence it does the enemy, as it actually did in many instances during the last war.

The first account we have of Toulon is, that it was a castle built by the Marfilians, to defend the coast against pyrates; and that Telo Martius the tribune, settled a colony here, calling it by his own name. Upon the decline of the Roman

CHAP. X. Empire, it underwent the same revolutions as the rest of Gaul, and was afterwards governed by Sovereigns of its own, till the heirs of this district transferr'd it to the Counts of Provence, since which it has had the same Princes. The Kings of France finding it a commodious harbour, enlarg'd and fortified it, and made it the station of the royal navy; but none of them improv'd it so much as the late King Lewis XIV. to whom it owes all those fine docks, yards, founderies, &c. above-mention'd; and indeed before his reign the French had scarce any royal navy. It was he that laid the foundation of their greatness at sea, and built more men of war than any Prince or State in Europe was master of; tho' it is true, he could never half man them with sailors, for want of a proportionable foreign trade.

Hieres is a pretty little town situate near the sea, about three leagues to the eastward of Toulon, which gives its name to the islands that lie opposite to it in the Mediterranean. This was also a colony of the Marfilians, and here pilgrims antiently used to embark for the Holy Land. It is considerable at present on account of the excellent salt which is made here, both from the seawater and salt-pools. Here also are some of the finest gardens in France, which are no less profitable to the natives than pleasant; some one of them having yielded more than ten thousand livres a year to the proprietor, before the hard winter in 1709, which destroy'd most of their fruits and plants. This misfortune probably they have pretty well recover'd by this time; but with all their advantages, it seems, they are situated in a very unhealthful air.

Sixfours is a borough situate on a mountain to the westward of Toulon, whose founder the natives pretend was SEXTUS FORIUS, upon account of some inscriptions found there. Its inhabitants are said to be of a larger size, and considerably taller than their neighbours; on which account antiently they had a law amongst them which prohibited their marrying with any but their own people, that they might not lessen the breed.

The diocese of Frejus lies on the sea-coast, north-east of that of Toulon. The chief towns are, 1. Frejus. 2. Barjols. 3. Draguignan. 4. Bargemon. 5. Favos. 6. Pignans. And, 7. St. Tropez.

Frejus, *Forum Julium, Colonia Octavianorum*, is a fortified town situate forty miles north-east of Toulon, on the river Argens, about half a league from the sea. It was the naval arsenal of AUGUSTUS, where he laid up his fleet; and here, 'tis said, the celebrated AGRICOLA was born. There still remain several monuments of its antiquity; tho' the French writers do not think fit to enter into a particular description of them. It is at present.

CHAP. present a bishop's see, who is temporal as well as spiritual Lord of the place, and suffragan of Aix.

X. The diocese of Grasse or Grace, lies on the coast of the Mediterranean north-east of Frejus, being bounded towards the east by the river Var, which separates it from the King of Sardinia's territories. The chief towns are, 1. Grasse. 2. Antibes.

Grasse city. Grasse or Grace, is situated on a hill two leagues from the sea, about twenty miles north-east of Frejus, and fifteen south-west of Nice. The cathedral and parish church are the same; besides which there are a great number of convents, and the town is said to be rich and populous, but not very large. There is a fine prospect from it over one of the pleasantest parts of Provence; the episcopal seat was removed from Antibes hither, on account of the unhealthfulness of Antibes, and the frequent visits of the corsairs of Barbary, and other pirates.

Antibes. Antibes, *Antipolis*, is one of the antientest towns in Provence, situate on the sea-coast, about three leagues south-west of Nice, considerable on account of its port and the antiquities that are found here; it has also a pretty strong citadel for its defence.

Vence diocese. The diocese of Vence lies north of Grasse, being bounded by the King of Sardinia's territories towards the east. The chief towns are, 1. Vence. And, 2. St Paul.

Vence. Vence, *Civitas Vinciensium*, is situated on the Maritime Alps, about five miles to the westward of the river Var, and twelve north-east of Grasse; the city is not large, tho' it was antiently a Roman colony, and celebrated for a temple dedicated to MARS. It is at present a bishop's see, suffragan of Ambrun.

Glandèves diocese. The diocese of Glandèves, or Glandèves, extends along the banks of the river Var to the northward of that of Vence. The chief towns are, 1. Glandèves. 2. Guillaume. And, 3. Entrevaux.

Glandèves. Glandèves, *Glanateva*, stood near the banks of the Var, but being destroyed by the inundations of that river several hundred years ago, the inhabitants removed to Entrevaux, a little town on the confines of Savoy and Nice, where the bishop now resides; and there remains nothing of Glandèves at present, but a little fortress erected on an eminence.

Guillaume. Guillaume, which lies about four or five leagues to the northward of Glandèves, is a good town, the most considerable in this diocese.

Sisteron diocese. The diocese of Sisteron lies in the north part of Provence to the westward of Digne. The chief towns are, 1. Sisteron. 2. Forcalquier. And, 3. Manosque.

Sisteron city. Sisteron, *Segustorum Urbs*, is strongly situated on the river Durance, at the foot of a rock, and defended by a castle, being about fifty miles to the

northward of Aix, and twelve north-west of Digne, CHAI the bishop whereof is suffragan of Ambrun. X.

The diocese of Apt is situated to the westward of the Venaissin; the chief town whereof is of the Apt diocese same name.

Apt, *Civitas Aptensium*, is situated near the mountains on the river Caleron, about twenty-four miles to the northward of Aix, and as many to the eastward of Avignon: this was one of the most considerable cities of the Celtæ, and the capital of the Vulgates in the time of the Romans; the Bishop is first suffragan of Aix, and stiled Prince of Apt. There still remain several monuments of its antiquity, and good catholics esteem the place for the precious reliques found in the cathedral and monasteries here, among the rest the reliques of St. ANNE, the mother of the Blessed Virgin.

The county of Venaissin is bounded on the north by Dauphiné; on the east, by the diocese of Apt; on the south, by the river Durance, which separates it from Arles; and on the west, by the river Rhone, which divides it from Languedoc. It does not derive its name from Venaissin, a country fit for hunting, as some have suggested, but from Venaissin, heretofore an imperial city, and the chief of the country. It is not at present under the dominion of France, but of the Pope; for RAYMOND VI. Count de Thoulouse, who was sovereign of it, taking part with the Vaudois and Albigenes, the French King and the Pope, about the year 1210, invaded his territories, and divided them between them. The King seized all those on the west-side the Rhone, and the Pope held those on the east-side of the river, which consisted of the country of Venaissin. RAYMOND VII. however was re-established in his father's dominions; but he marrying JANE, the daughter of ALPHONSUS, Count of Poitiers, and leaving no issue, Pope GREGORY X. after some struggles got possession of the Venaissin again, which the holy see have held ever since. The city of Avignon indeed was not formerly deem'd part of the county, but was sold to Pope CLEMENT V. by JANE Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence, about the year 1348, for eighty thousand gold florins.

Notwithstanding this little state is under the dominion of the Pope, yet the natives are not deem'd aliens in France, but are allowed the privileges of natives of that kingdom, by the edicts of several of their Kings; and the university of Avignon enjoys the same privileges as other French universities. The chief towns are, 1. Avignon. 2. Tarascon. 3. St. Remy. 4. Cavaillon. 5. Carpentras. 6. Vaison. 7. Venaissin. 8. Pont de Sorgue. 9. Lisle. And, 10. Perues. Chief towns

Avignon, *Avenio*, is situated on the river Rhone, about twenty miles north of Arles, and near as many

CHAP. X. many south of Orange. It is surrounded with a stone-wall, rather beautiful than strong, and contains some magnificent churches and palaces, particularly the cathedral dedicated to the VIRGIN MARY; in which are the tombs of Pope BENNET XII. and JOHN XXII. besides those of several archbishops and bishops. The high altar is exceeding fine, and the treasury of the sacristy rich. The Hugonots, who make it another Babylon, on account of the Pope's residing here, observe, that it has seven parishes, seven monasteries, seven colleges, seven markets, and seven gates. The palace of the vice-legate was the residence of the Pope when the see was at Avignon; that of the archbishop's is a handsome structure, from whence there is an admirable prospect over the neighbouring country; there was a stone-bridge over the river, but being decay'd, it is rebuilt with wood. This city was erected into an Archbishoprick, in the year 1475, by Pope SIXTUS V. and the university was founded in the year 1303, by CHARLES II. King of Jerusalem and Sicily, and Count of Provence. There is also a court of inquisition here; the civil government is administered by the vice-legate, the viguer, or the rota. The viguer, who is an officer that resembles the provost of the merchants in other cities of France, or an English mayor, decides all causes finally, where the matter in contest is not of the value of four gold ducats. The police is under the direction of the consuls of the merchants and their assessors. From these courts there lies an appeal to the vice-legate, who refers them to the rota, being his council, and composed of five auditors; and from this tribunal the parties may appeal to Rome. Among the many fine churches at Avignon, that of the Celestins seems to have the preference, in the middle of the choir whereof is the tomb of Pope CLEMENT VII. Seven Popes successively resided in this city seventy years, viz. from 1307, to 1377.

Barcelonette valley.

The valley of Barcelonette is a little principality in the Maritime Alps, having the Ambrunois, and part of Dauphiné, on the north; the county of Nice, on the east; and Provence, on the south and west; the only town of any consequence being so named.

Barcelonette.

Barcelonette situate on the river Hubaye, twenty miles south-east of Ambrun, built about the year 1230, by RAIMOND BERENGER, Count of Provence, who gave it that name in memory of his ancestors, who came from Barcelona in Catalonia. This principality was antiently a part of Provence, but the natives in the year 1388, revolted from the French, and recogniz'd AMADEUS VII. Duke of Savoy, for their Sovereign. By the treaty of Utrecht, an. 1713, it was yielded to France; and by an arret of the council of

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state the following year, it was united again to CHAP. X. Provence.

The islands of Provence are, 1. Those of St. Margaret and Honorat. 2. The Hieres. And, 3. Those of Marseilles. The isles of St. Margaret and Honorat, lie a little to the southward of Antibes; which, with Cape Garoupe, form a noble road, call'd the Gourjean, where there is excellent anchorage. The isle of St. Margaret lies three leagues south-east of Cannes, being a mile in length, and a quarter of one broad, defended by three forts, and was known to the antients by the name of Lerus.

The islands of Provence.

The island of St. Honorat, *olim* Lerina, is a little island separated from St. Margaret's by a channel a quarter of a league over, and is defended by a great tower.

The islands of Hieres lie south-east of Toulon, and with the opposite shore form one of the finest roads in the Mediterranean, being about ten leagues long, and six broad, and is usually the place of rendezvous of the royal navy; these islands are three in number, viz. the Island of Porquerolle, the Island of Portecroz, and the Island of Levant. That of Porquerolle was called by the antients Proten, and is about four miles in length, and one in breadth. The island of Portecroz, known to the antients by the names of Pomponiana and Mefen, lies six miles to the eastward of Porquerolle, and has a castle of the same name situated on a rock.

The Hieres.

The island of the Levant, *olim* Hypæa, lies the most easterly of any of them, being four miles in length, and one in breadth.

The islands of Marseilles lie a little to the southward of that city, and are three in number, viz. If, Ratoneau, and Pomegues. CÆSAR called them the Massilian Islands. The isle of If took its name from the yew-trees which grew there, If being French for a yew-tree: it has a castle in the middle of it well furnish'd with artillery. The isle of Ratoneau is a dry barren rock, about a mile and half in length, and half a one in breadth, having a fort on the top of it. The isle of Pomegues is almost as large as Ratoneau, and defended by a large tower.

The islands of Marseilles.

Provence, like the rest of France, before the Romans subdued it, was divided into several little principalities and states; of which the Cavares and Salii were most powerful. In the division of Gaul by AUGUSTUS, this was stiled *Gallia Narbonensis Secunda*. On the decline of the Roman Empire, about the year 416, the Goths possessed themselves of it; then it became part of the kingdom of Arles, or Burgundy; afterwards it was governed by its own Counts for above four hundred years; and about the year 1481, CHARLES the last Earl of Provence, left it by will to

The antient state of Provence.

U u u

LEWIS

CHAP. LEWIS XI. King of France, to which kingdom it has been ever since united.

Trade of Provence, The trade of this province, according to the French writers, is exceeding great; and indeed in this, and in every other instance, where these people speak of themselves, some allowances must be made for their partiality. Nor is this species of folly confined to the French alone; every son of ADAM is apt to enlarge and magnify things beyond their due proportion, when they have any relation to himself. When a man treats of the power, wealth, or trade of the country where he was born or educated, he always makes the most of them; imagining, I presume, that it may reflect some honour upon himself, who is a subject or member of it. But notwithstanding allowances must be made for the partiality of the natives, certainly they are best qualified to give us a state of these things, and therefore we are oblig'd to have a regard to their estimates.

To Italy. The French relate, that they export annually from the port of Marseilles to Italy, the value of three millions fifty thousand livres of the product and manufactures of Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence, viz. six thousand bales of cloth, serges, and other woollen manufactures, being of the value of two millions of livres, (I presume they mean when they come to market, and not prime cost.) Of almonds, the value of two hundred thousand livres. Two hundred barrels of honey, amounting to fifty thousand livres; and as much in prunes and figs. The value of fourscore thousand livres in salted eels, olives, and anchovies. The value of twenty thousand livres in oil, grain and flower. Six thousand bales of cotton-linnen made at Marseilles, of the value of three hundred and fifty thousand livres. Strong waters, the value of an hundred thousand livres. Cotton waistcoats and stockings, and thread and worsted stockings, the value of two hundred thousand livres. All which amounts to 3,050,000 livres, being about three hundred thousand pounds English money.

On the contrary, they import annually from Italy to Marseilles, six thousand quintals of the hemp of Piedmont, at six livres the quintal or hundred weight. As many quintals of rice from the same country, by way of Nice and Onelia, at seven livres the quintal. Two thousand quintals of rice from Lombardy, by the way of Genoa and that coast, at the same price with that of Piedmont. Fifteen thousand charges of bread-corn from Venice and Ancona, at fourteen livres a charge, which I take to be about a quarter, or eight bushels English. A thousand charges or quarters from Sardinia and Sicily; and as much from Civita Vecchia, at the same price. Fifteen hundred quintals of sulphur or brimstone from Civita Vecchia and Ancona, at four livres ten sols the quintal. Two hundred quintals of anniseeds

from the Pope's territories, at eighteen livres the quintal. Seven hundred and fifty chests of manna, which they gather in Sicily, the Pope's territories, and about mount St. Angelo in Calabria, (of which the last is the best) amounting to three hundred thousand livres. Two thousand six hundred bales of fine silk, of the growth of Savoy, Piedmont, the Milanois, Lombardy, Bologna, Ferrara, and Sicily, consisting of two quintals the bale, at nine hundred livres the quintal, which is brought into France by the way of Pont Beauvoisin. A thousand bales of fine silk of two quintals each, imported into Marseilles by sea. All which merchandizes, and some other small articles, amount to 3,335,350 livres.

The trade from Marseilles to Spain is much more considerable than that to Italy. They send to Spain annually the value of above twelve hundred thousand livres in linnen of all sorts, stuffs of Tours, brocades, taffeta's, and other wrought silks. The value of thirty thousand livres in galloons and gold and silver lace; in counterfeit galloons, lace and pins. The value of ten thousand livres in box-combs and others, made at Marseilles and in the neighbourhood. But all this is nothing in comparison of the trade of gold and silver stuffs from Lyons, brocades, wrought silks, ribbands, Chaumont laces, Avignon taffeta's, hard ware, Puy laces, linnen of Britany, Rouen, &c. the camlets of Lisle in Flanders, the serges and coarse woollen cloths of Nismes and Auvergne, with their sustians and dimities, which amount in the whole to the value of six millions two hundred and fourscore thousand livres. Other merchandize of Marseilles, consisting of hats, galls, paper, tobacco, prunes and thread, amounting to an hundred and fourscore thousand livres. Cotton-thread of Jerusalem, gum-arabick, galls of Aleppo, drugs of all kinds, saffron, &c. amounting to fifteen hundred thousand livres. The total of all which sums, is nine millions an hundred and seventy thousand livres.

On the contrary, they annually import from Spain the value of eight millions an hundred and fourscore thousand livres in cochineal, quinquina, indigo, Campechy-wood, wool of Segovia and other places, sarsaparilla, sugar, vermilion, silk, liquorice, pieces of eight, oil, dry'd raisins, &c.

As to their Turkey or Levant trade, they send annually to Constantinople twelve or fifteen sail, of which there are four or five ships, and the rest small barks. The merchandizes they carry thither of their own growth or manufactures, are woollen cloths or serges, caps, paper, hard ware, clocks and watches. The goods they carry, which are the produce of other countries, are spice, cochineal, powder'd sugars, indigo, sarsaparilla, quicksilver, arsenick, Brasil and Campechy-wood, white lead, tin-plates, wire, and other small articles.

The

CHAP. X. The goods imported from Constantinople to Marseilles, are sheeps wool, goats hair and goats wool, buffaloes hides, and other skins, yellow wax, allum, mastick, chagrin-skins, box-wood, cotton, and other small articles. The customs at the port of Constantinople do not amount to more than three per cent. on merchandizes inwards or outwards.

To the port of Smyrna, the French send annually seven or eight ships, and about as many small barks. The merchandizes exported thither, are much the same as those sent to Constantinople; only the French find a greater vent for their caps, which the Arminians and Greeks take off their hands.

The returns from Smyrna to Marseilles are made in cotton, cotton-linnens, hempen yarn, sponges, goats wool, camlets, Turkey carpets, goats hair, yarn, galls, drugs, mastick, and Scioturpentine, which is esteem'd the best in the Levant.

To Salonica, or Theffalonica, they export from Marseilles English cloth, or such as they make in imitation of it, paper, cochineal, spices, tin, wire, tin-plates. And they import from thence hides, wool, wax, silk, cotton-thread, allum, sponges, and tobacco.

The number of ships which go to Canea in the isle of Candia, are very uncertain, it depends upon the crop of corn and oil. Some years an hundred barks sail thither, carrying English-cloth, French-cloths, serges, caps, spices, and about an hundred thousand livres in silver; making their returns from thence in oil for the making of soap, wax, bread-corn, and some cheese.

They have some peddling trade also with the islands of the Archipelago; and there is a particular company of merchants at Marseilles, who trade to Satalia, a sea-port of Pamphilia in the Lesser Asia, who carry only silver thither, and bring back wool, goats hair, wax, cotton-thread, gum-dragant, opium, and corinths or currants.

They do not send above two or three ships in a year to Scanderon, the port-town to Aleppo, which carry and bring back the same goods as those which trade to the other ports of Turkey above-mentioned. The trade thither was heretofore more considerable, but the excessive duties which the Bassa's lay on the caravans from Persia and India, occasions their travelling on to Smyrna, where the neighbourhood of the port prevents those extortions.

The trade to Tripoli and Sidon, in Syria, is inconsiderable, as is that to Cyprus.

To Alexandria, the port-town to Grand Cairo in Egypt, they usually send from Marseilles ten or twelve ships, and four or five barks, with merchandize and treasure. The goods are caps, paper, spices, drugs for painting, coral, wire, and

other hard ware: for which they bring back in return, hides, flax, wool, cotton-thread, saffron, wax, dates, aloes, incense, coffee, myrrh, white plumes, herons feathers, elephants teeth, and gum lacque. The customs here also are three per cent. upon all merchandizes; but nothing is demanded for treasure.

As to the military government of Provence, they have a governor-general and a lieutenant-general, besides four other lieutenant-generals, who command in their respective districts; the first in Aix and its dependances; the second in Arles; the third at Marseilles; and the fourth at Grasse. The fortified towns in this province are very numerous, and are, Sisteron, Seyne, the castle of St. Vincent, Guillaume, Colmars, Entrevaux, Antibes, the islands of Lerijs, which comprehend those of St. Margarets and St. Honorats, Grasse, St. Tropez, Hieres, Toulon and its forts, Marseilles and its citadel, the islands of Chateau d'If, Pomegue and Rattonneau, Notredame de la Garde, Aix, Pertuis, Arles, Tarascon, Forcalquier, Apt, Brignoles, St. Maximin and Barjols.

The military government of Provence, and fortified towns.

CHAP. XI.

Contains a description of the province of Languedoc, olim Occivania, seu Volcarum Regio.

Languedoc is supposed to have taken its name from the language of the country, where the people say *oc* instead of *oui*, yes; and that which renders this opinion the more probable is, that in some of their antient records it is called *Lingua-doc*.

Languedoc, the name.

This is the most southerly part of France, and is of a very irregular figure, large at both ends, and slender in the middle, like a wallet, being bounded by Lyonois and Guienne on the north; by the river Rhone, which divides it from Dauphiné and Provence, on the east; by the gulph of Lyons and the Pyrenees, which separate it from Spain, on the south; and by Gascony, on the west; extending in length from east to west above seventy leagues, but is so indented about the middle by the province of Rouergne on the one hand, and the gulph of Lyons on the other, that it is not above ten or twelve leagues broad in that part, tho' it be thirty-two leagues broad towards the east, and almost as many on the west.

Situation and extent.

The north-east part of this country is very mountainous, being taken up by the Cevennes; but the western generally plain and low till we come towards Roussillon and the Pyrenees. The air is for the most part extremely pleasant and healthful, insomuch, that the air about Montpellier is reckon'd an infallible cure for a consumption, where the patient is not too far gone; and they

Face of the country.

The air.

CHAP. XI. they are said to abound in medicinal herbs more than any country in Europe.

Rivers. The principal Rivers are the Rhone, the Garonne and the Loire, which have been already described. Here are also the Tarn, the Agout, the Allier, the Aude, and several other rivers.

The Tarn rising in the Gevaudan, takes its course westward, and passing by Alby, unites its streams with the Agout, and afterwards with the Aveson, and a little below falls into the Garonne. The Allier also rising in the Gevaudan, runs northward thro' the Lyonois till it discharges itself into the Loire. The Aude rises in the Pyrenees, and taking its course first northward, then turns about to the eastward, and falls into the gulph of Lyons to the eastward of Narbonne. The Agout rises in Rovergne, and running westward, unites its waters with the Tarn and some other streams, and afterwards falls into the Garonne.

But what is most admir'd in this country is the canal royal, upwards of an hundred miles in length, by means of which there is a communication between the Ocean and the Mediterranean. It is related by some of their historians, that the Romans had a design to have effected this, and after them CHARLEMAIN and FRANCIS I; but in the reign of HENRY IV, anno 1598, it was actually examin'd into and adjudg'd to be feazible. The Constable MONTMORENCI order'd a view to be taken of the grounds thro' which the canal was to be conducted. Cardinal RICHLIEU also had determined to put this project in execution, but was prevented by other affairs. And according to the French writers, this glorious undertaking was happily reserv'd for LEWIS le Grand, whose conduct they can never sufficiently admire. He appointed commissioners to examine into it in the year 1664, and by the advice and direction of that celebrated engineer Monsieur RIQUET and his sons, it was begun in 1666, and finish'd in the year 1680, when the old engineer died before he had made any experiment of the success of his labours, his sons making the first essay the following year 1681. They found great difficulties in effecting this work: the unevenness of the ground, the mountains, rivers and torrents they met with in their way, seem'd to render the execution of it impossible. But where the ground sunk, they rais'd the water by sluices, of which there are fifteen towards the Ocean, and forty-five on the side of the Mediterranean, reckoning from the highest ground where they began to work. When they met with any mountains, they either levell'd them or pierc'd them through. The most considerable overture is that of Malpas, which they dug thro' two hundred and forty yards, to make a passage for the canal, tho' it was almost all rock. The canal here is eight yards broad, besides the banks on the side for horses to draw the boats. When

they found rivers or torrents in their way, they CHAP laid bridges and aqueducts over them, and the XI. rivers frequently run underneath the canal, and sometimes they diverted the current another way. There are abundance of large basins and reservoirs to supply the canal with water when there is occasion; the most considerable of which is at St. Ferreol, that being about two thousand fathoms in circumference, and near ninety foot deep, which receives the waters from the black mountains, that are kept up by a causey and three strong walls. This reservoir lies upon the highest ground which the canal goes over, so that the water can be let out either towards the Ocean or the Mediterranean. The voyage between the one sea and the other by the way of the rivers Garonne, Lers, and this canal, may be performed in about fifteen days. But what renders it less advantageous than it would otherwise be, is the dangerous coast of Languedoc, there not being one port on that side where shipping can ride with any tolerable safety. There is not a more turbulent stormy sea in the Mediterranean than the gulph of Lyons, nor a worse shore for ships to come upon which require any depth of water, and this no doubt makes the merchants avoid it as much as they can; accordingly we find most of the produce and manufactures of Languedoc shipp'd at Marseilles in Provence.

There is no part of France which affords so many springs of mineral waters as Languedoc; but of these hereafter.

This province is usually divided into the higher Division, and lower Languedoc; the higher Languedoc is again subdivided into, 1. Part of the diocese of Subdivision, Montauban. 2. The diocese of Alby. 3. Castres. 4. Lavaur. 5. Thoulouse. 6. Rieux. 7. St. Papoul. 8. Mirepoix. And, 9. Part of Cominges.

The lower Languedoc comprehends, 1. The diocese of Alet. 2. Carcassone. 3. Narbonne. 4. St. Pons. 5. Beziers. 6. Ladeve. 7. Agde. 8. Montpellier. 9. Nîmes. 10. Uzes. 11. Viviers. 12. Alais. 13. Meude. And, 14. Pui.

There are not more than forty parishes of the Upper Languedoc, diocese of Montauban in the province or government of Languedoc; of which the chief are, 1. Castle-Sarasin. 2. Montech. And, 3. Villemur.

Castle-Sarasin, *Castrum Saracenum*, is a little Castle-Sarasin town situated at the confluence of the rivers Aisn and the Garonne, four leagues from Montauban, considerable for little but the ruins of an antient castle.

The diocese of Alby, *Albigensis Tractus*, is The diocese bounded by Rovergne on the north and east, and of Alby, by the diocese of Thoulouse on the south-west. The natives of this country, the Albigenes, seem to have made the earliest and the most vigorous opposition to the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome, particularly their doctrine of Transubstantiation, of any people in Christendom; and

CHAP. XI. and were frequently encouraged and supported by their own and other Princes. For instance, the Count of Thoulouse, the King of Arragon, the Counts of Foix, Cominges, Bearn, &c. who were all sovereign Princes, which occasion'd the Pope's arming a Croisado against them, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and transferring their dominions to those that could conquer them. This gave the French King a handle to fall upon the Count of Thoulouse, and deprive him of his territories, which he united to the crown of France, assigning only the county of Venaissin to the Pope for his share of the plunder, as has been observ'd already in treating of the Venaissin. The chief towns in the diocese of Alby are, 1. Alby. 2. Gaillac. 3. Rabesteins. 4. Cardelins. And, 5. Realmont.

Alby city. Alby, *Albiga*, is situated on an eminence near the river Tarn, which encompasses the better half of it, about three hundred miles to the southward of Paris, and forty north-east of Thoulouse, admir'd for the fine prospect it affords of the neighbouring country, especially from a noble terrace beautifully planted with trees, upon which the citizens walk out in the evening. It has been an Archbishop's see ever since the year 1676, who is temporal as well as spiritual Lord of the place. The cathedral is dedicated to St. CECILIA, the choir whereof is one of the finest in the kingdom.

Gaillac. Gaillac is situated on the river Tarn three leagues below Alby, remarkable for an abby of Benedictines, and for producing some of the best white wine in France. At this place the river Tarn begins to be navigable.

Rabesteins. Rabesteins is situated also on the same river to the westward of Gaillac, and remarkable for its excellent wine.

Realmont. Realmont is pleasantly situated on the river Afsou, two leagues to the southward of Alby; it was one of the first towns that embrac'd the reformation, and became a place of arms of the Protestants during the civil wars of France.

The diocese and city of Castres. The diocese of Castres lies to the southward of that of Alby, the chief town whereof is Castres, *Castrum Albigensum*, situated twenty miles south of Alby: It is a fair city, divided in two parts by the river Agout; a bishop's see, who is suffragan of Alby, and capital of a county, govern'd by its own Lords till the year 1518, when it was united to the crown of France.

The diocese and city of Lavaur. The diocese of Lavaur lies between that of Alby and Thoulouse. The chief towns are, 1. Lavaur. 2. St. Paul. 3. Revel. And, 4. Sorreze.

Lavaur is situated on the river Agout, fifteen miles to the eastward of Thoulouse; it was one of the principal cities of the Albigenes, which occasion'd the Catholics to call it, *Sedes Satanæ, atque erroris hæretici primatia*. Pope JOHN XXII. establish'd the episcopal see about the year 1318.

CHAP. XI. The diocese or archbishoprick of Thoulouse extends it self along the banks of the river Gironne, being bounded by the diocese of Alby on the north-east, the county of Foix on the south, and Languedoc on the west. The chief towns are, 1. Thoulouse. 2. Verfeuil. 3. Ville-franche. 4. Hauterive. 5. Montesquiou. And, 6. Mongiscar.

Thoulouse, *Tolosæ Colonia, Civitas Tolosatium, Teclotagum*, the capital of Languedoc, is situated in a large plain on the river Gironne, in the latitude of 43 degrees 40 minutes near the confines of Gascony, about an hundred miles to the westward of the Mediterranean, and sixty north of the Pyrenees: it is one of the largest cities in the kingdom, and has a fine stone bridge over the Garonne; the houses are built of brick and make but a mean appearance generally, tho' there are some magnificent edifices. It is said to be extremely well situated for trade, lying almost in the midway between the Ocean and the Mediterranean, and near the west end of the royal canal, by which those seas have a communication; and yet the place is neither rich nor populous, there being not more than eighteen or nineteen thousand families in it. And indeed after all the boasts of this mighty canal, it seems there are so many sluices upon it, that the trouble and charge of navigation make it very little used. The merchants chuse to send their goods by long sea, round about Spain in time of peace, rather than by the way of this canal; tho' it must be confess'd that in time of war it is of use to the country, as they can transport their goods from one part of the country to the other, without hazarding their being taken at sea. The publick buildings most taken notice of are, the cathedral dedicated to St. STEPHEN, the choir whereof is very fine, lofty and well enlightened, but the Nef or Nave is not answerable to it. The church of St. Sernim or Saturnim, first Bishop of Thoulouse, is a large magnificent edifice, but very dark; much valued however by good Catholics for its vast treasury of reliques, as the church of the Jacobins is for the shrine of THOMAS AQUINAS. The Dorade, the church of the Carmelites, that of the Dominicans, and the Dalbade are esteem'd noble structures; besides which there are a great number of handsome colleges, but the university is in a manner abandon'd. The college of the Jesuits is a large and beautiful edifice; but this does not belong to the university. The Chartreuse also is well worth the viewing, as are the Archbishop's palace and the town-house. Along the Garonne there is a handsome quay or key, with a Course, consisting of a fine walk of trees, as they have in most of the great cities in France.

This town is of great antiquity, antient histories speak of it as one of the most flourishing cities of the Gauls, and the capital of the Teclotages, who inhabited this province, and conquer'd several countries.

The diocese of Thoulouse.

Thoulouse city.

CHAP. tries in Greece and the lesser Asia, and planted
 XI. colonies there. It was afterwards the capital of a
 Roman colony, of the kingdom of the Visigoths
 and of Aquitain; and lastly, it was the seat of
 the Earls of Thoulouse, who were sovereigns of this
 country for several hundred years, till the French
 King and the Pope divided their territories between
 them, as has been mentioned already. Here are
 still the ruins of some Roman buildings, as of an
 amphitheatre, capitol, &c. And we must not for-
 get the relation they give us of Q. SERVILIUS
 CÆPIO's covetousness, who being consul in the
 658th year of Rome, plunder'd their temples of
 a great quantity of gold, and sent it to Marseilles,
 ordering the convoy to be cut in pieces, that he
 might engross all the treasure to himself, and not
 be accountable to the senate for it; which being
 discover'd by the Romans, they confiscated his
 estate and applied it to publick uses, and the con-
 sul died in exile; whence came the proverb, *Au-
 rum Tolosanum*, to signify an ill-gotten estate.

The diocese
 and city of
 Riez.

The diocese of Riez lies to the southward of
 that of Thoulouse, on the confines of Gascony,
 the only considerable town whereof is Riez, situate
 on the river Garonne, about five and twenty miles
 to the southward of Thoulouse: the cathedral has
 nothing remarkable, but the episcopal palace is a
 handsome structure; which is all the description
 the French writers give us of this city.

The diocese
 and city of
 St. Papoul.

The diocese of St. Papoul lies to the southward of
 that of Alby; the chief towns whereof are St. Pa-
 poul, *Fanum Papuli*, situate at the foot of mount
 Noire, about thirty miles south-east of Thoulouse,
 considerable only on account of its being a bishop's
 see. And,

Castelmandary.

Castelmandary, *Castellum Arinorum*, situate on a
 hill about a league to the westward of St. Papoul;
 the royal canal passeth thro' this town, and on ac-
 count of the steepness of the hill here, which
 would occasion too precipitate a flood of waters,
 they have erected five locks upon it with great
 sluices one above another, and large basins between
 each, whereby the water is retain'd, and the na-
 vigation continued.

The diocese
 and city of
 Mirepoix.

The diocese of Mirepoix lies to the southward
 of that of St. Papoul. The chief towns are Mire-
 poix, Carlat, La Roque, and Fangeaux.

Mirepoix, *Mirapicium*, *Mirapicis Castrum*, is
 situated on the river Lers, about twenty miles
 south-west of St. Papoul.

Carlat,
 where Mr.
 Bayle was
 born.

Carlat lies about four leagues from Mirepoix,
 and is only remarkable for being the place of Mon-
 sieur BAYLE's nativity, who wrote that excellent
 critical dictionary which goes by his name, and
 many other valuable tracts. He was born in the
 year 1648, and died at Rotterdam the 28th of
 December 1706.

Part of the
 diocese of
 Cominges.

The diocese of Cominges is part of the province
 of Guienne, only eleven parishes of it belong to

Languedoc, and are call'd Little Cominges; the CHAP.
 chief parishes whereof are Valentine and St. Beat. XI.
 But I shall give an account of this diocese in the
 description of Guienne.

In the Lower Languedoc lies, first, the diocese Lower Lan-
 of Alet, south-east of that of Mirepoix; the chief gued c.
 towns whereof are, 1. Alet. 2. Limoux. 3. The diocese
 Quilla. 4. St. Paul. And, 5. Caudies. and city of
 Alet.

Alet, *Elesta*, is situated at the foot of the Py-
 renees, upon the river Aude, twenty miles south-
 east of Mirepoix.

The diocese of Carcassonne lies to the north- The diocese
 ward of Alet. The chief towns are, 1. Carcas- and city of
 sonne. 2. Trebes. And, 3. Grace. Carcassonne.

Carcassonne, *Carcaso*, is situated on the river
 Aude, twenty miles to the northward of Alet,
 and thirty west of Narbonne. It is divided into
 the high and low town by the river. The lower
 town is well built, and the streets spacious. It has
 a brisk trade, very populous, and esteem'd one of
 the finest towns in Languedoc. The churches,
 convents, and publick buildings all make a good
 appearance; and there are very beautiful walks of
 trees about it. The manufacture of cloth here is
 considerable. The castle is strongly situated, and
 commands the town.

The diocese of Narbonne lies upon the gulph of The diocese
 Lyons, to the eastward of Carcassonne. The chief of Nar-
 towns are, 1. Narbonne. 2. Capestan. 3. Bi- bonne.
 san. 4. Caunes. 5. Peyriac. 6. Sigean. 7. Bur-
 ban. And, 8. Tuchan.

Narbonne, *Narbo-Martius*, *Decumanorum Colo-* Narbonne
nia, is situated in a bottom, almost surrounded by city.
 mountains, on a canal which affords it a commu-
 nication with the canal royal and the river Aude
 on the one side, and with the Mediterranean on
 the other; from which last it is about two leagues
 distant, and sixty from Montpellier to the west. It
 is a large town, and was strongly fortified, but their
 late Kings demolish'd the fortifications on account
 of their adhering to the Calvinists, leaving nothing
 standing but the ramparts. The cathedral is an
 old Gothick structure, which has very little in it
 to be admir'd, except the picture of the resurrec-
 tion, and the raising LAZARUS from the dead.
 There are besides five parish-churches in the place,
 and several monasteries. They suffer great incon-
 veniences when any heavy rains happen to fall, by
 the floods, which run down in torrents from the
 mountains; and the dampness of the country makes
 it very unhealthful, tho' antiently, when it was well
 drain'd, they had a very good air. The Romans
 esteem'd it so much, that they made it the capital
 of their first colony in Gaul, and beautified it with
 a capitol and amphitheatre of marble, aqueducts,
 and other useful and magnificent edifices, the ruins
 whereof are still visible. It is at present the see
 of an Archbishop, who by virtue of his office is
 president of the States of Languedoc. The Arch-
 bishop's

CHAP. XI. bishop's palace is a kind of fortress, encompass'd with large square towers. The other publick buildings have little remarkable in them.

The diocese of St. Pons.

The diocese of St. Pons is situated to the northward of that of Narbonne, in a barren mountainous country, where the produce of the soil will scarce pay their taxes, but they have excellent marble in their quarries. The chief towns are St. Pons, Orlaques, Cessenon, and Oloufan.

St. Pons city.

The little city of St Pons stands among the mountains, about thirty miles to the northward of Narbonne, and was made a bishop's see in the year 1318; but I don't find it considerable on any other account.

The diocese of Beziers.

The diocese of Beziers lies between that of Narbonne and the province of Rouergne, and is one of the most fruitful parts of Languedoc, producing corn, wine and oil in abundance. The chief towns are, 1. Beziers. 2. Celles. 3. Bec de Roux. 4. Colombiers. 5. Marviel. And, 6. Vendres.

Beziers city.

Beziers, *Bitertia*, is situated fifteen miles north-east of Narbonne, and two miles north of the Mediterranean. It stands on a hill, at the foot whereof runs the river Orbe: the royal canal also passes by it. The prospect from the terrace or belvedere before the cathedral church, says my French author, is altogether enchanting, extending over the valley thro' which the river Orbe passes, and the hills beyond it rising insensibly, form a kind of amphitheatre cover'd with olives and vineyards. The town is large, but not proportionably populous. The cathedral has nothing remarkable in it. The Jesuits college is a very elegant building. The Romans made it a colony in the time of JULIUS CÆSAR, sending the young soldiers of the seventh legion thither, which occasion'd it to be call'd *Colonia Septimanorum Juniorum*; and here were two temples erected in honour of JULIUS and AUGUSTUS. It was govern'd by its particular Counts before it was united to the crown, which happen'd about the year 1247. The famous engineer PAUL RIQUET, who made the royal canal, was a native of this city.

The diocese of Lodeva.

The diocese of Lodeva is a dry barren country, bordering on the province of Rouergne and the Cevennes, which does not produce corn enough for the subsistence of the natives; but their trade in cattle, which they feed upon their mountains, and their manufactures of cloth and hats, brings a great deal of money into the country, and renders it one of the richest parts of the province. The chief towns are, 1. Lodeva. 2. Clermont. And, 3. Canet.

Lodeva city.

Lodeva, *Luteva*, *Forum Neronis*, is situated at the foot of the mountains of the Cevennes, thirty miles to the northward of Beziers and the Mediterranean, more remarkable for its antiquity than its present grandeur. The Bishop is temporal as well as spiritual Lord of the place, and assumes

the title of Count of Montbrun, an adjacent CHAP XI. castle.

Clermont is a little town situated on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the river Lergue, near which is a royal manufactory, where they make most part of the cloth which is carried to the Levant.

The diocese of Agde lies upon the Mediterranean, and the royal canal, to the eastward of Beziers, and south of Lodeva. It is one of the richest countries in the kingdom, having a great trade in corn, wine, oil, silk and wool. The chief towns are, 1. Agde. 2. Pezenas. 3. St. Tiberi. 4. Brescon. 5. Sette. And, 6. Meze.

Agde, *Agatha*, is situated on the river Eraut, about half a league from the place where it falls into the Mediterranean, and stands fifteen miles to the eastward of Beziers. It is a little populous town, extending along the river Eraut, which forms a port for small barks, and is for the most part built of a black stone. There is a little fort at the mouth of the river for its defence. Most of the inhabitants are merchants or seamen. There is a chapel near this place dedicated to the blessed Virgin, which brings a great concourse of people hither, particularly seafaring men, who make their vows before her image for the success of their voyages, and resort hither with their offerings when they have had any remarkable escape.

Cette is a port-town, situate on the bay of Mag-nelone, to the eastward of Agde, which the late King fortified for the protection of the trade of this coast.

Pezenas, *Piscenæ*, stands on an eminence near the river Payne, three leagues north of Agde, esteem'd one of the finest situations in Languedoc. There is in it a collegiate church, a college of the priests of the oratory, several convents and other handsome buildings.

The diocese of Montpellier is a mighty agreeable country, being cover'd with olives and vines, and the air preferable to any in Europe. Tho' their lands are not the richest, they are so well cultivated that they yield all kinds of grain. It lies upon a bay of the Mediterranean sea call'd Magne-lonne. The chief towns are, 1. Montpellier. 2. Gange. 3. Lunel. 4. Frontignan. 5. Agnana. 6. Montferrand. And, 7. Barave.

Montpellier, *Mons Pessulanus*, *Mons Puellarum*, is pleasantly situated on a hill, at the foot whereof runs the river Lez, two miles to the northward of the bay of Magne-lonne, and sixty to the eastward of Narbonne. To the northward there is a prospect of a fine country, and to the southward they have a near view of the Mediterranean. Nor does the agreeable situation more recommend it than the healthfulness of the air, which occasions foreigners of consumptive or weakly constitutions to resort hither from all parts. The city is not large, or generally

CHAP. generally well built, tho' there are some good
 XI houses in it. The inhabitants are computed to amount to between two and three thousand. There is a citadel which commands the place, erected to bridle the Protestants, who were masters of it in the civil wars, till LEWIS XIII. took it from them anno 1623. The principal buildings are the palace of justice, where their courts are held, the royal college, instituted for human learning, and the churches of St. Peter and St. Mary. But what this city is most considerable for, is its university, chiefly frequented by students in physick, who could not, says my author, have chosen a more agreeable or commodious situation in France, for the climate is extremely serene and temperate, and the country so abounds with vegetables, that it is but one large physick-garden. The number of apothecaries in this small city is incredible, some say near two hundred, who all live very well however on the many compositions they make, which from hence are distributed to all parts of Europe, as confection of alkermes, Hungary-water, oil of spike, capillary-syrup, essences, perfumes, treacle equal to that of Venice, &c. The King's physick-garden without the town is well stor'd with medicinal herbs, digested into several partitions, each having an inscription over the door, shewing what kinds it contains. The inhabitants are polite and sociable; their women the handsomest in France, and extremely free in conversation, insomuch that there is a French proverb that says, the women of Montpellier are so wise, that they have nothing to learn on their wedding-day. This town was called *Mons Puellarum* from a hermitage which stood here before the city was built, inhabited by two young women, of whose sanctity the people had a very great opinion.

An English physician who travell'd to Montpellier, says he found several consumptive people there, who came from all parts of Europe, but especially from England, to breathe this air; and he observ'd the good effects of it upon bodies of a moist and phlegmatick temperament; but in dry and choleric constitutions the remedy rather exasperates it, and the patient soon breathes his last. One of the gates of this town is built after the model of a triumphal arch, on which there are several bas-reliefs and inscriptions expressing the glorious actions of LEWIS XIV. for this being a place to which foreigners resort from all parts of Europe, he could not gratify his vanity better than by erecting such a monument of it here. On one side we see religion trampling upon heresy with this inscription, *Exincta Hæresi*. On another part are represented the two seas join'd by the royal canal, the inscription, *Junctis Oceano & Mediterraneo Mari*. The other side is adorn'd with trophies, towns and provinces conquer'd by France, with this inscription, *Sub Oculis Hostium, Belgii Arcibus Expugnatis*,

and others of the like nature. The walks about CHAP
 the town are extremely pleasant, where the com- XI.
 pany who resort to this city divert themselves in the evening: and tho' the houses don't make a very grand appearance without, as has been observ'd already, yet they are most of them built with free stone, and very commodious. The principal manufactures besides those mention'd above, are those of silk and wax; the last of which they employ a great many hands in refining and whitening, as they do others in making verdegrease, *Viride Æris*; of which I shall give a further account hereafter.

Frontignan is situated on the bay of Maguelone, four leagues south-west of Montpellier, famous for the muscadine-wine which grows in a valley, and on the sides of the hills which surround it, and for the delicious raisins which are made of these grapes. Frontignan

The diocese of Nîmes has the mountains of the Cevennes on the north; Provence, from which it is separated by the Rhone, on the east; the Mediterranean on the south, and the diocese of Montpellier on the west. It is generally a plain level country, abounding in corn, wine and oil, besides abundance of silk, which the natives work and improve to great advantage. The chief towns are, 1. Nîmes. 2. Sommieres. 3. Aymargues. And, 4. Beaucaire. The diocese of Nîmes

Nîmes, *Nemaufis Metropolis, Civitas Nemaufensis*, is situated in a fine plain, eight leagues to the eastward of Montpellier, and five leagues north-west of Arles, and is suppos'd to have taken its name from the woods which antiently surrounded it. It is a large town, containing above twelve thousand families, the streets are spacious, the houses well built, and travellers commend the gardens and fine walks about it. The cathedral and other publick buildings don't seem to have any thing remarkable in them. What Nîmes is most famous for, is the antiquities that are found here, particularly an amphitheatre, the most entire of any in Europe. It is of an oval figure, having two rows of arches which form two open galleries one over the other, consisting of sixty arches each, being an hundred and fourscore and fifteen fathoms in circumference. The entrance is by four doors, placed east, west, north, and south. The building consists of vast large stones, as durable as marble. The arena in the middle of the theatre, where their combats and shews were exhibited, is an hundred feet in diameter, fill'd up at present with little houses. On several of the stones are bas-reliefs, with the figures of ROMULUS and REMUS suckled by a wolf, combats of gladiators, bulls, &c. The seats of the spectators are demolish'd, and the dens of the wild beasts fill'd up, but the outside still makes a tolerable appearance. Here are also the ruins of a temple dedicated to DIANA, and another oblong square building, suppos'd to be a Roman temple, with

CHAP. XI. with antique statues, pillars, and the figures of Roman eagles finely wrought, which sufficiently shew its antiquity, as well as the numerous brass medals and inscriptions dug up here. From the medals our antiquaries conjecture that AUGUSTUS fix'd a Roman colony here immediately after the battle of Actium.

Pont du Guard.

The Pont du Guard is three leagues north of this city; it lies over the river Gardon, and is an amazing structure. It is indeed three bridges one upon another, and joins two mountains together: the uppermost serves to support an aqueduct which brought water to the city, and serv'd to fill the arena of the theatre above mention'd when they had sea-fights represented upon it. This aqueduct taking in all its windings, is not less than nine leagues in length. The lowest bridge which lies over the river Gardon has six arches, each of them fifty eight foot wide, and is fourscore and three feet in height. The second bridge is supported by eleven arches, and is sixty seven foot in height. The third, which stands upon thirty five arches, and supports the aqueduct, is five hundred and fourscore feet and an half in length: and the whole height of the three bridges, an hundred fourscore and two feet. The water of the river Gardon was brought into the city by another aqueduct, of which there are still some remains. The aqueduct which was supported by the Pont du Guard, when it came near the city was divided into three branches, one of which brought the water to the theatre, as has been already observ'd; the second supply'd a great fountain at Nismes, and the third serv'd several private houses.

Beaucaire.

Beaucaire is situated on the west bank of the Rhone, over-against Tarascon, four leagues to the eastward of Nismes, in which is a collegiate church. But this place is chiefly considerable for the fair of St. Magdalen which is held here, to which merchants resort from all parts.

The diocese of Uzez.

The diocese of Uzez is one of the largest in Languedoc, extending from the mountains of the Cevennes to the Rhone. It produces corn, wine, oil and silk, and feeds great numbers of sheep. The chief towns are, 1. Uzez. 2. Vens. 3. St. Ambrose. 4. Pont St. Esprit. 5. Bagnols. And, 6. Roquemaure.

Uzez city.

Uzez is situated among the mountains, upon the little river Eyscut, about twelve miles to the northward of Nismes. It is but a small town, containing seven or eight hundred families. The cathedral is dedicated to St. THIERRY: the terrace on the side of it affords an admirable prospect of the neighbouring country. It is the capital of a Dutchy as well as a Bishoprick, and here is the fountain d'Aure, which furnishes the water of the aqueduct of Pont du Guard. All over the town we see great numbers of stone arches, which, according to the natives, were erected to defend them from the heats of the sun in summer.

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Pont Esprit is a little town situated about twenty miles to the northward of Uzez, famous for a noble stone bridge over the Rhone, which here runs with incredible rapidity, and was a very dangerous passage while it continu'd a ferry. This bridge is eight hundred and forty yards long, and five yards sixteen inches wide, sustain'd by twenty-six arches. It was begun in the year 1265, and finish'd about the year 1309, being built with the offerings made by devout people at a church or chapel dedicated to the Holy Ghost, and famous for many pretended miracles wrought there. Pope NICHOLAS V, in one of his bulls, which grants indulgencies to those who should visit the said chapel and hospital of the Holy Ghost, says, that God being touch'd with the misfortunes of his faithful servants who visited the church and hospital of the Holy Spirit, who were frequently shipwreck'd at this passage of the Rhone, had sent his angel under the form of a shepherd, who had mark'd out the place where they should build a bridge; and the church, the hospital and bridge, have still a very good revenue for their support, arising from the charities of devout pilgrims, which the King has augmented by a duty laid on all salt that passes the bridge, amounting to eight or nine thousand livres per annum. There is a strong citadel also at the foot of it for its defence, it being a very important pass.

Bagnols, or Baignols, *Balneolum*, is situated on the side of a hill near the river Cese, two leagues to the southward of St. Esprit. It is a little town, consisting of about nine hundred houses, inclos'd with a wall, and fortified against the Camisars in the late civil wars. The great square in the middle of the town is one of the finest in Languedoc, having a piazza on all sides under the houses which surround it. The river Cese, which passes by it, carries a gold sand.

The diocese of Viviers comprehends the lower Vivarez and part of the higher, the residue whereof belongs to the Archbishoprick of Vienne. This country lies along the west bank of the Rhone, to the northward of the diocese of Uzez, and constitutes part of the Cevennes. In the Higher Vivarez the chief towns are Annonay, Tournon, Crusol or Cursol. In the Lower Vivarez are Monlaut, Boulogne, Etrange, Privas Poussin, Viviers, Andiol, Villeneuve and Berg.

Annonay is a small town, situated two miles to the westward of the Rhone, upon the confines of the Liois, the capital of a Marquisate belonging to the family of Ventadour, but not considerable on any other account.

Tournon, *Taurodunum*, *Turnonium*, is situated on the side of a mountain, the foot whereof is wash'd

X x x

CHAP. wash'd by the river Rhone, having a castle above
 XI. it. It stands four leagues south of Annonay. The
 Jesuits have one of the finest colleges in the king-
 dom here, and there is a handsome convent; be-
 sides which, there are several other monasteries in
 the place. But the French writers do not give
 us any farther description of it.

Viviers.

Viviers, *Vivarium*, *Abba Helviorum*, the capital
 of the Vivarez, and the See of a Bishop who stiles
 himself Count of Viviers, is situated among the
 rocks, a little distance from the Rhone, fifteen
 miles north of Pont Esprit, and seventy south of
 Lyons. It is a little ill-built town: the cathedral
 is a large edifice, and stands above it, but is not
 admir'd for its beauty.

The diocese
 of Mende.

The diocese of Mende comprehends the coun-
 try of Gevaudan, and lies to the westward of the
 Vivarez; the antient inhabitants were call'd Ca-
 vali, Gabales and Gabali, and is divided into the
 higher and lower. The higher is almost entirely
 inclos'd by the mountains of Margarete and Au-
 brac; the lower makes part of the Cevennes, a
 barren mountainous country. The chief towns
 are Mende, Javoux and Marvejols.

Mende city.

Mende, *Mimatum Gabalorum*, or *Mimata*, is a
 small city of a triangular figure, standing in a val-
 ley surrounded with mountains, near the head of
 the river Lot, seventy miles north of Montpellier,
 and fifty to the westward of the Rhone. It is an ill-
 built dirty town, but well peopled, and admir'd
 for its excellent fountains. It is the See of a Bishop,
 who stiles himself Count, and is joint Lord of
 the place with the King. Travellers mention
 no other publick buildings but the cathedral church
 and some few convents, which have nothing ex-
 traordinary in them. Near this place is an her-
 mitage and chapel cut out of a rock, much fre-
 quented by the devout people of the country, who
 have a tradition that St. PRIVAT suffer'd martyr-
 dom there.

Marvege.

Marvege is situated in a fine valley, water'd by
 the river Colange, about twenty miles north-west
 of Mende. It is generally a regular well-built
 town, considering the country it stands in. It has
 four gates, at every one of which there is a church
 and a fountain. The principal square is large,
 adorn'd with a fountain and two basins. There
 are in the town about a thousand families, and
 they have a good trade, especially at their six an-
 nual fairs.

The diocese
 of Alais.

The diocese of Alais has that of Mende on the
 north-west, and Uzez on the south-east. The
 chief towns are Alais, Aguemortes and Anduze.

Alais city.

Alais is situated on the river Gardon, about
 thirty miles to the northward of Montpellier. It
 is a large populous trading town, with seven gates.
 The cathedral is the only publick building men-
 tioned by the French writers, and this has nothing
 extraordinary in its structure. It is commanded

by a fort, which was built here in the year 1689, CHAP
 to keep the people of the Cevennes within the XI.
 bounds of their duty. A little below the fort is
 a noble terrace, which affords a fine prospect of the
 adjacent country.

Aguemortes, *Aqua Mariana*, stands about five Aguemortes,
 miles to the southward of Nismes, and one to the
 northward of the Mediterranean; though in the
 time of St. LEWIS it was a port, and stood close
 to the sea-shore, where he built a pharos or light-
 house for the direction of mariners; and here it
 was he embark'd in his expeditions to Africa.

Anduze is situated on the river Gardon, south- Anduze,
 west of Alais, and is a considerable place on ac-
 count of its trade.

The diocese of Puy comprehends the country The diocese
 of Velais, the most northerly part of Languedoc, of Puy,
 and consists altogether of mountains and rocks per-
 petually cover'd with snow. The chief towns are
 Puy, Montfalcon, St. Disier, St. Paulian, Solig-
 nac and Alegre.

Puy is situated on the mountain Anis, near the Puy city,
 banks of the Loire, about forty miles to the north-
 ward of Mende. It is a large city, and has abun-
 dant of monasteries in it, but is most remarkable
 for the cathedral dedicated to the blessed Virgin,
 in which they pretend to have a great many pre-
 cious reliques, that draw multitudes of devout
 people hither, some of which a writer would be
 cautious of naming, lest it should render the
 Christian religion ridiculous. And indeed the
 Roman catholics are infinitely to blame, in giv-
 ing occasion to men of loose principles to scoff at
 every thing that's sacred, by making such fooler-
 ies the subject of ignorant people's devotions.

Languedoc was antiently possess'd by the Volcae The antient
 and the Tectosages; the first inhabited the higher state of
 Languedoc, and the other the lower. The Ro- Languedoc
 mans made a conquest of it under the consulate
 of QUINTUS FABIVS MAXIMUS, six hundred
 and thirty-six years after the foundation of Rome;
 after which it obtain'd the name of *Gallia Nar-
 bonensis*. It remain'd under their dominion till the
 reign of the Emperor HONORIUS, who finding
 the Vandals possess'd of Spain, and making fre-
 quent excursions into Gaul, which was too far
 remov'd from the seat of the Empire, transfer'd
 both Gaul and Spain to the Goths, according to
 the French historians, under the following condi-
 tions: 1. That the antient laws and privileges of
 the country should be preserv'd. And, 2. That
 the Emperor HONORIUS and his successors, not-
 withstanding a prescription of thirty years, should
 be at liberty to resume this grant, upon assigning
 other lands to the Goths. And it was by virtue
 of this grant that the Goths took possession of
Gallia Narbonensis under the reign of ADOLPHUS.
 This Prince took up his residence at the mouth of
 the Rhone, at a place antiently call'd the palace
 of

CHAP. of the Goths, and Pons St. Giles's. The succes-
 XI. sors of ADOLPHUS enjoy'd *Gallia Narbonensis* near
 three hundred years, under the reigns of thirty of
 their Kings; the last of whom was kill'd in battle
 by the Saracens when they invaded Spain, about
 the year 714. The Saracens took the advantage
 of their victory and advanc'd into Languedoc,
 extending their conquests as far as Lyons; but
 marching on to Tours, they were encounter'd by
 CHARLES MARTEL, and entirely defeated, losing
 upwards of three hundred and sixty thousand of
 their men, if we might credit the historians of
 those times: however, certain it is, they were to-
 tally routed and driven out of France by CHARLES
 MARTEL and his son King PEPIN. CHARLE-
 MAIN, upon the birth of his son LEWIS the De-
 bonaire, erected the kingdom of Aquitain, to which
 he united Thoulouse and great part of the higher
 Languedoc. During his son's minority he ap-
 pointed Dukes, Counts and Marquisses in the prin-
 cipal towns and districts, who were confirm'd in
 their governments by LEWIS the Debonaire. And
 tho' they had those commands at first only during
 pleasure, their posterity who succeeded them look'd
 on the territories they governed as their respec-
 tive inheritances, and claimed the dominion of
 them: tho' the French historians alledge, that
 they always remain'd vassals to their Kings, and
 receiv'd the investiture of their territories from them.
 CORSON or TORSON being appointed Count of
 Thoulouse by CHARLEMAIN, was the head of
 that family, who by their alliances and intermar-
 riages with other petty sovereigns of this province,
 became in time possess'd of the greatest part of it,
 and so continu'd till the thirteenth century, when
 the Albigenes who oppos'd the errors of the church
 of Rome chose RAIMOND VII, Count of Thou-
 louse, for their general, which occasion'd the Pope
 to publish a croisade against him; and after a te-
 dious struggle of many years, the territories of the
 Counts of Thoulouse were divided between the
 Pope and the French King, as has been taken no-
 tice of already; but Languedoc was not expressly
 reunited to the crown of France till the year 1361.
 And the author of the new description of France says,
 their Kings now possess it by right of conquest, and
 wonders upon what foundation MORERI went,
 when he says that Provence was united to the crown
 of France upon three conditions: 1. That the gover-
 nour of it should always be a Prince of the blood.
 2. That the King should impose no taxes but by
 the consent of the States. And, 3. That this
 province should be governed by written laws, and
 not by will and pleasure.

The trade and produce of Languedoc.
 The trade and produce of Languedoc is very
 considerable. The product of the soil and the mer-
 chandizes they export are, their wines, which they
 vend in Italy; oils, which they send to Germany
 and Switzerland; corn, which they send to Spain,

when they happen to have plentiful crops: chee-
 nuts and raisins, which they export to Tunis and
 Algier; woollen cloth, which they send to Ger-
 many, Switzerland and the Levant, and with
 which they clothe the King's troops: their silk-
 trade also is very great, tho' it has not been intro-
 duc'd into this province much above fourscore
 years. After this general account of the trade, my
 author proceeds to shew what is the proper product
 of every diocese and great town as follows:

The principal trade in the diocese of Thoulouse, Trade of
 Thoulouse.
 consists in corn and woad used for dying, of which
 they have vendd formerly more than the value of
 a million of livres annually; but since the use of
 indigo has been introduc'd, the cultivation of woad
 has been neglected, tho' it dyes a much finer blue.
 The trade of the city of Thoulouse is inconsidera-
 ble in proportion to the extent of the town; it
 consists in Spanish wool, coarse hangings, and stuffs
 made of silk and wool, of small value. They
 search also the sands of the rivers Garonne and
 Ariege for gold-dust, but it is scarce worth their
 trouble.

That part of the diocese of Montauban which is Of Montau-
 ban.
 in Languedoc produces plenty of corn and wine,
 but they convert most of the latter into brandy.
 They have also a great deal of woad, and breed a-
 bundance of horses.

In the diocese of Alet, the district of Limoux Of Alet.
 produces excellent white wine, but it will not bear
 transporting. They have also a woollen manu-
 facture, and a staple of iron here.

The diocese of Mirepoix produces all kinds of Mirepoix.
 provision and cattle, but they send scarce any goods
 abroad, except box-combs that are vendd in Spain
 and Italy.

The plains about Castle Manduary abound in Castle
 Manduary.
 corn.

The trade of the diocese of Castres consists in Castres.
 cattle and woollen stuffs, such as serges, bays, &c.

The diocese of Alby has plenty of corn, wine, Alby.
 saffron, cattle, prunes, woad and wool. They
 export great quantities of dry'd prunes, crapes,
 serges, bays, and their Gaillac-wines, which are
 the only wines of the province that will bear the
 sea; they carry them to Bourdeaux, where the
 English buy them up. They pretend also to some
 coal-pits, but these are not, I have reason to be-
 lieve, so considerable as they make them.

The trade of the diocese of St. Pons is inconfi- St. Pons.
 derable; what they have consists in corn and cat-
 tle, and some woollen manufactures, with the fine
 marble which their mountains produce.

The diocese of Narbonne produces plenty of Narbonne.
 corn, esteem'd the best in the kingdom, on which
 account there are considerable merchants at Nar-
 bonne that deal in nothing else. They have also
 a great deal of oil, but little wine. The salt-
 works of Periac furnish upper Languedoc with salt.

CHAP. XI. The diocese of Carcassone is so barren a country, that it does not produce sufficient food for the inhabitants; but they are abundantly supply'd by the industry of the natives. The city of Carcassone, says my author, is but one great woollen manufactory, as well as the country about it. What wine they have is good, and they have some excellent quarries of marble of various colours: one is reserv'd solely for the King's use, which is a white marble with a vein of carnation.

Beziers. The diocese of Beziers is the richest of the province, producing great plenty of corn, wine and oil. They have also quarries of marble and coal-pits. They make some fine druggets, which are exported to Germany; but the natives in general have not a genius for trade.

Lodeve. The diocese of Lodeve is a dry barren country, and yet one of the richest on account of their woollen manufactures, and that of hats.

Agde. The diocese of Agde is of a small extent, but one of the richest in the kingdom. Their wool is fine, and their country produces plenty of corn, wine, oil, silk and salt.

Trade and produce of Montpellier. The soil in the diocese of Montpellier is not extremely rich, but is cover'd nevertheless with vines and olives. Most part of the trade of this district is carried on at the city of Montpellier, where they have some species of manufactures almost peculiar to themselves, as particularly that of Verd-de-gris, or Verdegrease, *Viride Aeris*, us'd in painting and surgery, which is made with copper-plates, and chiefly the business of the women. The copper-plates are about the size of a playing card, but something thicker. They first put two pints of wine at the bottom of an earthen pot, and over the wine lay little sticks across, on which they lay a layer of dry'd grapes, and upon them a layer of copper-plates, and then grapes again, and so alternately plates and grapes till the pot is fill'd; and having cover'd it with a straw-cover, and left a passage for the vapour of the wine to ascend, they let it stand ten or twelve days. The strength of the wine at the bottom having occasion'd a certain green matter to arise on the copper-plates, they take them out of the pots, and lay them in the air to dry, after which the women scrape off the green matter, and this is what we call verdegrease. The same plates are put to the same use again for two or three years, till they are scrap'd so thin that they are forc'd to take others. The wine has the best effect on the copper in summer, when every pot will produce about a pound of verdegrease. They make at Montpellier annually about two thousand quintals or hundred weight, and the ordinary price is twenty pence a pound. It is vend'd chiefly in Holland, Germany, England and Italy.

The wool-trade is the most considerable which is carried on at Montpellier, they import their

CHAP. XI. wool from Smyrna, Constantinople, Sally, Tunis and Spain, and either manufacture it themselves, or vend it unwrought in the neighbouring provinces. They also whiten great quantities of wax, which they bring from the Levant, amounting annually to an hundred thousand livres and upwards, which is in much greater esteem than that made in Holland.

The tanners of Montpellier and Ganges have a good trade in skins, amounting to the value of two hundred thousand livres and upwards. And their strong waters, brandy, cinnamon-waters, Hungary water and other distill'd liquors, are computed to bring them in five hundred thousand livres in time of peace. Salted pilchards is another article, which they vend in Roussillon, Lionois and Dauphiné. Their vermilion and confection of alkermes also bring them in a great deal of money, the last of which they vend chiefly in Germany.

They do not make less than four thousand pieces of fustian annually here, at seventeen livres the piece, importing the cotton of which it is made from the Levant, which manufacture is exported chiefly to Spain.

The diocese of Nîmes is generally a level country, and one of the richest in France, producing corn, wine, silk, and all manner of provisions in abundance. There are also a great variety of manufactures at the city of Nîmes, the merchants whereof have engross'd most of the silk and woollen trade of the province.

The diocese of Uzes, the largest in Languedoc, produces corn, wine, oil, silk and wool, besides abundance of cattle.

In the Vivarez, the mountains call'd Boutieres are barren, producing little but chesnuts and hemp, and affording pasture for sheep. The mountains near Velay are well cultivated, and yield all manner of provisions but wine; and the country between those mountains and the Rhone is as fruitful as any in Languedoc.

The Gevaudan is a mountainous country, one part of it perfectly barren, and the other produces little but rye and chesnuts. The people are generally mechanicks, and have a good manufacture of serges and other woollen stuffs, which they export to Germany, Switzerland and the Levant, to the value of two millions of livres.

The diocese of Alais is part of the Cevennes, the principal riches whereof consist in woollen manufactures, such as druggets, serges, &c. which are reckon'd stronger and better than those of Gevaudan.

The Velay is a little country in the mountains, cover'd with snow for half the year, and exceeding cold; notwithstanding which, they have more than corn sufficient for the inhabitants, and the cattle they feed brings a great deal of money into the country, as does their lace, which they vend in Spain, Germany, and other places.

The

CHAP. XI. The commerce of this province is chiefly transacted at fairs in the great towns, of which the most considerable are those of Pecenas, Montagnac and Beaucaire; at the last of which places there has been the value of six millions of livres return'd, if I may credit my French author.

The chief springs of mineral waters in this province are at Valhs in the Vivarez, five leagues west of the Rhone.

At Youset and Peyret, in the diocese of Uzes, the last of which is not a quarter of a league from the city of Uzes.

Near Peroul, about a league from Montpellier, is a fountain where the water bubbles up as if it boiled; and if you dig a hole near it, and put water in it, it will bubble like the spring.

At Gabian, a day's journey from Montpellier, in the way to Beziers, is a spring of Petroleum, black, burning like oil, and of a strong pungent scent, issuing from the rocks all the year long, but chiefly in summer. They gather it with ladders, and putting it into a barrel, separate the water from the oil by letting out the first at a tap towards the bottom of the vessel.

The baths of Balleruch near Frontignan, about a quarter of a league from the road leading from Thoulouse to Montpellier, are in good esteem.

The military government of Languedoc, As to the military government of this province, it is subject to a governor-general, who has under him three lieutenant-generals that have their respective divisions assign'd them: 1. The lieutenancy of the Higher Languedoc, which comprehends the dioceses of Montauban, Alby, Castres, Lavaur, Carcassone, St. Papoul, Mirepoix, Rieux and Thoulouse. 2. That of Lower Languedoc takes in the dioceses of Alet, Limoux, Narbonne, St. Pons, Beziers, Agde, Montpellier and Lodeve. And, 3. The general lieutenancy of the Cevennes, which extends over the dioceses of Nismes, Alais, Mende, Puy, Viviers and Uzes. Besides which, the King has nine lieutenants of particular places in Languedoc.

CHAP. XII.

Treats of the province or general government of Foix.

Province of Foix, Situation and extent. **T**HE government of Foix is one of the least in the kingdom. It consists only of the county of Foix, and the country of Dounesan and Andorre, and is bounded by the Thoulousan and Lauragais, on the north; by Narbonne, on the east; by the Pyrenees and Roussillon, on the south; and by Gascony, towards the west; the two chief rivers whereof are the Ariege and the Rize. It is generally a mountainous barren country.

Chief towns. The chief towns are Pamiers, Foix, Mazeres, Tarascon, Saverdun, Ax, La Bastide de Feron, Varilles, Le Maz, D'Azil, Dounezan, Le Carlat, St. Ibars, Lezat and Montault.

CHAP. XIII. Pamiers, *Pamia* and *Apamia*, the capital of this province, is situated on the Ariege, about five and twenty miles south of Thoulouse. The town is moderately large, and a bishop's see. Pamiers. The only considerable buildings taken notice of however by the French writers, are, the castle, the cathedral, the bishop's palace, and the Jesuits college, which make a good appearance. It is computed there are between four and five thousand inhabitants in the place.

Foix, which gives name to this province, is also situated on the Ariege, seven or eight miles to the southward of Pamiers. It is defended by a castle situate on a rock, and has a handsome stone bridge over the river. It contains about three thousand inhabitants.

The county of Foix was govern'd by Courts of its own till 1062, when GASTON, Count of Foix, obtain'd the kingdom of Navarre, by his marriage with ELEANOR, the only daughter of JOHN King of Navarre; and their descendants possessed it till the reign of HENRY IV, who was King both of France and Navarre; whereby it became united to the crown of France. The antient state of Foix.

The trade of this country consists in cattle, which are fed upon their mountains, in rosin, turpentine, pitch, marble and iron; but chiefly in iron, which they carry down the Ariege and the Garonne, and vend in Guienne and Languedoc. Trade.

This province is commanded by a governor and lieutenant-general, besides which there is a distinct governor of the town and castle of Foix, and one of the King's lieutenants commands in the castle of Arsin. Military government.

CHAP. XIII.

Treats of the province or general government of Roussillon.

Roussillon, in which I comprehend Conflent and the French Cerdagne, is bounded by Languedoc, on the north; by the Mediterranean, on the east; by Catalonia, on the south, from which it is divided by the Pyrenean mountains; and by another part of Spain, on the west; extending about eighteen leagues from east to west, and twelve from north to south, and consists of a plain, surrounded with mountains on all sides, except towards the sea, which makes it excessive hot in summer. The natives have generally swarthy complexions and meagre visages. There is scarce any wood in the country, and no navigable rivers: the chief of them are the Tet, the Tec, and the Agly; which rising in the mountains, and falling suddenly into the Mediterranean, may be deem'd rather torrents than rivers. The sea-coast hath no good road or harbour, and very different Roussillon. Situations, &c. Rivers.

CHAP. different anchorage. There are some hot baths
XIII. in the country, particularly at the village which
goes by the name of Bains, from the hot springs
in the neighbourhood, and at Vernet.

Chief towns. The chief towns are, 1. Perpignan. 2. Elne. 3.
Arles. 4. Ville-Franche. 5. Mont Lewis.

Perpignan. Perpignan, *Perpiniacum*, the capital of Roussillon, is situated on the river Tet, thirty-five miles to the southward of Narbonne, and about three to the westward of the sea. It stands partly on a hill, and partly in a bottom, is strongly fortified, and defended by a citadel, being a frontier against Spain. It is a bishop's see, the cathedral dedicated to St. JOHN, a fine large old edifice, the choir whereof is inclos'd with white marble. There are also several other churches, convents, and hospitals, two colleges of Jesuits, and a seminary in the place. The inhabitants are a mixture of French and Spaniards, and both languages spoken indifferently: for this was formerly a Spanish town, and not confirm'd to the French till the Pyrenean treaty, anno 1659. There is a great scarcity of good water in this town.

Elne. Elne, *St. Helena*, is a little town, situate on a hill near the river Tec, about fifteen miles to the southward of Perpignan, said to have taken its name from the Empress HELENA; formerly a town of some consequence, but makes no great figure at present.

Ville Franche. Ville Franche, the capital of the district of Conflent, is situated among the mountains, twenty-fives miles south-west of Perpignan, strongly fortified, and defended by a castle, being another frontier garrison again Spain.

Mont Lewis. Mont Lewis, *Mons Ludovici*, the capital of the French Cerdagne, stands on the Pyrenean mountains, about thirty miles to the westward of Perpignan. It is a pretty little town, built and fortified by LEWIS XIV, in the year 1681, to which he added a fine citadel, and made it one of the strongest fortresses on the side of Spain.

The antient state of Roussillon. This province was also govern'd antiently by its proper Counts, till the death of GUINARD the last Count, who dying without children, about the year 1178, gave it to ALPHONSUS, King of Arragon, whose successors continued Sovereigns of it, with some interruptions from the French, till the reign of LEWIS XIII, who made an absolute conquest of it; and it was confirm'd to France by the Pyrenean treaty anno 1659, ever since which it has been united to that crown.

Military government. This province hath a governour or captain-general, like the rest, with his lieutenant-general and King's lieutenant; besides which, there are distinct governours in several of the fortified towns.

Trade and produce. The plains of Roussillon are very fruitful, producing plenty of corn and wine, and some excellent pasture; but they have however very little trade. Olives are the greatest riches of the coun-

try; and oranges are as plentiful as apples and pears in England. They have little or no wood, except what is brought them over the mountains upon the backs of mules. They feed pretty large flocks of sheep, and have excellent mutton. On the other hand, black cattle and horses are very scarce. Mules are generally used for riding and carrying burthens, being much surer-footed and fitter for the mountainous country, which surrounds them. I don't find they have any manner of trade by sea; which is ascribed partly to the dangerous coast and want of harbours, and partly to the laziness of the inhabitants, who seem to have no genius or inclination for manufactures or commerce.

CHAP. XIV.

Treats of the province or general government of Navarre and Bearne.

THE Lower Navarre, which belongs to France, is but one of the six baillages of which the kingdom of Navarre was antiently composed, and is bounded by Lapourd, or Labourd, on the north; by the Pyrenees, which separate it from the Higher Navarre, on the south; and by Bearne, on the east; and is not more than eight leagues in length, and five in breadth. The other five baillages, which compose the Higher Navarre, belong to Spain.

The Lower Navarre is a barren mountainous country, which produces scarce any thing without a great deal of labour; but the little fruit they have is excellent. Their principal rivers are the Nive and the Bidouse; the first rises in the mountains of Spain, and passing by St. John Pied de Port, enters the country of Labourd, and falls into the Adour at Bayonne. The Bidouse has its source in the mountains of the Lower Navarre, and passing by St. Palais and Bidache, discharges it self into the Adour below Giche.

The chief towns are, 1. S. John Pied de Port. 2. St. Palais. And, 3. The Bastide of Clarence.

St. John Pied de Port, *Fanum St. Joannis Pede Portuensis*, is situated on a hill near the river Nive, about twenty miles to the southward of Bayonne, and is a strong place both by art and nature. The citadel, which stands on an eminence, commands the passes from Spain.

Bearne lies to the eastward of the Lower Navarre, being about sixteen leagues in length and twelve in breadth, a dry mountainous country generally, but the valleys are tolerably fruitful. They sow very little but Indian corn, which is the food of the natives. The soil also bears flax, which they manufacture themselves. Upon the lesser hills there are a great many vineyards, and the wine in some parts is excellent. In the moun-

CHAP. XIV. mountains are found some mines of lead, copper and iron, and good store of fir-trees, which serve for masts and planks of ships; and there are several springs of mineral-water in the country, particularly near Escot and Oleron. The two principal rivers are the Gave de Bearnois, and the Gave de Oleron, both of which fall into the Adour.

Rivers.

Towns.

Pau.

The chief towns of Bearne are, 1. Pau. 2. Lescar. 3. Navarreiis. And, 4. Oleron.

Pau, *Palum*, is the capital of Bearne. It stands on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the river Gave-Bearnois, and is about thirty miles to the eastward of Bayonne. It is a very handsome little town, and has a castle at the end of it, where HENRY IV. of France was born, having been the ordinary residence of the princes of Bearne. The park and gardens, 'tis said, deserve a traveller's curiosity.

Oleron.

Oleron is situated on the Gave d'Oleron, four leagues to the westward of Pau. It is a populous place: the citizens, who are generally merchants, have a pretty brisk trade with the Spaniards, and particularly with those of Arragon.

Commerce.

The commerce of Bearne consists in wines, which the English and Dutch take off their hands, in linnen, cattle, and a small breed of horses, which they vend in Spain; the last being very proper for that mountainous country. And many of the Bearnois go into Spain, to cultivate and manure their lands, by which they acquire considerable fortunes; for the Spaniards are generally lazy, and have no genius for husbandry.

Military Government.

Lower Navarre and Bearn have the same government-general, lieutenant-general, and King's lieutenant. St. John Pied de Port is the only town which has a particular government in Navarre, as that of Navarreiis is in Bearne.

CHAP. XV.

Treats of the province or general government of Guienne and Gascony.

Guienne and Gascony, Situation, &c.

THE province of Guienne and Gascony, comprehending the generalities of Bourdeaux and Montauban, is bounded by Saintonge, Angoumois, and Marche, on the north; by Auvergne and Languedoc, on the east; by the Pyrenean mountains, on the south; and by the Ocean, on the west; extending fourscore leagues in length from north to south, and near as much in breadth from east to west.

Rivers.

The principal rivers are, 1. The Garonne above-mention'd; and, 2. The Dordonne, which having united their streams below Bourdeaux, obtain the name of the Gironne. 3. The Adour. 4. The Tarn. 5. The Aveyron. And, 6. The Lot.

The tide comes up the Garonne as high as Langon and St. Maccaire, which are eight leagues above Bourdeaux, and thirty leagues from the mouth of the river: and the spring-tides go up the river Dordonne as high as Castillon, which is six or seven and twenty leagues from the mouth.

Garonne. Dordonne.

The Adour rises in the Pyrenean mountains, and taking its course first to the north, turns about to the westward, and having received the Gave d'Oleron, and several other small streams, falls into the sea a little below Bayonne, beginning to be navigable at Grenade in the Marfan.

Adour.

The Tarn rises in the Gevaudan, and running westward through Languedoc, discharges itself into the Garonne on the confines of Guienne and Gascony.

The Tarn.

The river Lot also rises in the Gevaudan, and running westward, falls into the Garonne at Aiguillan. This river is of great service in transporting the wine, brandies, and other merchandize, of the inland country to Bourdeaux.

The Lot.

The ports and roads belonging to this government, are those of Cape Brecon, Old Boucat, Arachon and Socoa; of which Arachon is the most considerable, being a fine basin of eight leagues in circumference, but of a difficult entrance, there being no more than two fathom water upon the bar.

Ports.

They have several springs of mineral waters, as, 1. At Mier. 2. At Crausac, in the election of Ville Franche, to which there resort great numbers of people in May and September. 3. At Pont de Camarez. 4. At Vabrez. 5. At Barbazan. 6. At Encausse. 7. At Capbern.

Mineral waters.

The most remarkable hot baths are, 1. at Bag-niers, which takes its name from thence; and, 2. at Barege.

Baths.

This government also affords mines of copper and iron, quarries of marble, and coal-pits; and they mention an extraordinary plant called Radoul, which is of great use both to the tanners and dyers.

Mines.

The province of Guienne and Gascony is not near so extensive as the ancient Aquitain was, but is however the largest government in the kingdom, comprehending the districts hereafter mention'd, viz. 1. Guienne Proper. 2. Bazadois. 3. Agenois. 4. Querci. 5. Rovergne, 6. Perigord. 7. Armagnac. 8. Chalosse. 9. Condomois. 10. Landes. 11. The country of Labourd. 12. The Viscounty of Soule. 13. Bigorre. 14. Comenge. And, 15. Conserans.

Division.

Guienne Proper, or the Bourdelois, *Ager Bur-digalensis*, is bounded by the river Gironne, which divides it from Saintonge, on the north; by the Agenois and Perigord, on the east; by the Bazadois and Landez, on the south; and by the Ocean, on the west. The chief places are, 1. Bourdeaux.

Guienne Proper. Bourdelois.

CHAP. deaux. 2. The Tower of Corduan. 3. Blaye.
XV. 4. Bourg. 5. Libourne. 6. Fronfac. 7. Cou-
tras. And, 8. Cadillac.

Chief towns. Bourdeaux is situated on the west-side of the river Garonne, fifty miles south of the mouth of that river, and nineteen south of Rochelle. The town and suburbs lying in the form of a crescent about the river, make a capacious harbour for small ships. It is surrounded by an old wall and towers; but its principal defence consists in three strong forts, viz. the Trumpet Castle, the Castle of Hau, and Fort St. Lewis or St. Croix, which are all antient castles, but enlarg'd and improv'd by Monsieur VAUBAN, in the reign of LEWIS XIV. for the defence of the town and harbour, which they entirely command.

Bourdeaux is one of the largest and richest towns in the kingdom, there being five thousand houses in the city and suburbs, and upwards of forty thousand souls. The antiquity of it is evident from the remains of an amphitheatre, and other Roman buildings. It is the See of an Archbishop, and the principal modern edifices are, the metropolitan church of St. ANDREW, esteem'd one of the fairest in France; the archiepiscopal palace, a magnificent building; the church of St. MICHAEL, the Jesuits college, and the Chartreuse are elegant pieces of architecture: but the town in general is none of the most beautiful, the streets being narrow, and the buildings old; and the usual inconveniencies are met with here that are found in other sea-port towns, that is, a great deal of noise, hurry and insolence. As to its trade, this will be considered hereafter.

Corduan tower. The tower of Corduan is situated on a rock at the mouth of the river Garonne or Gironde, and serves not only to defend the entrance of it, but as a pharos, or light-house, for mariners.

Blaye. Blaye, *Blavium*, a little strong town situated on the river Garonne, about seven leagues to the northward of Bourdeaux, having a citadel and two strong forts; one of which is erected on an island in the middle of the river, and the other on the opposite shore, called Fort Medon, from its standing in a district of that name. These defend the passage of the river, and no ships can go up to Bourdeaux without their permission.

The Bazadois. The Bazadois lies south-east of the Bourdelois; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Bazas. 2. Reole. 3. Casteljalous. 4. Nerac. And 5. Langon.

Bazas. Bazas, *Cessium Vesatum*, is an antient town situated on a rock, two leagues and half to the westward of the Garonne, and thirty south of Bourdeaux. It is a bishop's see, but not considerable on any other account.

Reole. Reole is a little trading town situate on the Garonne, nine leagues to the southward of Bourdeaux, whither the parliament and courts of

Bourdeaux were sometimes removed in the last CHAP. reign to mortify that city. XV.

Nerac, the capital of the dutchy of Albret, is situated two leagues to the westward of the Garonne, and is a town of good trade, said to be well replenished with Calvinists; but I presume, they mean those who are inclined that way, for none are permitted to profess themselves Protestants openly. Here is an old castle built by the English, when they were sovereigns of this country.

The Agenois lies to the eastward of Bazadois, from which it is separated by the river Garonne; the chief towns whereof are, 1. Agen. 2. Clairac. 3. Villeneuve. 4. St. Foi. 5. Toneius. 6. Monheurt. 7. Marmande. 8. Salvetat. And, 9. Aiguillon.

Agen, *Agennum Nitobrigum*, the capital of the county, a town of great antiquity, is situated on the north shore of the river Garonne, about fifty miles south-east of Bourdeaux. It is a large place and a bishop's see, and though it be well seated for trade, has very little, the natives having no genius for commerce.

Villeneuve de Agenois stands on the river Lot, and is one of the finest situations in the country.

St. Foi, *Fanum Sanctæ Fidei*, is situated on the river Dordogne, three leagues below Bergerac, and has a brisk trade in corn, wine and brandy.

Marmande stands on the river Garonne, six leagues north-west of Agen, and twelve south-east of Bourdeaux. It is a pretty large town, and has a good trade.

Aiguillon situate at the confluence of the Lot and Garonne, is a fortified town, the capital of a dutchy and peerage, and a place of good trade.

The district of Querci lies to the eastward of the Agenois; the chief towns are, Souillac, Lanzerte, Martel, St. Cere, Gourdon, Roquema-dour, Figeac, Capdenac, Cahors, Montauban, Moissac, Negrepelisse, Caussade, Caylus, Montpezat, Molieres, Realville la Francois, Burniquel, Montricons and Montclar.

Cahors, *Divona Cadurcorum*, the capital of Querci, is situated on the river Lot, thirty miles north-east of Agen: a very antient town, as appears by the ruins of several Roman buildings. It is at present the see of a bishop, suffragan of Bourdeaux, who styles himself Count, and contains about eight thousand souls; but is a poor place, and makes a very indifferent appearance.

Montauban, *Mons Albanus*, is situated on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the river Tarn, over which there is a handsome stone-bridge that joins it to a suburb in the province of Languedoc, and stands about thirty miles to the southward of Cahors. It is a well-built populous town, and the see of a bishop, suffragan of Toulouse.

CHAP. louse. The things best worth the viewing here
XV. are the bishop's palace, the Griffon fountain, and
the Falese, which is an agreeable walk on the
banks of the Tarn. It is computed there are a-
bout eighteen thousand souls in the place.

Rovergne.

Rovergne has Quercy on the west, and the
Cevennes and Gevaudan on the east; being about
thirty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth;
the chief towns whereof are Radez, Milhaud,
Ville-Franche, and St. Antonin.

Rodez.

Rodez, *Urbs Rutena*, the capital of Rovergne,
is situated on a hill surrounded by mountains, be-
tween the river Aveyron and a little rivulet, six-
teen leagues to the eastward of Cahors. It is a
bishop's See, and has a fine cathedral of an octo-
gonal figure, the tower whereof is admir'd for its
extraordinary height. They preserve in the trea-
sury here one of the Virgin MARY's shoes;
tho' it be a question whether she wore any. The
Jesuits have a fine college in this city, and the
convents of the Cordeliers, Dominicans, Capu-
chins, and Chartreuse are handsome structures.
Here are also the nunneries of the congregation of
our Lady, the Urselines, and the abbey of Mon-
stier. It is computed there are about six thousand
souls in the place.

Milhaud.

Milhaud, the capital of Upper Rovergne, is si-
tuated on the Tarn, ten leagues south-east of
Rodez; the fortifications whereof were raz'd on
account of their adhering to the Calvinists. It
contains about three thousand souls; but the French
writers do not think it merits a farther descrip-
tion.

Vabres.

Vabres, situated on the river Dourdan to the
southward of Milhaud, is no more than a little
village at present, and only mention'd on account
of its being a bishop's See.

Ville-Fran-
che.

Ville-Franche, *Francopolis*, is situated on the
river Aveyron, eight leagues to the westward of
Rodez, remarkable chiefly for the copper-mines
in the neighbourhood. It contains about six thou-
sand souls; there are several fine convents and re-
ligious houses in the place.

Perigord (di-
strict).

Perigord lies to the northward of Agenois, from
which it is divided by the river Dordonne, being
about thirty-three leagues long, and twenty-four
broad. The chief towns are, Perigueux, Bergerac,
Sarlat and Castillon.

Perigueux.

Perigueux, *Vesuna Petrocorium*, the capital of Pe-
rigord, is situated on the river L'Isle, fifty miles
north-east of Bourdeaux, a populous town, and
the See of a bishop, and is very ancient, as appears
by the ruins of several Roman buildings, parti-
cularly of an amphitheatre and a round stone
tower, which has neither doors nor windows,
but is entered by two subterraneous passages, sup-
posed to have been a temple dedicated to VENUS,
for which they don't seem to have any other au-
thority than its obscurity.

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Bergerac is situated on the river Dordonne, five CHAP.
leagues south of Perigueux. It was fortified by the XV.
English in the fourteenth century, and was a place
of importance, commanding a pass on the river Bergerac.
above-named. It was often taken and retaken
during the religious wars in France, and the forti-
fications at length razed on account of its adhe-
rence to the Calvinists, of which sect there were
not less than forty thousand in this city and the
neighbourhood, at the revocation of the edict of
Nants. It is still a populous wealthy town, being
the center of trade between Lyons and Bour-
deaux.

Sarlat is situated in a bottom surrounded by Sarlat,
mountains, a league and a half from the river
Dordonne, and ten south-east of Perigueux. It is
a poor place, and scarce deserves mentioning but
upon account of its being a bishop's See.

Castillon, *Castilio*, situate on the Dordonne, Castillon.
two leagues to the westward of St. Foy, memo-
rable chiefly for a bloody battle fought between
the English and French, about the year 1453;
wherein the famous JOHN TALBOT, Earl of
Shrewsbury, and his son were killed, and all the
province of Gascony lost soon after.

The district of Armagnac lies to the westward Armagnac
of the Thoulousan, from which it is separated by the district.
river Garonne, being two and twenty leagues in
length, and sixteen in breadth. The chief towns
are Auch, Lectoure, Nogaro, Mirande, Leyrac,
Eause, Vic, Fleurence, Castelnau, Verdun, and
Grenade.

Auch, *Augusta Ausciorum*, the capital of Gas-Auch.
cony, is situated on the side of a mountain near
the river Gers, about thirty miles west of Thou-
louse, and seventy south-east of Bourdeaux. It
is the See of an Archbishop, one of the richest in
France, the revenue being computed at an hun-
dred thousand livres per ann. He has the joint so-
vereignty of the town with the Count of Armag-
nac, and stiles himself Primate of Aquitain; the
cathedral dedicated to the Virgin, is one of the
finest in France, where they pretend to have pre-
served a bottle of the Virgin's milk. The town
is small, containing not above three thousand
souls; and I don't find any building of consequence
mentioned by the French writers besides the ca-
thedral, unless it be the archiepiscopal palace,
from whence there is an admirable prospect of the
adjacent country.

Lectoure, *Lectora*, is situated on a mountain, Lectoure,
at the foot whereof runs the river Gers, twenty-
five miles north of Auch. It is surrounded by a
triple wall, and defended by a castle, the See of a
bishop, and computed to contain about four thou-
sand inhabitants.

Verdun, capital of a district, called the Ver- Verdun,
dunois, is situated five and twenty miles north-
east of Auch, and contains between two and three
thousand

Y y

CHAP. thousand souls; which is all the description I
XV. meet with of it.

The Chalosse, or Proper Gascony, lies to the westward of Armagnac, and is about thirteen leagues over either way. The chief towns are St. Sever, Aire, Gabaret and Arfac.

St. Sever. St. Sever is situated on the river Adour, about thirty miles north-east of Bayonne, which some look upon to be the capital of the Gascon country. Here they put on board their wines, to carry them to Dax and Bayonne.

Aire. Aire, *Adurium, Vicus Julii*, stands upon the Adour, about twelve miles to the westward of St. Sever, and tho' it be still a bishop's See, is dwindled into a village.

The Condomois. The Condomois lies to the northward of Armagnac, and is about twenty leagues in length from east to west, but extremely narrow. The chief towns are Condom, Gavaret, and Mont de Marfan.

Condom. Condom is situated on the river Gelise, twenty-five miles to the northward of Auch. It is the See of a bishop, but a poor town of no manner of trade. The Catholics complain of the ravages committed here by the Hugonots in the civil wars, who plundered the cathedral, burnt six parochial churches and five monasteries.

Mont Marfan. Mont Marfan is only considerable for being the capital of the Viscounty of Marfan, which antiently belonged to the Princes of Bearne. It stands on the river Medouze, about four and twenty miles to the westward of Condom.

The Landes. The Landes, or Lannes, lies upon the Ocean to the southward of the Bourdelois. It is a barren sandy country, producing little but broom and heath. The chief towns are, Dax, Tartas, Albret, and Peyronrade.

Dax. Dax, *d'Aqu's, Aquæ Augustæ, Civitas Aquensis*, is situated on the river Adour, about sixteen miles to the northward of Bayonne, and takes its name from the hot spring in the middle of the town. It is defended by some antique fortifications and a castle, a populous trading town, and a bishop's See; there are also a great many convents and religious houses in the place.

Tartas. Tartas stands on the Medouze, seven or eight miles to the northward of Dax, considerable chiefly for its market.

Labourd. The county of Labourd lies upon the sea of Gascony to the southward of Landes, and was part of the country of Basques, a people originally of Cantabria. It formerly extended as far as St. Sebastian in Spain; but the Spaniards are now masters of all the country on the other side the river Bidassoa. The chief towns are Bayonne, St. John de Luz, Sibour, Ustarits, Andaye, Bidacte, Guiche.

Bayonne. Bayonne, *Lapurdum*, situate on the rivers Nive and Adour, fifteen miles north of the confines of Spain, about an hundred to the westward of Thou-

louse, and three to the eastward of the sea of Gascony. It receiv'd its name from the Basquish words Baia and Ona, which signify a good bay or harbour, and is divided into three parts by the rivers, strongly fortified in the late reign by that celebrated engineer Monsieur VAUBAN. The citadel commands the town, the harbour and the adjacent country; besides which, it has several other good forts for its defence. The town is tolerably large and populous, and is of consequence as well on account of its foreign trade, as its being one of the strongest frontier garrisons on the side of Spain. It is a bishop's See; but neither the cathedral or the other publick or private buildings, have any thing in them that merits a particular description. The harbour is tolerably good, but of a difficult entrance.

St. John de Luz stands on a bay of the sea, ten miles south-west of Bayonne, and ten north-east of Fontarabia in Spain. It is a pretty large borough-town, but no city.

The Isle of Pheasants ought not to be forgot in this place, which lies in the middle of the river Bidassoa, that divides France from Spain, and to which therefore both Princes have an equal claim, was pitch'd upon for a treaty of peace between these kingdoms in the year 1659; and from the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, was called the Pyrenean treaty. Here King CHARLES II. of England attended in person, to solicit the assistance of those powers, while he remain'd in exile; but was shamefully deserted by both of them: tho' the following year, when his subjects voluntarily sent for him and restor'd him to his throne, he was as much courted by these and the rest of the Princes of Europe, as he had been neglected in his distress.

The Country or Valley of Soule makes part of the country of Basques, and lies along the river Gave de Suzon, between Bearne on the east, and the Lower Navarre on the west, consisting of sixty-nine parishes, the only considerable town being that of Manleon Malleo, situate on the Gave de Suzon; and this the French writers do not give us any particular description of, only observe, that the celebrated HENRY SPONDE, bishop of Pamiers, was born here.

The County of Bigorre lies south-east of Bearne, on the confines of Spain, being about eighteen leagues in length, and three in breadth. The chief towns are, Tarbes, Vic de Bigorre, Lourde, Bagneres, Barege, St. Sever de Rustan, and Jornac.

Tarbes is situated on the river Adour, about thirty miles south-west of Auch, and twelve south-east of Pau, in one of the most pleasant fruitful valleys in the country. It is a pretty little town divided in four or five parts by the several branches of the river; a bishop's See, the cathedral whereof is dedicated to the Virgin, besides which there is only

CHAP. XV.

The Isle of Pheasants, the place of the Pyrenean treaty.

Valley of Soule.

Manleon.

Bigorre county.

Tarbes.

CHAP. only one parish-church and two monasteries. It
XV. is defended by the castle of Bigorre, which 'tis
said gives name to the county.

Bagueres.

Bagueres, *Aquæ Convenarum*, situate on the Adour, is considerable for its hot baths, which occasions a great resort of people hither.

County of
Cominges.

The County of Cominges lies between the Thoulousan on the north-east, and Bigorre on the south-west, being about eighteen leagues in length, and six in breadth. The chief towns whereof are, St. Bertrand, Lombez, Muret, Montregean, St. Beat, St. Gaudens, and St. Martory.

St. Bertrand.

St. Bertrand is a little town situate on a hill near the river Gironne, about thirty miles to the eastward of Pau, and as much south of Auch. At the foot of the hill whereon it stands, lay the antient Cominges, *Lugdunum Convenarum*, which was a larger town than Thoulouse, as appears by the ruins of its walls. St. Bertrand is a bishop's See, and has a cathedral; but the inhabitants scarce amount to five hundred souls.

Lombes.

Lombes stands upon the little river Seve, about twenty miles to the northward of St. Bertrand, containing about two thousand five hundred inhabitants, only considerable on account of its being a bishop's See.

Muret.

Muret situate on the Garonne, about thirty miles north-east of St. Bertrand, where the Roman Catholicks say, they obtain'd a miraculous victory over the Albigenes. They relate, that PETER, King of Arragon, the Count de Thoulouse, and many other sovereign Princes, having besieged Muret with an army of an hundred thousand men, in the year 1213, and that St. DOMINICK, with the bishop of Thoulouse, being shut up in the place, and calling to their assistance SIMON Earl of Montford, they sallied out upon the besiegers with fourteen thousand men, St. DOMINICK carrying a crucifix before them, and totally routed the King of Arragon's army, who was killed upon the spot. They pretend to have preserved St. DOMINICK's crucifix to this day at Thoulouse, with three arrows sticking in the wood of the cross, with the Christ untouch'd. And tho' we should not be much in the wrong to suspend our belief as to some circumstances in the story, yet we may observe from hence and other relations we have met with, that almost all South France, part of Italy and Spain, as well Princes as people, were very early united in a confederacy against the church of Rome and its superstitions, and maintained their ground for some ages, till a general croisade was proclaimed against them; and then it was with no small difficulty they were suppress'd.

St. Beat.

St. Beat is situated on the Garonne, two or three leagues to the southward of St. Bertrand, so inclosed between two mountains, that there is only

room for the buildings and the river between them; and tho' it be a very indifferent place in other respects, they can say what few others can, namely, that the whole town is built with marble, which is the only stone to be found in their neighbourhood.

St. Gaudens is a little populous trading place on the Garonne, situated north-east of St. Bertrand, the best town in the Cominges, and the capital of the Nebouzan.

Conserans lies south-east of Cominges, adjoining to the Pyrenean Mountains; the only town of any consequence is St. Lizier, *Fanum Sancti Lizierii*, *Civitas Conseranorum*, situate on the river Salat, at the foot of the Pyrenees, fourteen or fifteen miles to the eastward of St. Bertrand. It is the See of a bishop, but not considerable on any other account.

The government of Guienne and Gascony is part of the antient Aquitain, so called *ab aquis*, from the great number of hot baths and mineral waters in it. In the Roman division of Gaul, it comprehended all that country which lies between the river Loire and the Pyrenean mountains, and was transferred to the Goths by the Emperor VALENTINIAN III. The Franks having made a conquest of it, CHARLES the Great erected it into a kingdom for his youngest son LEWIS, who afterwards succeeded him in the Empire. It falling to the Kings of France in the division of the Empire, they govern'd it by Counts and Dukes, who at length assumed an unlimited dominion, and made it hereditary in their families. ELEANOR the heiress of WILLIAM, the ninth Duke of Aquitain, married LEWIS VII, King of France, who having divorc'd her, she afterwards married HENRY of Anjou, son to the Empress MAUD, and grandson of HENRY I, King of England; who succeeding his grandfather in the crown of England, enjoy'd the dutchy of Aquitain also in the right of ELEANOR his wife, whom he married about the year 1152, and his descendants enjoy'd it till 1202, when the French King LEWIS VIII seizing some part of it, a war broke out between the two kingdoms of England and France; which ended in a treaty, wherein it was stipulated, that the English should enjoy the dutchy of Guienne, as it was bounded on the north by the river Charente, and on the south by the Pyrenean mountains; which tract of land was of a larger extent than the present province or government of Guienne and Gascony, tho' not so large as the antient kingdom of Aquitain. This the English enjoy'd for more than two hundred and fifty years afterwards, namely, till the fatal year 1453, when JOHN TALBOT Earl of Shrewsbury and his son were killed in a decisive battle near Castillon in Gascony, during the unfortunate reign of HENRY VI. This Prince had been crowned at Paris, and was

CHAP. XV. once actually sovereign of the rest of France, as well as England, but saw himself depriv'd of both before his death, and the English have never since had any considerable footing in France.

The trade and produce of Guienne and Gascony.

The produce as well as trade of Guienne consists chiefly in wine. In time of full peace, when their commerce is not interrupted, it is computed that the foreign shipping which comes to Bourdeaux does not take off less than an hundred thousand tons annually: but these wines are not all of the growth of this province, great part of them are brought hither from Languedoc, &c. They have two great annual fairs at Bourdeaux of fifteen days continuance each, when foreigners chiefly resort hither; one begins the first of March, and the other the fifteenth of October; the last is much the most considerable, being after the vintage, when there is the greatest plenty of wine and fruit, and then we may sometimes see four or five hundred sail in the port of Bourdeaux, some of them of five hundred tons, whose cargoes consist of brandies, vinegar, prunes and fruit, as well as wine: and we may judge of the trade of Bourdeaux, says a French writer, by the customs paid there, which in some years amount to four millions of livres.

Bayonne is the most considerable port on this coast next to Bourdeaux. Hither the Spaniards bring their wool over the mountains on mules, and take sugars in return: and from Bayonne the Spanish wool is distributed to all the provinces of France where there are woollen manufactures. Timber for shipping, as masts and yards, are also brought down the rivers in floats from the Pyrenean mountains to Bayonne, and sent from thence to Brest and other ports, where the King's ships are built and repair'd. The merchants of this town also fit out ships every year for the whale-fishery in Greenland, and pretend to have been the first who found out and were engaged in this branch of trade. True it is, their neighbours the Biscayners of Spain, were the first we are acquainted with that followed the whale-fishery, and on account of their dexterity in that art, the English took several of them into their service when they first establish'd the whale-fishery in the Greenland seas: and under the name of Biscayners it is highly probable the mariners of Bayonne and other ports on this coast might be included. But it appears they follow'd this employment in more southern latitudes, and not in the seas of New Greenland, till they were carried thither by the English.

From Port Blaye on the Garonne, below Bourdeaux, they also export wine, and in plentiful years corn; and from the bay of Arcathon, pitch, tar and rosin.

That part of this province which is call'd the Election of Montauban, produces corn, wine, prunes, tobacco, saffron and silk, which are sent

down the rivers Garonne and Tarn to Bourdeaux; and 'tis computed that the English and Dutch lay out annually in prunes only, above an hundred thousand crowns. Their saffron and silk are sent chiefly to Lyons.

This country also has some manufactures of linnen and woollen, but not much of these to export. They abound in mules, which the Spaniards purchase of them, being very proper for carrying burthens, and travelling over the Pyrenean mountains.

The governour general of Guienne has under him two lieutenant-generals, the one for Guienne, and the other for Gascony and Bigorre; besides which, the King constitutes lieutenants-general in every election, and in every fortified town, of which last there are a great number in this province.

CHAP. XVI.

Treats of the province or general government of Saintonge and Angoumois.

THIS government comprehends almost all Saintonge and Angoumois. Saintonge is bounded by Poitou and Aunis on the north; by Angoumois and Perigord on the east; by the Bourdelois and the Gironde on the south; and by the Ocean on the west; being five and twenty leagues in length, and twelve in breadth.

Angoumois is bounded by Poitou on the north; by Limosin on the east; by Perigord on the south; and by Saintonge on the west; being eighteen leagues long and fifteen broad.

The principal rivers of this government are the Charente and the Boutonne.

The Charente having its source in the Limosin, first takes its course north-west into Angoumois, and then turning about to the southward, visits Angoulesme; after which taking its course north-west again, it visits Saintes, discharging itself into the Ocean a league and half below Rochefort.

The Boutonne rising in Poitou, takes its course south-west till it falls into Charente at port Carillon. The other rivers of this province are but small, but 'tis observ'd that their waters make excellent paper.

The air of this country is esteem'd hotter than that about Paris. The country is full of little hills, but has not one considerable mountain in it, unless that on which Angoulesme is situated. The soil produces corn, wine, saffron, and all manner of fruits in abundance. They have some good iron-mines, which afford a great quantity of that metal, but no others wrought. Those of Rancogne and Plancheminier are the most considerable.

The chief towns in Saintonge are Saintes, Marennes, Arvert, Sanjon, Royan, Tallemont, Mortagne,

Military government of Guienne and Gascony.

Saintonge, situation, &c.

Angoumois, situation, &c.

Rivers.

Charente.

Boutonne.

Face of the country.

Chief towns.

CHAP. tagne, Pons, Barbesieux, Chalais, St. John de XVI. Angeli, Tonnai-Charente, Taillebourg.

The chief towns of Angoumois are Angoulesme, Cognac, Jarnac, Rochefoucaut, Blanzac, Chateaufort, Bouteville, Ruffec and Vauguyon.

Saintes.

Saintes, *Mediolanum, Urbs Santonica*, a little ill-built city on the river Charente, sixty miles to the northward of Bourdeaux, and twenty to the eastward of the Ocean, is the capital of Saintonge, and a Bishop's See, but not very considerable on any other account at present, unless it be for the noble ruins found here, which sufficiently discover its antiquity; as a triumphal arch, supposed to be erected in the reign of TIBERIUS, the ruins of an amphitheatre, several aqueducts, and a capitol, the last of which edifices were only erected by the Romans in towns of the first magnitude.

St. John de Angeli.

St. John de Angeli, *Angeliacum*, stands on the river Boutonne, five leagues north-east of Saintes. It was antiently a magnificent castle, built in the middle of a forest named *Angeliacum*, where the Dukes of Aquitaine had their residence. It afterwards grew to be a considerable town, and was strongly fortified, but the inhabitants adhering to the Calvinists, it was besieged and taken by LEWIS XIII, whereupon they were deprived of their privileges, and the fortifications demolished.

Angoulesme.

Angoulesme, the capital of Angoumois, *olim Inculisma*, is situated on the top of a mountain surrounded with rocks, at the foot whereof runs the river Charente, thirty miles to the eastward of Saintes. It is a bishop's See, the cathedral church dedicated to St. Ausonius, besides which there are eight churches and six convents in the place. It is supposed to contain eight thousand souls.

Cognac.

Cognac, situate on the Charente, seven leagues to the westward of Angoulesme, in one of the most desirable countries in the world, and remarkable for being the place of the nativity of FRANCIS I, but better known to us by the excellent wine and brandy it produces.

Rochefoucaut.

Rochefoucaut, *Rupes Fucaldi*, situate on the Touvre, four leagues to the eastward of Angoulesme, has the title of a duchy and peerage, but I do not meet with any particular description of it.

The trade and produce of Saintonge.

The principal trade of Saintonge is in salt, of which they make a surprizing quantity in their salt-marshes, much better than that of Bretagne, or any other part of France; but the duties are so much higher in this province than they are in Britany, that they make much less than they have done.

Of Angoumois.

The Angoumois have a good trade in wine, brandy, paper and salt, but they are a lazy generation, pretty much addicted to pleasure, and do not make all the advantages they might of the fertility of their country. Their manufacture of paper is esteemed the best in Europe, which it seems has been discourag'd of late, and is not equal to what it was.

The governour of this province hath a lieutenant-general under him in Saintonge and Angoumois, and a lieutenant of the King's in each of those cities, besides which the town of Cognac has its particular governour.

CHAP. XVII. Military government.

CHAP. XVII.

Treats of the province or government of Aunis.

THIS government comprehends the country of Aunis, the country of Brouageois, the isles of Re, Oleron, &c. and is bounded on the north and east by Poitou; by Saintonge on the south, and by the Ocean on the west.

Province of Aunis. Situation, &c.

The principal rivers which pass through this country are the Charente and the Seare. And tho' it be but a small government, it has the advantage of several good ports, of which the most considerable are Rochefort, Rochelle, Brouage, St. Martins in Re, Tremblade, and Tonnai-Charente. This country is generally dry, and yet produces good corn and wine. In the maritime parts, where there are large meadows, they feed abundance of cattle, and in their salt-marshes make the best salt in Europe.

Rivers.

Ports.

The chief places in this government are Rochelle, Rochefort, Brouage, Marennes, Alvert, Tremblade, Saujon, Royan, and the isles of Re and Oleron.

Chief towns.

Rochelle, *Rupella*, is situated on the sea-coast, twelve leagues north-west of Saintes, two south-east of the isle of Re, and four north-east of Oleron, is forty-six degrees twelve minutes north latitude, strongly fortified by that great Engineer VAUBAN. The town is of a square figure, and about three miles in circumference. Queen ELEANOR of Guienne brought it, with the rest of her territories, to HENRY II. King of England, about the year 1152; the French surpriz'd it in 1224, but by the treaty of Britany, anno 1360, they were obliged to deliver it up to the English again. The town revolted ten years after, and put themselves under the protection of France. Upon the reformation they declared for the Protestants, who defended the place against the Kings of France from the year 1567, till 1628, being supported by the English; but the Duke of Buckingham, who was going to their relief with a powerful fleet, being stabb'd by that assassin FELTON, the expedition miscarry'd, and they were forced to surrender, after having suffer'd a terrible famine, and all other miseries of a long siege, whereby two thirds of them were destroy'd before the town was taken; after which the fortifications were demolished, and lay in ruins till the year 1689, as has been intimated already, when that famous Engineer Monsieur VAUBAN fortified it after the modern way, to prevent a descent of the English. It is at present a Bishop's See, and

CHAP. XVII. a place of very great foreign trade, as will appear under that head.

Rochefort. Rochefort, *Rupisfortium*, situate three or four leagues from the mouth of the Charente, and seven or eight to the southward of Rochelle, was but a little castle in the year 1665, when the French King LEWIS XIV, observing that the coasts on the Ocean were generally very dangerous and of difficult access, and that there was scarce a port or road except that of Brest, where the royal navy might ride with any security, he order'd several places to be founded, and discover'd at length that a good port might be made in the mouth of the river Charente, and that there was depth sufficient that river for the largest vessels; he purchas'd the above-mention'd castle of Rochefort, and order'd the plan of a town to be trac'd out of the bigness of Bourdeaux, and having surrounded it with a wall and other modern fortifications, erected an arsenal and magazines, and gave all manner of encouragement to his subjects to build and settle there; and it is now one of the finest towns, and the best provided to accommodate the royal navy of any upon the coast, except Brest and Port-Lewis. Here is a noble hospital also for disabled seamen: but the place is still very unhealthy in August, September and October, suppos'd to proceed from the badness of the water, and its being cover'd by the hills from the north wind. The entrance of the river and the port is defended by several forts that render it inaccessible to an enemy by sea.

Brouage. Brouage is situated on a bay of the sea about eight leagues south of Rochelle; it is surrounded by a salt-marsh where they make vast quantities of salt, as will appear under the article of trade; but the harbour is in a manner choak'd up.

Soubize. Soubize is situated on the river Charente two leagues from the sea, considerable chiefly for being the capital of a principality, and for its healthful air, whither the natives of Rochefort frequently retire for restoring their broken constitutions.

Isle of Re. The isle of Re, *Rea Insula*, lies five or six miles to the westward of Rochelle, and is four or five leagues in length, and one and a half in breadth, producing plenty of wine and salt, tho' their wine is but indifferent, and serves chiefly to convert into brandy and strong waters. They have neither corn, grass or trees upon the island: it is however populous, and stands very advantageously for a foreign trade. The chief town is that of St. Martins, besides which there are five or six parishes upon it.

St. Martins. St. Martins is but an inconsiderable town in itself, but of great consequence on account of the fortifications about it, which were erected in the late reign by Monsieur VAUBAN. They consist of a good wall with six royal bastions and five half-moons, a ditch and cover'd way well lin'd, and a fine citadel which commands the town, the har-

bour and the adjacent country. The entry of the port is narrow and defended by a fort. CHAP. XVII.

Fort Pree stands on the north-west part of the island, and defends the entrance of the channel call'd Pertruis Breton. Fort Samblancean stands on the south-east point of the island, and defends the channel call'd Pertruis Antiole. Besides which, there is another fort on the coast call'd Fort Mar-tray, rais'd by the above-mention'd celebrated engineer: so that it would be much more difficult to make a descent upon this island now, than when the Duke of Buckingham landed here in order to relieve Rochelle in the year 1627. It seems he was master of the whole island except Fort Pree, which holding out against him, and the Rochellers stupidly refusing to admit him into the city, upon some foolish insinuations of their brethren the saints in England, he was forc'd to return home without effecting any thing; and being stabb'd by FELTON while he was recruiting his troops in England in order to return to their relief, Rochelle was taken, and the inhabitants, as well as the rest of the Protestants of France, suffer'd sufficiently for their distrust and ingratitude towards the English court, who had done so much to support them.

The isle of Oleron, *Uliarus*, lies two or three leagues to the southward of Re, and as much to the westward of the continent; being about five leagues in length, two in breadth, and twelve in circumference; containing six parishes, and ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. It is defended by a castle situated on the east part of the island, and some other forts. The natives had formerly a mighty reputation for their skill in navigation; and in conformity to their customs it was, that Queen ELEANOR, Dutches of Guienne, made those constitutions in relation to sea-affairs, which obtain'd the title of the laws of Oleron, and became a model for all other maritime powers on the Ocean, as those of Rhodes were in the Mediterranean in the time of the Romans. Upon each of these islands of Re and Oleron there is a pharos or light-house for the direction of mariners in the night. The soil of Oleron is very fruitful, producing corn and wine in abundance; besides which, the natives make great quantities of salt of the sea-water.

The great foreign trade which is driven at Rochelle enriches all the towns and villages of this little province. The Rochellers trade to St. Domingo, and the rest of the American islands; to Senegal, Canada, Mississippi, Cadiz, Portugal, the isles of Azores, Sweden, Denmark, Muscovy, England and Holland, whither they send great numbers of ships loaden with wine and brandy, salt, paper and linnen; and some say stuffs, serges, and other woollen manufactures to the northern kingdoms. They send to the American islands almost all the necessaries of life; and in return bring back sugars, indigo, tobacco, skins, Brazil and Cam-

Duke of Bucks's expedition against Re and Rochelle, anno 1627.

Oleron.

Trade and produce of the province of Aunis.

CHAP. Campechy wood, cotton, and other lesser articles: XVII. and they receive from the side of Domingo cochineal, quinquina, cocoa nuts, vanilles, pearls, emeralds and dollars. Their colonies in North America furnish them with dry'd cod, stock-fish, salmon, salted eels, fish-oil, hides, masts, yards, and other naval stores. They import from Africa, skins, wax, gums, and a small quantity of gold-dust. From Portugal they bring Brazil-tobacco and snuff, chocolate, dry'd citrons and oranges; and in time of war Lisbon was the staple of all the merchandizes of Spain, England and Holland.

The principal manufacture at Rochelle is that of refining and baking sugar, as that of linnen is at Rochefort and Barbezieux: to which we may add the distilling brandy and strong waters here and in every other town of the country. But nothing turns to so much account as their salt, which is made by letting the sea at high water into shallow basins or pans, where the water being evaporated, the salt subsides, and they find a kind of crust of salt at the bottom. Then they let in the sea again, and so from time to time till the crust is come to the thickness they desire it, when they take it out and lay it on heaps, and then repeat the experiment again. This brings in a good revenue to the proprietors of the salt-marshes, but a much greater to the crown.

The mili- There is a governour-general of Aunis, Rochelle, ary govern- Brouage, Re and Oleron, who has under him a ment of lieutenant-general, the King's lieutenant, and several governours of particular places and forts: besides which there is a captain or general, who has the command of nine or ten thousand militia, to prevent any surprize or descent on the coasts in time of war.

C H A P. XVIII.

Contains a description of the province or general government of Poitou.

THE province of Poitou, *Pictavia*, is bounded by the territories of Nants and Anjou on the north; by Touraine and Berry on the east; by Saintonge, Augoumois and Aunis on the south; and by the Ocean on the west; and is forty-eight leagues in length from east to west, and two and twenty in breadth from north to south.

This country is diversified with champain, woods and pasture grounds, (very little of it mountainous) and some few forests.

There are but two navigable rivers in it, which are those of Vienne and the Sevre Niortoife.

The Vienne rises in the Limosin, and running north-west, falls into the Loire two or three leagues to the eastward of Saumur.

The Sevre Niortoife, so call'd to distinguish it from the Sevre Nautois, hath its source in the east

part of Poitou, and taking its course westward, CHAP. passes by Niort, where it begins to be navigable, XVIII. and continuing its course westerly, falls into a bay of the Ocean a little below Marans.

There is but one fountain of mineral waters of any consequence in the country, and that is at ^{Mineral waters.} Availles.

They reckon up nine ports on the coast of Poitou, ^{Ports.} but they are of little service to any vessels but fish-boats and small craft, except that of Sables d'Olonne, which 'tis said will admit vessels of an hundred and fifty tons.

Poitou is divided into the higher and lower, of ^{Division.} which the higher is the largest division, and comprehends the towns of Poitiers, Thouars, Loudun, ^{Chief towns.} Mirebeau, Chatelleraut, St. Maixent, Lusignan, Montmorillon, Chauvigny, Richelieu and Mortemar. And in the lower Poitou are Niort, Maillezais, Lucon, Fontenai le Compte, Parthenai and la Rochesuryon.

Poitiers, *Augustoritum Pictavium*, the capital of ^{Poitiers.} the province, is situated on an eminence near the little river Clain, fourscore miles to the eastward of the Ocean, and about as much north-east of Saintes. It is the largest town in France next to Paris, if we regard the extent of the walls; but then there is a great deal of plough'd land, gardens and waste ground included within those bounds. The town however is not small, containing two and twenty parishes, nine convents of fryars and twelve of nuns, besides several abbeys, two seminaries, and three hospitals; and is govern'd by a mayor, five and twenty aldermen, and sixty-five burgeses. They have a very little trade, which is ascrib'd to the lazy indolent temper of the inhabitants, who are nevertheless esteem'd a polite and sociable people. Poitiers is a Bishop's See, and has a university of some credit; there are also the remains of several Roman edifices in the place, as of an amphitheatre, a triumphal arch, which still serves for one of the gates, and some aqueducts. In the middle of the town is a great round tower call'd the castle of Maubergeon: the black Prince son to EDWARD III. King of England, took JOHN King of France and his son PHILIP prisoners, about two leagues from this city, anno 1357.

Thouars, *Toarcium*, situate on a little hill near Thouars, the river Toue, ten leagues north-west of Poitiers, considerable chiefly for being the capital of a dutchy.

Loudun, *Castrum Losdunum*, stands eight leagues ^{Loudun.} north-west of Poitiers, is a pretty town, and has a great number of convents and religious houses in it; but was much more remarkable in the last century for its attachment to the Protestants: here it seems they had one of their last synods in 1658:

Lusignan, *Liciniacum Castrum*, is a little town ^{Lusignan.} situated five leagues south-west of Poitiers, famous formerly.

CHAP. formerly for one of the strongest castles in France, XVIII. which is now demolish'd, the Lords whereof were Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem.

Richelieu. Richelieu, an elegant town and castle, ten leagues north of Poitiers, enlarged and beautified by the celebrated Cardinal RICHELIEU, and made the capital of a Dutchy and Peerage; the Duke's palace or castle, with the park, gardens, &c. are esteem'd equal to most in France.

Lucon. Lucon is situated three and twenty leagues south-west of Poitiers, considerable only on account of its being a Bishop's see.

Fontenai le Comte. Fontenai le Comte, the capital of the lower Poitou, is situated twenty leagues south-west of Poitiers, and is a well built town, consisting of three parishes and several convents; but the French writers do not give us any farther description of it.

The antient state of Poitou. Poitou is part of Aquitania, and erected into a county by CHARLEMAIN in favour of ARSEN, whose posterity were Dukes of Guienne for several generations; the last of them was WILLIAM the Ninth, whose only daughter and heiress marrying HENRY of Anjou, afterwards HENRY II. King of England, brought this province with Guienne and Gascony to the crown of England, as has been observ'd already, and which was possess'd by the English with some interruptions from the French, till the unfortunate reign of HENRY VI anno 1453.

Trade and produce. The trade of Poitiers and the district belonging to it is inconsiderable, consisting only in worsted stockings, hats, and shammy leather. They sell also some wool and cattle at their fairs, and druggets, which are the manufacture of Parthenai.

The district of Chatelleraud is a pleasant fruitful country, the inhabitants esteem'd witty and industrious, and to have a genius for trade. The town of Chatelleraud is famous for watches, clocks, knives, scissors, and other hard ware.

In the district of Maixent their trade consists chiefly in corn and cattle, which they vend to the merchants of Auvergne, Lions, Piedmont and Savoy; and in the town of Maixent they have a woollen manufacture.

In the district of Niort they vend great numbers of cattle, horses and mules; and at the town of Niort, their manufacture of woollen stuffs and shammy leather is considerable.

In the district of Fontenai they drive a good trade with their horses, mules and corn; and at the town of Fontenai they have a manufacture of woollen cloth, serges and stuffs. On the sea-coasts they make salt of the sea-water, as has been intimated already.

Military government. The governour general of this province hath under him one lieutenant-general, and two of the King's lieutenants for the higher Poitou; and one lieutenant-general and two of the King's lieutenants

for the lower: besides the governours of particular CHAP places, as those of Loudun, Poitiers, Chatelleraud, XIX. Lusignan, St. Maixent, Niort, Fontenai le Comte, and the castle of Chaune.

CHAP. XIX.

Contains a description of the general government or province of Bretagne or Britany.

Bretagne, Britany, Little Britain, antiently call'd Bretagne, Armorica, i. e. *Ad mare sita*, from the situa-^{The name, situation,} tion on the sea, is a peninsula bounded on the north, south and west, by the ocean, and on the east by Anjou, Maine and part of Normandy, being sixty leagues in length from east to west, and forty five in its greatest breadth, that is, from Nantz to St. Malo's; but grows less gradually as we proceed to the westward, so that in some places it is not half that breadth.

This country is pleasantly diversified with moun-^{Face of the country,} tains and valleys, but the lower Britany is the most mountainous, a chain of hills call'd Mount Arre running cross it. There is also a happy variety of champain and woods. The trees in their forests are for the most part beech, oak or chesnuts. The air is generally healthful, but thick and moist to-^{The air, Rivers,} wards the sea-coasts. The principal rivers are the Loire, the Vilaine, the Oust, the Blavet and the Rance, of which the two first only are navigable. The Loire has been already describ'd, which runs through this province from east to west, and falls into the ocean ten leagues below Nantz. The Vilaine rises on the eastern confines of this province, and running south-west, falls into the ocean about twenty miles north-west of the mouth of the Loire. The rest of the rivers rise within the province, and running but a very short course before they discharge themselves into the Ocean, are not any of them navigable farther than the tide flows. There is no part of France abounds with so many good ^{Ports,} ports and roads as this; for here we find St. Malo's, Brest, Conquet, Port Lewis, Nantz, and several others, which I shall describe when I come to treat of those places.

Bretagne is usually divided into the higher and ^{Division of Britany,} lower Britany: the higher lies towards the east, and the lower towards the west; but the latest French geographers chuse to describe the several dioceses it contains without regarding whether they stand in the higher or lower Britany; and these are nine in number, viz. 1. The diocese of Rennes. 2. That of Nantz. 3. Vannes. 4. Quimper. 5. Leon. 6. Triguer. 7. St. Brien. 8. St. Malo. And, 9. That of Dol.

The Bishoprick of Rennes is an inland country, ^{Rennes diocese,} having the diocese of Dol on the north, and the dutchy of Maine towards the east; the chief towns whereof are Rennes, Fougères and Vitre.

Rennes,

CHAP. XIX. *Rennes, Civitas Redonum*, the capital of the province, as it was antiently of Armorica, is situated on the river Vilaine, about fifty-five miles to the northward of Nants, and forty-five south of St. Malo. It is divided by the river in two parts, which have a communication by three bridges; a large populous town, the See of a Bishop, and the place where the States or Parliament meets: it hath some fine squares in it, but the streets are generally narrow and the houses high, which makes them very dark. The cathedral and Jesuits college are the only buildings that travellers mention as worth the viewing.

Nants diocese. The diocese of Nants is bounded by that of Rennes on the north; by Anjou on the east; by Poitou on the south, and the Ocean on the west; being divided in two parts by the river Loire. The chief towns are Nants, Chateaubriaud, Gueraude, Croisic, Clisson, Ancenis, Machecond and Paimbœuf.

Nants city. Nants, *Condivionum, Civitas Namnetum*, is situated on the Loire, about thirty miles to the eastward of the Ocean, and forty-five to the westward of Angers, in 47 degrees 15 minutes north latitude, a degree and half to the westward of London. It is a large, populous town, surrounded by a wall and other fortifications, and defended by a castle. The suburbs are larger than the town. As to the trade, which is as considerable as that of any town of the kingdom, I shall speak of it under another head; only observe here, that no ships or vessels of any burthen can come up hither on account of the sands, tho' the tide runs up a great deal higher, but are forced to unload their merchandize into hoys and lighters at Paimbœuf, near the mouth of the river. There is a fine key along the river-side, on which stand the merchants houses, and a handsome bridge over the river. The principal buildings mention'd by the French writers are the cathedral, a magnificent Gothick structure, in which are the tombs of several of the antient Dukes of Bretagne; the town-house, a modern building, and the episcopal palace. Near the city is a famous hermitage situated on a rock, from whence there is a fine prospect of the town, the Loire, and the adjacent country. Here the hermits have with their own hands hewn a handsome chapel out of the rock, cells for their lodging, and other conveniences, to which they have with great labour added a pretty garden. But this town is remarkable for nothing more than the famous edict of Nants, so call'd from its being granted here by King HENRY IV. surnamed the Great, in the month of April, 1598, by which the Protestants were allow'd the free exercise of their religion: it was confirm'd by his successor LEWIS XIII. and some say by LEWIS XIV. But however that be, certain it is that LEWIS XIV. revok'd it in the year 1685, upon which follow'd that persecution

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which occasion'd so many thousands of his subjects with their families to take refuge in other kingdoms, to the irreparable damage of his own. The principal inducement to which, seems to me rather an insatiable thirst to make himself absolute, than from any prejudice he had to the reformed religion; for this body of men ever joining with those who were for defending their civil rights, he could never hope to establish an absolute dominion over the lives and fortunes of his subjects till they were extirpated.

Paimbœuf is situated on the southern bank of the Loire near its mouth, and may very properly be stiled the port-town to Nants; for here all merchandize are unloaded that go up thither, and here whatever they export is put on board, and the whole town consists only of inns and taverns for the reception of sea-faring men.

Gueraude is situated to the north-west of the mouth of the Loire, and is considerable for the salt-marshes about it, which yield vast quantities of salt.

Bourgneuf lies to the southward of the mouth of the Loire on a large bay of the sea, where they also make abundance of salt, which they export to Holland and other countries.

The diocese of Vannes, or Vennes, lies on the sea-coast, north-west of that of Nants. The chief towns whereof are, 1. Vannes. 2. Auray. 3. Hennebont. 4. Redon. 5. Port Lewis. 6. Pontray. 7. Malestroit. The peninsula of Rhins; and lastly, the island of Belle-Isle.

Vannes or Vennes, *olim Dariorigum and Civitas Venetum*, is situated on a canal through which the tide flows, two leagues from the sea, and twenty north-west of Nants, and is look'd upon as one of the most antient towns of the province, and indeed of Old Gaul; it is still a Bishop's See, but the town is small, the streets narrow and ill built; the suburbs are much larger than the town, where are their fairest buildings, as the college of the Jesuits, the grand hospital, and the Dominican convent.

Auray is a little trading town, situate on the sea-coast to the westward of Vennes, consisting only of a large key and one fine street.

Port Lewis is a considerable town situate on a bay of the sea at the mouth of the river Blavet, ten leagues north-west of Vennes. It has a good harbour that receives the largest ships, and here the India company have their store-houses and principal magazine; here also in time of war part of the royal navy are fitted out: but notwithstanding the seeming advantage of the situation, there are not many merchants resort hither, which my author supposes to proceed from their meeting with a better and quicker market at Nants, which is always ready to take off any cargo they import; and perhaps another reason may be, because it is one of the ports of the royal navy; for merchants seldom

Z z z

care

CHAP. care to be under those restraints that are put upon
XIX. them by the military power; arms and trade cannot flourish in the same place.

Pontivi is situated on the river Blavet, eight or nine leagues north-east of Port Lewis, and is the chief town of the duchy of Rohan, the Dukes whereof are said to be descended from the antient Dukes of Britany: HENRY II. Duke of Rohan, was in great esteem among the French Protestants, being one of their generals, and died of the wounds he receiv'd at the battle of Rhinfield in the year 1638.

Belle-Isle.

Belle-Isle, *olim Calanefus*, lies about six leagues south-west of the continent of Britany and ten from Vennes; it is almost encompass'd with rocks, which make it of difficult access, and is six leagues in length and two in breadth. There is a pretty good road to the northward of the island, defended by forts and other works, in which there is always a good garrison; and here the French fleet usually rendezvous before they put to sea. This island was erected into a marquisate in the year 1573. The most remarkable places upon it are the parishes of Lauzon, Palais, Locmaria and Bangor.

Quimper diocese.

Chief towns.

The diocese of Quimper stretches it self along the coast of Britany to the north-west of that of Vennes; the chief towns whereof are, Quimper Corentin, Quimperler, Concarneau, Carhaix, Chateaneuf, Gourin, Rostrenin, Chateaulin, Faou, Audierne, Pont Croix, Pont l'Abbe, Bouarnez and Crozon.

Quimper city.

Quimper, which in the British language is said to signify a place surrounded with walls, is situated on the river Oder, twelve or thirteen leagues north-west of Port Lewis, and two or three from the sea. It is the capital of a county to which the Britons who transported themselves from Great Britain to Armorica gave the name of Cornwall or Cornouaille, being the country from whence they are suppos'd to come. The town is tolerably large, a place of some trade, and the See of a Bishop, who also styles himself Count. The cathedral is a noble old structure, and the Jesuits have a fine college here, which are the only considerable buildings mention'd by the French writers.

Leon diocese.

The diocese of Leon takes up the most westerly part of Britany, extending it self along the sea-coast from the harbour of Brest to the river of Morlaix, and forms a kind of peninsula, the sea encompassing it on three sides. The chief towns are St. Paul de Leon, Brest, Lesneven, St. Renaud, Landernau, Porsal, the isles of Ouessant or Ushant.

Leon city.

Leon, or St. Paul de Leon, so denominated from one of their first Bishops, who has the reputation of a saint, is situated near a bay of the sea in the north-west part of the province, an hundred miles north-west of Rennes, and thirty north-east of Brest. It is the See and residence of a Bishop, who

is also a temporal Lord, and would not be very CHAP. considerable upon any other account, were it not XIX. for the suburb of Roscof, which with the isle of Baz forms an excellent road or harbour, where their shipping usually touch which are bound to or from the English channel.

Brest.

Brest is situated on an eminence on the north side of a fine bay, call'd Brest or Cameret Bay, in 48 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, four degrees odd minutes to the westward of London. The harbour, in the phrase of the French writers, is the finest in the world; seeming to have forgot that much finer of their own at Toulon, for their largest ships are always built and laid up at Toulon, because (as I presume) Brest will not easily admit of ships of that bulk. They have indeed a great number of men of war at Brest, but not one of the first rate, as I can learn; the entrance of the harbour is too shallow or too rocky to admit them: which is however a security against the fleet of an enemy. The town and the entrance of the harbour are fortified as well as the nature of the ground will admit; and the port, 'tis said, will contain five hundred sail of ships. The yards and magazines here are so considerable, if we may credit the French writers, that they can equip out seventy sail of men of war from this port; but they must certainly mean of the lesser sort, from what has been hinted already. Their small squadrons and privateers which shelter'd themselves here used to be extremely troublesome to our merchant-men in the late wars; for which and other reasons it was thought proper by the confederates to make a descent here in the year 1694, in order to have taken the town and destroy'd their shipping; but the attempt miscarry'd, having been so long discover'd before the English fleet sail'd from their ports, that the British government had intelligence that the design was betray'd, and yet were so sanguine as to proceed in the expedition, to the no small loss and disgrace of their fleet and forces: for there was an army more numerous than themselves ready to receive them, and batteries of guns planted on the sea-shore wherever there was any possibility of landing. Here the brave TALMASH, who commanded the land-forces, receiv'd his mortal wound as he was about disembarking the first six hundred men, who were most of them kill'd, wounded or made prisoners; the tide leaving the boats they were in upon the sand. This disappointment so discouraged us, that in the last two long wars we scarce ever made a descent upon the French coasts afterwards, tho' we were masters at sea, and might certainly have very much weaken'd their armies elsewhere by it, and distracted their affairs. I must say it was a brave and wise attempt of my countrymen to endeavour the destruction of the French shipping, and the only two harbours they have of any consequence, namely, Brest and Toulon; tho' neither of these enterprises

CHAP. prizes succeeded according to expectation: for as
XIX. the French in one reign increased their royal
navy to such a degree as to dispute the empire of
the sea with the united fleets of England and Hol-
land more than once, what may we not dread if
we should see another enterprizing monarch at
their head?

Conquet. Conquet is a little port-town in the most west-
erly part of Britany, near the entrance of the bay
of Brest, the sea between which and the isles of
Ushant has obtain'd the name of Conquet Road.

Ushant isles. The island of Ouessant or Ushant, *Uxantiis*,
lies four or five leagues to the westward of Con-
quet, and is about eight miles in circumference;
there are some little villages upon it, and a castle
for its defence. There are a great many other
lesser islands near it, which from the larger have
obtain'd the name of the isles of Ushant.

Triguer diocese. The diocese of Triguer extends it self along
the northern coast of Britany, from the river of
Morlaix to the town of St. Brieu. The chief
towns whereof are Triguer, Morlaix, Guingamp,
Lannion and Lanmur.

Triguer city. Triguer, *Lantriguet*, is situated on the sea-coast,
thirty miles to the eastward of Leon, the cath-
edral is dedicated to St. TUDAL, said to be their
first Bishop and an Englishman: the Bishop is
temporal as well as spiritual Lord of the place,
and stiled Count. The town stands almost in
the midst of the water, and has a port for small
vessels.

Morlaix. Morlaix, *Mons Relaxus*, stands on a little river,
to which it communicates its name, two or three
leagues to the southward of St. Paul de Leon, and
will admit of small Vessels. The road at the
mouth of the river has good anchorage, and is
much frequented.

St. Brieu diocese. The diocese of St. Brieu lies also upon the
northern coast, between that of Triguer and St.
Malo. The chief towns whereof are St. Brieu,
Montcontour, Lambale and Quintin.

St. Brieu city. St. Brieu is situated ten leagues to the eastward
of Triguer, in a bottom surrounded with moun-
tains out of sight of the sea, tho' it be within half
a league of it, where there is a tolerable port for
small vessels. The churches, streets and squares
make a good appearance, and there are several
convents in the place, but neither wall or ditch
about it: the Bishop is both temporal and spi-
ritual Lord of the town.

St. Malo diocese. The bishoprick of St. Malo lies between that
of Brieu and Dol. The chief towns are St. Malo,
Concale, Chateau-Neuf, Dinant, Tintiniac, Com-
bourg, Montfort, Breal, Guer, Ploermel, Josse-
lin, Trinity, and Comper.

St. Malo. St. Malo is situated on a rock call'd St. Aaron,
surrounded by the ocean, but join'd to the con-
tinent by a causey; it lies about eight or nine
leagues to the eastward of Brieu, and twelve north-

west of Rennes. The town, especially that part
of it contiguous to the causey, is strongly fortified.
The harbour is said to be one of the best upon the
coast, but of difficult access, and will not admit
of very large vessels. The cathedral, the Bishop's
palace and the town-house stand in the Place, as
they call it; which I perceive is no more than a
common market-place, tho' some writers have
given it the elegant title of a square. They tell
us also there are some other beautiful places and
squares in it, tho' their best writers confess it is
generally an ill-built town with narrow streets, a
sea-port of the worst kind, being inhabited chiefly
by people who have made their fortunes by priva-
teering, or common mariners; tho' some will
have it that it is become rich and populous by the
West-India trade: this nest of privateers did us so
much damage in the late wars, that our govern-
ment were provok'd to bombard them; but I
question whether the damage they receiv'd, a-
mounted to much more than the powder and shot
that was spent upon them, their flats and sands
keeping the fleet at such a distance. The garrison
of this town, 'tis said, turn their dogs out of the
gates every night to prevent a surprize, in imita-
tion of some of the antients.

Dinant. Dinant or Dinan is situated on a mountain, steep
and almost inaccessible on every side, and is also
defended by a wall and castle; it stands about five
leagues south of St. Malo, and is the capital of a
county to which it gives its name.

Dol diocese. The bishoprick of Dol lies upon the coast be-
tween St. Malo and Normandy, and is the smallest
in the province, not being more than five leagues
in length, the only considerable town whereof is
Dol.

Dol. Dol, *Dolum*, is situated in a marshy country
two leagues from the sea, and four to the eastward
of St. Malo; it is a little unhealthful town and
poorly peopled, the Bishop is temporal Lord of
the place.

The antient state of Britany. This country, which, with part of Normandy,
constituted the antient Armorica, was divided into
several little principalities and states, which were
confederated together against the Romans when
CÆSAR subdu'd them.

The account the French give of its being call'd
Britany or little Britain, is as follows: they say,
that part of the natives of the island of Great Bri-
tain being driven out of their country about the
middle of the fifth century, in the reign of the Em-
peror VALENTINIAN, by the English or Anglo-
Saxons, fled for refuge into Armorica, which
thereupon began to be call'd *Britannia*, *Britannia*
Gismarina, and *Britannia Minor*. And that the
Romans who were then masters of Armorica, re-
ceiv'd them as friends and allies, who might assist
them to resist the incursions of the barbarous na-
tions, particularly the Visigoths, who then began

CHAP. care to be under those restraints that are put upon
XIX. them by the military power; arms and trade cannot flourish in the same place.

Pontivi is situated on the river Blavet, eight or nine leagues north-east of Port Lewis, and is the chief town of the duchy of Rohan, the Dukes whereof are said to be descended from the antient Dukes of Britany: HENRY II. Duke of Rohan, was in great esteem among the French Protestants, being one of their generals, and died of the wounds he receiv'd at the battle of Rhinfield in the year 1638.

Belle-isle.

Belle-Isle, *olim Calanefus*, lies about six leagues south-west of the continent of Britany and ten from Vennes; it is almost encompass'd with rocks, which make it of difficult access, and is six leagues in length and two in breadth. There is a pretty good road to the northward of the island, defended by forts and other works, in which there is always a good garrison; and here the French fleet usually rendezvous before they put to sea. This island was erected into a marquise in the year 1573. The most remarkable places upon it are the parishes of Lauzon, Palais, Locmaria and Bangor.

Quimper diocese.

Chief towns.

The diocese of Quimper stretches it self along the coast of Britany to the north-west of that of Vennes; the chief towns whereof are, Quimper Corentin, Quimperler, Concarnau, Carhaix, Chateaneuf, Gourin, Rostrenin, Chateaulin, Faou, Audierne, Pont Croix, Pont l'Abbe, Bouarnex and Crozon.

Quimper city.

Quimper, which in the British language is said to signify a place surrounded with walls, is situated on the river Oder, twelve or thirteen leagues north-west of Port Lewis, and two or three from the sea. It is the capital of a county to which the Britons who transported themselves from Great Britain to Armorica gave the name of Cornwall or Cornouaille, being the country from whence they are suppos'd to come. The town is tolerably large, a place of some trade, and the See of a Bishop, who also styles himself Count. The cathedral is a noble old structure, and the Jesuits have a fine college here, which are the only considerable buildings mention'd by the French writers.

Leon diocese.

The diocese of Leon takes up the most westerly part of Britany, extending it self along the sea-coast from the harbour of Brest to the river of Morlaix, and forms a kind of peninsula, the sea encompassing it on three sides. The chief towns are St. Paul de Leon, Brest, Lesneven, St. Renaud, Landernau, Porsal, the isles of Ouessant or Ushant.

Leon city.

Leon, or St. Paul de Leon, so denominated from one of their first Bishops, who has the reputation of a saint, is situated near a bay of the sea in the north-west part of the province, an hundred miles north-west of Rennes, and thirty north-east of Brest. It is the See and residence of a Bishop, who

is also a temporal Lord, and would not be very CHAP
considerable upon any other account, were it not XIX.
for the suburb of Roscof, which with the isle of Baz forms an excellent road or harbour, where their shipping usually touch which are bound to or from the English channel.

Brest is situated on an eminence on the north side of a fine bay, call'd Brest or Cameret Bay, in 48 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, four degrees odd minutes to the westward of London. The harbour, in the phrase of the French writers, is the finest in the world; seeming to have forgot that much finer of their own at Toulon, for their largest ships are always built and laid up at Toulon, because (as I presume) Brest will not easily admit of ships of that bulk. They have indeed a great number of men of war at Brest, but not one of the first rate, as I can learn; the entrance of the harbour is too shallow or too rocky to admit them: which is however a security against the fleet of an enemy. The town and the entrance of the harbour are fortified as well as the nature of the ground will admit; and the port, 'tis said, will contain five hundred sail of ships. The yards and magazines here are so considerable, if we may credit the French writers, that they can equip out seventy sail of men of war from this port; but they must certainly mean of the lesser sort, from what has been hinted already. Their small squadrons and privateers which shelter'd themselves here used to be extremely troublesome to our merchant-men in the late wars; for which and other reasons it was thought proper by the confederates to make a descent here in the year 1694, in order to have taken the town and destroy'd their shipping; but the attempt miscarry'd, having been so long discover'd before the English fleet sail'd from their ports, that the British government had intelligence that the design was betray'd, and yet were so sanguine as to proceed in the expedition, to the no small loss and disgrace of their fleet and forces: for there was an army more numerous than themselves ready to receive them, and batteries of guns planted on the sea-shore wherever there was any possibility of landing. Here the brave TALMASH, who commanded the land-forces, receiv'd his mortal wound as he was about disembarking the first six hundred men, who were most of them kill'd, wounded or made prisoners; the tide leaving the boats they were in upon the sand. This disappointment so discouraged us, that in the last two long wars we scarce ever made a descent upon the French coasts afterwards, tho' we were masters at sea, and might certainly have very much weaken'd their armies elsewhere by it, and distracted their affairs. I must say it was a brave and wise attempt of my countrymen to endeavour the destruction of the French shipping, and the only two harbours they have of any consequence, namely, Brest and Toulon; tho' neither of these enterprises

CHAP. XIX. prizes succeeded according to expectation: for as the French in one reign increased their royal navy to such a degree as to dispute the empire of the sea with the united fleets of England and Holland more than once, what may we not dread if we should see another enterprising monarch at their head?

Conquet. Conquet is a little port-town in the most westerly part of Britany, near the entrance of the bay of Brest, the sea between which and the isles of Ushant has obtain'd the name of Conquet Road.

Ushant isles. The island of Ouessant or Ushant, *Uxantius*, lies four or five leagues to the westward of Conquet, and is about eight miles in circumference; there are some little villages upon it, and a castle for its defence. There are a great many other lesser islands near it, which from the larger have obtain'd the name of the isles of Ushant.

Triguer diocese. The diocese of Triguer extends it self along the northern coast of Britany; from the river of Morlaix to the town of St. Brieu. The chief towns whereof are Triguer, Morlaix, Guingamp, Lannion and Lanmur.

Triguer city. Triguer, *Lantriguet*, is situated on the sea-coast, thirty miles to the eastward of Leon, the cathedral is dedicated to St. TUDAL, said to be their first Bishop and an Englishman: the Bishop is temporal as well as spiritual Lord of the place, and stiled Count. The town stands almost in the midst of the water, and has a port for small vessels.

Morlaix. Morlaix, *Mons Relaxus*, stands on a little river, to which it communicates its name, two or three leagues to the southward of St. Paul de Leon, and will admit of small Vessels. The road at the mouth of the river has good anchorage, and is much frequented.

St. Brieu diocese. The diocese of St. Brieu lies also upon the northern coast, between that of Triguer and St. Malo. The chief towns whereof are St. Brieu, Montcontour, Lambale and Quintin.

St. Brieu city. St. Brieu is situated ten leagues to the eastward of Triguer, in a bottom surrounded with mountains out of sight of the sea, tho' it be within half a league of it, where there is a tolerable port for small vessels. The churches, streets and squares make a good appearance, and there are several convents in the place, but neither wall or ditch about it: the Bishop is both temporal and spiritual Lord of the town.

St. Malo diocese. The bishoprick of St. Malo lies between that of Brieu and Dol. The chief towns are St. Malo, Concale, Chateau-Neuf, Dinant, Tintiniac, Combourg, Montfort, Breal, Guer, Ploermel, Josselin, Trinity, and Comper.

St. Malo. St. Malo is situated on a rock call'd St. Aaron, surrounded by the ocean, but join'd to the continent by a causey; it lies about eight or nine leagues to the eastward of Brieu, and twelve north-

west of Rennes. The town, especially that part of it contiguous to the causey, is strongly fortified. **CHAP. XIX.** The harbour is said to be one of the best upon the coast, but of difficult access, and will not admit of very large vessels. The cathedral, the Bishop's palace and the town-house stand in the Place, as they call it; which I perceive is no more than a common market-place, tho' some writers have given it the elegant title of a square. They tell us also there are some other beautiful places and squares in it, tho' their best writers confess it is generally an ill-built town with narrow streets, a sea-port of the worst kind, being inhabited chiefly by people who have made their fortunes by privateering, or common mariners; tho' some will have it that it is become rich and populous by the West-India trade: this nest of privateers did us so much damage in the late wars, that our government were provok'd to bombard them; but I question whether the damage they receiv'd, amounted to much more than the powder and shot that was spent upon them, their flats and sands keeping the fleet at such a distance. The garrison of this town, 'tis said, turn their dogs out of the gates every night to prevent a surprize, in imitation of some of the antients.

Dinant or Dinan is situated on a mountain, steep and almost inaccessible on every side, and is also defended by a wall and castle; it stands about five leagues south of St. Malo, and is the capital of a county to which it gives its name.

The bishoprick of Dol lies upon the coast between St. Malo and Normandy, and is the smallest in the province, not being more than five leagues in length, the only considerable town whereof is Dol.

Dol. Dol, *Dolum*, is situated in a marshy country two leagues from the sea, and four to the eastward of St. Malo; it is a little unhealthful town and poorly peopled, the Bishop is temporal Lord of the place.

This country, which, with part of Normandy, constituted the antient Armorica, was divided into several little principalities and states, which were confederated together against the Romans when CÆSAR subdu'd them. **The antient state of Britany.**

The account the French give of its being call'd Britany or little Britain, is as follows: they say, that part of the natives of the island of Great Britain being driven out of their country about the middle of the fifth century, in the reign of the Emperor VALENTINIAN, by the English or Anglo-Saxons, fled for refuge into Armórica, which thereupon began to be call'd *Britannia*, *Britannia Cismarina*, and *Britannia Minor*. And that the Romans who were then masters of Armórica, receiv'd them as friends and allies, who might assist them to resist the incursions of the barbarous nations, particularly the Visigoths, who then began

CHAP. XIX. to be very powerful about the Loire, that they committed the defence of this province to **RIO-THAME**, captain or general of the Britons, conferring on him at the same time the title of Count and General of the Empire. That **CLOVIS** King of France attempted to make a conquest of their country, but at length came to an accommodation with the Counts of Bretagne, and settled the limits of their respective dominions. That the Counts, Dukes, or Sovereigns of Bretagne, with some interruptions from the French, enjoy'd their territories till the reign of **FRANCIS II.** the last Duke of Britany, whose daughter **ANNE** marrying **CHARLES VIII.** of France, brought with her the dutchy of Britany; but **CHARLES** dying without issue, and **ANNE** surviving him, it reverted to her again, and was afterwards united to France by another match, about the year 1532, till when it was under a different government and administration from the rest of the kingdom.

Neither the French or English historians are agreed either on the time or the occasion of the Britons transporting themselves in such numbers into Armorica as to obtain the dominion of it, give new names to the most considerable places as well as the country it self, and to introduce their own language, tho' these are facts not to be controverted. The British or Welch tongue is still spoken here, many places retain their British names, and their laws and constitutions were lately very different from the rest of France. Nor does it appear that the Franks, or any of the Kings of France were sovereigns of this country, till it was lately united to that crown by marriage of the heiress of Britany with one of those monarchs. But I shall enlarge on this head in their general history.

Trade and
produce of
Britany.

Of Nants.

The commerce of this province, both foreign and domestick, is indeed very great; the briskest and most considerable in the kingdom, according to the French writers, and is carried on chiefly at Nants and St. Malo. The merchants of Nants trade principally to America and the West-Indies, whither they send annually about fifty sail, from sixty to three hundred tuns. Five and twenty or thirty of these Vessels are bound to Martinico, eight or ten to Guardeloupe, as many more to St. Domingo, and three or four to Cayenne and other little ports. Their Cargoes consist of all manner of provisions and necessaries for the plantations, and by the way these vessels take in wines at Fyal and Madera, which are strong-body'd and will bear the sea. Other ships touch at the isles of Cape Verd, where they load themselves with salt and tortoises, which sell well in the islands of the West-Indies. These ships usually set sail in November and December, and are five and forty or fifty days in their voyage outward bound. They make their returns from the West-Indies and the

continent in sugar, cocoa, ginger, cotton, wool, indigo, hides, tortoise-shells, and other small articles. They are not permitted to carry sugars unrefin'd out of the kingdom, but these are refin'd at the sugar-works at Nants, Saumur, Angers and Orleans. As for the rest of the merchandize imported, it is exported to Holland, Denmark, Hamburgh, Dantzick, Stockholm, &c. to great advantage.

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In their fishery at Newfoundland and the Isle-royal they employ thirty sail of ships, which usually set out in July, August, December or January, and return in three or four months, most of them making two voyages every year. Their gains are proportionable to the shoals of cod-fish they meet with: sometimes a thousand cod will not make more than two hundred livres, and at other times they are sold for twelve hundred. Nants is as it were the staple for this kind of fish, the ships which go from Rochelle and Oleron to this fishery unloading their cargoes in the river Loire, and they are sent from Nants not only to all the towns on that river, but to Paris by the canal of Lyons, to Auvergne, and all over the kingdom.

The merchants of Nants also have a good foreign trade to Spain, particularly to Bilboa, St. Sebastian, Corunna, and all the coast of Galicia; but it is in small barks loaden with paper, linnen, silk-stuffs, gold and silver lace, sugar, iron-wares and mercery. And they bring back in return, iron, wool, sheep-skins, oranges, citrons, and a great deal of specie. They have also a trade with Portugal, whither they send the same species of goods as to Spain, and bring back much the same merchandize. Most of the nations of Europe, and particularly the northern kingdoms, drive a great trade with Nants. The Dutch carry thither their cinnamon and other fine spices, starch, lead, copper, tobacco, pipe-staves, timber, deal-boards, masts, pitch, tar, cordage, hemp, wire, Russia-leather, tallow, oil, whalebone, and a great deal of iron or hard ware, and mercery or haberdashers wares; taking in return wine, brandy, paper and prunes; but chiefly salt, which they embarque at the bay of Bourgneuf and Pouliguen.

The English bring to Nants lead, tin, copperas and sea-coal; and take in return also, wine, brandy, paper, prunes and salt: but as the value of the goods they bring is not equal to what they take, they pay the difference in treasure.

Provisions from Ireland bear a good price at Nants, as barrell'd butter, salt beef, tallow, herrings, hides, tann'd leather, and wool, when they dare hazard the running of it.

The Hamburgers, Danes, Swedes and Dantzickers, bring steel, copper, planks, masts, pitch, cordage and hemp.

The city of Nants also has a very considerable trade with Flanders, and all the ports of their own king-

CHAP. kingdom; and the adjacent country feeds great
XIX. herds of cattle, of which they make a considerable
advantage.

Of St. Malo. The city of St. Malo also has as good a foreign
trade as any town in the kingdom, with England,
Holland, Spain, &c. To England they export
the linnens of Rouen, Laval, Quintin, Vitre,
Pontorson and Rennes; and the English give them
in return, woollen-cloth, lead, tin, sea-coal, flax,
copperas and galls: but as the goods they bring do
not amount to half so much as they receive, the
exchange is here also prodigiously against them,
and they pay the difference in bills or specie.

The English in time of peace send a hundred
ships to St. Malo one year with another, and the
Dutch a great many; but the French traffick with
Spain is the most considerable and profitable, and
consists chiefly in linnens, which they buy up in
all parts of the kingdom; the sattins of Lyons and
Tours, gold and silver-stuffs, the woollen manu-
factures of Amiens and Rheims, castors, &c. which
are sent directly to Cadiz, and from thence to the
Spanish plantations in America, the returns from
whence are made in specie, rich merchandizes,
hides, cochineal, indigo, Campechy wood and
Spanish wool; but it is eighteen months or two
years before the returns are made from New Spain,
and then indeed they are very large, amounting
sometimes to twelve millions of livres in specie,
and never less than six or seven. And the French
observe, there is no trade more advantageous, ei-
ther to particular men, or the publick, as it fur-
nishes them with most of their treasure.

The merchants of St. Malo also have a great
dependance on the cod-fishery, to which they send
annually abundance of ships, from a hundred to
three hundred tons, selling their cargoes at their
return at Bourdeaux, Bayonne and Bilboa, for
wines, brandy, prunes, raisins, and other fruits.
They also carry their fish to the coast of Provence
and Italy, bringing back fruits, soap, oil, alum, &c.

Printers of
St. Malo. When the late war interrupted their trade, the
people of St. Malo in general apply'd themselves
to privateering. They arm'd all the ships they
had for that service; and as the English and Dutch,
their enemies, have a much greater share of fo-
reign trade than the French, they did them an in-
conceivable damage, and enrich'd themselves more
by their piracies, than by all their foreign com-
merce in time of peace. They also bred up and
entertain'd great numbers of mariners, which were
of service to the state, say the French writers,
and became a terror to all the maritime powers of
Europe. And indeed the French King did the
Confederates more mischief by this piratical war,
than ever they could do his subjects or territories,
tho' they were always masters at sea.

I shall conclude this head with an account of the
produce and manufactures of the province. The

CHAP. diocese of Rennes yields wheat, rye, oats, and a-
XIX. bundance of buck-wheat, or French-wheat, fitter
to fat hogs with than to be the food of men; tho'
use it seems will bring a man to like any thing,
for I have heard some people admire the flower of
buck-wheat. In Flanders, by way of derision,
they say such a fellow lives on *Buck-a-de-cooks*,
which are pancakes made of buck-wheat, and sold
to the poorest people at the corners of the streets.
They feed also a great many cattle in this diocese,
and have excellent butter, with which they supply
their neighbours of Nants and Anjou.

The manufacture of sail-cloth for shipping, and
twisted thread is considerable. They dye their
thread of all colours, and vend it at Paris, Rouen,
and other great cities throughout the kingdom. It
is exported also to England and Spain, and even to
the Indies.

The diocese of Vannes produces abundance of
corn, which they export to St. Sebastian, Portugal,
Bayonne, and other places; and from Spain they
usually bring back specie in return. They salt up
also great quantities of pilchards, congers, &c.
which they vend at Bourdeaux, Rochelle, Nants
and St. Malo. The town of Port-Lewis alone,
'tis said, vends four thousand hogsheds of salted
pilchards to the merchants of St. Malo, who ex-
port them to Spain and the Mediterranean. The
Natives of Belle-Isle also drive a great trade with
pilchards. The vessels employ'd in this fishery are
not above two or three tuns burthen a-piece, and
are mann'd with about five hands every boat, car-
rying a dozen nets at least, of twenty or thirty
fathoms in length. They salt them, barrel them
up, and sell them to the merchants before they
come on shore.

The diocese of Quimper abounds in corn and
cattle, which they vend in Normandy; for which
they receive money in return, as they do wine for
the corn they carry into Gascony.

The principal trade of the bishoprick of Leon
is in horses, paper and linnen. They have not
corn enough for their subsistence, which is there-
fore frequently imported from the north, as well
as flax for their linnen manufacture.

The bishoprick of Triguier on the contrary a-
bounds in corn and cattle, with which they supply
the sea-ports of Brest and St. Malo. Their hemp
also turns to good account, the King purchasing
of them the value of three millions of livres a year
to supply his magazines at Brest.

Linnen and thread are the principal manufac-
tures in the diocese of Brieu; the soil also produces
corn and fruits in abundance, particularly apples, of
which they make cyder, the common beverage of the
province, for there is no wine grows in the country.

The diocese of St. Malo also produces plenty of
apples, which they convert into cyder; and abounds
in corn and cattle.

The

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Military
government.
of Bretagne.

The government-general of Bretagne has in it two general lieutenancies, one of them consisting of the diocese of Nants only, and the other of the remaining eight dioceses; in each of which the King hath also a lieutenant: and as Britany is a peninsula encompass'd almost on every side by the sea, there are abundance of castles and forts erected on the coasts for its defence; the strongest of which are the castle of Belle-Isle, the castle of Brest, the citadel of Port-Lewis, the castles of St. Malo and of Nants, the castle of Torro, which defends the entrance of the river of Morlaix, and many others were erected during the late wars, when the confederate fleet frequently visited their country.

CHAP. XX.

Contains a description of the province or general government of Normandy.

Normandy.
The name.

Normandy, known to the Romans by the name of the eleven confederated cities or provinces of Gaul, and afterwards by that of Neustria, or West France, of which kingdom it made a part, receiv'd its modern name from the Danes and other northern people, who went under the general name of Normans, and made a conquest of it about the year 912, under the conduct of ROLLO, or RAOUL, as the French call him, their General or Prince, who is always look'd upon as the first Duke of Normandy.

Situation,
&c.

This province is bounded by the British channel on the north; by Picardy and the Isle of France on the East; by Beausse, Perche and Maine, on the south; and by Bretagne on the west; extending sixty leagues in length from east to west, and thirty in breadth from north to south; being one of the largest and most fruitful provinces of the kingdom. There are indeed scarce any vineyards; but then they abound in apples and pears, of which they make cyder and perry, the ordinary drink of the natives. The country has some hills in it, but no high mountains. It consists of an agreeable variety of arable, meadow, pasture-grounds and forests. The air is colder here than in any part of France, but not unhealthy. The principal rivers are the Seine, the Eure, the Aure, the Iton, the Audelle, the Rille, the Dive, the Touque, the Careutone, the Aute and the Orne.

Face of the
country.

Air.

Rivers.

The Seine.

The Seine, already describ'd, runs north-west through this province, and having visited Rouen, falls into the British channel near Havre de Grace.

The Eure.

The Eure rises in Perche, and taking its course first to the eastward, then turns to the north, and having crossed part of Normandy, discharges it self into the Seine near Pont de Larche.

The Orne.

The Orne rises near Seez, in the south of Nor-

mandy, and taking its course first to the west-wards, afterwards turns about to the north; and having visited Caen, falls into the British channel a little below that city.

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The principal ports are those of Diepe, Havre de Grace, Honfleur, Cherbourg and Grandville; and some add St. Valery and la Hogue; but these scarce deserve the name of ports.

And as this country abounds in iron-mines, so it does in mineral waters, the chief whereof are those of Belesme, St. Paul de Rouen, Hebecrevon, Menitoue, Bourberouge, Pont Normand, Mont Bosque, and those of Forges; of which the last are in much the greatest reputation.

This province is usually divided into the Upper and Lower Normandy. The Upper Normandy comprehends, 1. The country of Caux. 2. The Roumois. 3. The Vexin Norman. 4. The country of Bray. 5. The country of Campagne. 6. The country of Ouche. And, 7. The Lieuvin. The Lower Normandy contains, 1. The country of Auge. 2. The district of Caen. 3. The Bessin. 4. The Cotentin. 5. The Avranchin. 6. The country of Bocage. And, 7. The Marches.

The country of Caux receiv'd its name, say the French writers, from the Caletes, its antient inhabitants; tho' I must confess, I don't find any great resemblance in the two names. It extends from Rouen to Havre, and from Caudebec to Picardy. The land is generally high, but plain, having few valleys in it. The French look upon it as a very cold country, and inconvenient on account of the scarcity of good water; but the plenty of corn here makes them some amends. The chief towns are Caudebec, St. Valery, Diepe, Arques, Eu, Aumale, L'Isle-bonne, Yvetat and Longueville. 'Tis true, Havre de Grace, Montivilliers, Harfleur and Fescamp, are also in Normandy; but as these constitute another government by themselves, they will be consider'd in another chapter.

Caudebec, *Calidobecum*, is situated on the river Seine, at the foot of a mountain cover'd with woods, seven leagues north-west of Rouen, and eleven south-east of Havre, a little populous trading town, considerable formerly for its manufacture of hats, which were transported to other countries; but they don't make more than will supply their own at present.

Diepe, *Juliobona Caletorum*, obtain'd its modern name, according to the French, from its standing in a bottom. It is situated on the north-east coast of Normandy, fourteen leagues to the northward of Rouen, being of a triangular figure, and strongly fortified, tho' the works are very irregular, occasion'd by the uneven situation of the ground. It is one of the most considerable ports upon this coast, but will not admit of men of war

Diepe.

of

CHAP. of the line, or merchant-ships of great burthen.
XX. During the war it was a nest of privateers, and did considerable damage to the British trade; whereupon the English Fleet bombarded it in the year 1694, since which it has been rebuilt to advantage, and some new works added to the fortifications, by Monsieur VAUBAN. The natives are most of them mariners. One of their own writers observes, that tho' the air here is very gross, and their bodies still grosser, it has produc'd several bright men, and excellent mechanicks. The town contains about thirty thousand souls.

Eu, *Ou, Auga*, is situated on the confines of Picardy, near the mouth of the river Bresle, six leagues north-east of Diepe, considerable chiefly for its being the capital of a county and peerage.

The Roumois lies between the rivers Seine and Rille, and abounds in corn, fruit and cattle, but especially sheep. The chief towns are, Pont Audemer, Quillebeuf and Elbeuf.

Pont Audemer is situated on the Rille, twelve leagues from Rouen. LEWIS XIV. endeavour'd to make it a port.

Elbeuf is situated on the Seine, four or five miles north-west of Pont de l'Arche, considerable for its woollen manufacture, and for its being erected into a dutchy and peerage.

The Vexin Norman lies on the north-east side of the Seine, and is a very fruitful country, comprehending the towns of Rouen, Gisors, Audely, and Econi.

Rouen, *Rotomagus*, the capital of Normandy, and formerly of the Velocassies, is situated in a bottom on the north bank of the Seine, encompass'd on three sides with hills, and only open towards the river, being seventy miles north-west of Paris, and forty-five south-east of Havre de Grace and the British channel. It is surrounded by a wall, defended by round antique towers, but of no great strength in this age. As the town is very populous, containing sixty thousand souls, but not extremely large, the streets are narrow, and the people seem to be crowded together. It contains thirty-six parishes, several hospitals, thirty-five fountains, sixteen monasteries, nineteen nunneries, and a fine college of Jesuits. The cathedral, the churches of St. Owen and St. Maclou, in the phrase of my French author, are perfectly fine. In the cathedral are the tombs of several Kings, Princes, Prelates and Noblemen, particularly those of HENRY III. and RICHARD I. Kings of England, and Dukes of Normandy, on each side of the high altar in the choir, and that of CHARLES V. King of France, in the middle of the choir. They reckon up a great many publick places and squares in Rouen; seven of which the French esteem very fine ones: but several of them are no better than the market-places in our great towns, and put to the same

uses. There was a handsome stone-bridge over **CHAP.** the river between the city and suburbs, said to be **XX.** built by the Empress MAUD; but this being broken down, the place is now supply'd by a bridge of boats. The famous JOAN of Arc, or Maid of Orleans, was burnt here by the English for an impostor: but the French, when they became masters of the city, erected a statue to her memory, as she had been a means of turning the fortune of the war, and preserving their country from an entire conquest by the English.

Rouen, 'tis said, hath been burnt and rebuilt twelve or thirteen times, but stands so very advantageously for trade, upon the Seine, between Paris and the British channel, that it will never be deserted; and is at present look'd upon as the center of the French trade on this side, on which I shall enlarge when I come to that head. It is the See of an Archbishop, and the place where the parliament of the province have their sessions. The corporation consists of a mayor and six aldermen, the mayor being elected every three years.

The neighbourhood of the city of Rouen is extremely fine. On every side of it are pleasant walks and beautiful country-seats; and at about a league distance stands the Charter-house, which is one of the most agreeable solitudes imaginable. The polite world will certainly have an opinion of the situation of Rouen, when they remember that the late Earl of Clarendon, grandfather of Queen ANNE, a gentleman of the most refin'd taste, chose to make it the place of his residence during his exile.

The country of Bray is bounded on the north **The country of** and west, with the country of Caux; the Beau- **of Bray.** voisins, on the east; and the Vexin Norman, on the south. This district is partly hilly, and partly marshy, fit for the feeding of cattle. The arable land also bears rye; and they have plenty of fruit, of which they make cyder and perry, but very little wheat. The chief towns are Neufchatel, Gournay, Le Ferte and Forges.

Neufchatel is situated five or six leagues south- **Neufchatel.** east of Diepe, and is a pleasant town, consisting of three parishes, the chief of this district, but not considerable upon any other account.

The country of Campagne lies south-west of **The country of** the Seine; the chief towns whereof are, Pont de **of Cam-** l'Arche, Louviers, Neubourg, Harcourt, Evreux, **pagne.** Gaillon, St. Andre, Nonancourt, Vernevil, Breteville and Concles.

Pont de l'Arche, *Pons Arcus*, takes its name **Pont de** from a stone-bridge of two and twenty arches, **l'Arche.** built over the Seine at this place, about four leagues south of Rouen. It is inclosed with a wall, and defended by a castle, which stands on an island in the river. There is one parish-church in the place, and two convents.

Evreux

CHAP. Evreux, *Mediolanum Aulercorum*, is situated in
XX. a fruitful plain on the river Iton, eight or nine
leagues south of Rouen, the capital of a county,
Evreux. to which it communicates its name, and a Bishop's
See. It contains nine parishes, and several religious
houses. The cathedral and the magnificent
castle of Navarre near this town, are worth the
viewing.

The district
of Ouche. The district of Ouche lies to the westward of
that of Campagne. The chief towns are Bernai,
Beaumont le Roger, and L'Aigle; but none of
them merit a particular description.

The country
of Lieuvain. The country of Lieuvain lies to the northward
of Ouche, and abounds in corn, flax, and good
pasture. The chief towns are Corneilles, Lie-
vrai and Tiberville; none of which my French
authors have thought worth describing.

The country
of Auge. The country of Auge lies to the westward of
the Roumois, and consists for the most part of
pasture-grounds. The chief towns are Lisieux,
Honfleur and Pont l'Eveque.

Lisieux. Lisieux, *Civitas Lexoviorum*, is situated at the
confluence of two small rivers, partly on a hill,
and partly in a valley, eighteen leagues to the
westward of Rouen. It is surrounded by a wall,
and some antique towers of no great strength.
The cathedral and bishop's palace are the only
buildings mention'd as worth the viewing.

Honfleur. Honfleur, *Huneflotum*, is situated on the west
bank of the river Seine near its mouth, three
leagues south-west of Havre de Grace, and sixteen
west of Rouen, a port-town, which the late King
endeavour'd to improve, by making a basin fit to
receive shipping, and a large key about it. The
town is supposed to contain about twelve thou-
sand souls. Here they unload the salt which is
brought from the bay of Brouage, and distribute
it to all the towns on the Seine.

Caen district
and city. The country of Caen lies to the westward of
that of Auge; the chief town whereof is Caen,
Cadomus, situate at the confluence of the rivers
Orne and Odon, in a valley between two large
meadows, about two leagues south of the British
channel, and eight to the westward of Lisieux.
This city, which is the second of the province,
consists of twelve parishes, two abbeys, eight
monasteries and seven nunneries. The most re-
markable publick buildings are the castle, the e-
piscopal palace, the hotel, called the grand cheval,
the office of the exchequer, the new buildings of
the university, the town-house or guild-hall, and
the buildings about the place-royal, where they
erected a statue of their grand Monarch in the
year 1685. The inhabitants of Caen are compu-
ted to amount to near forty thousand souls. They
are a trading people, and have a communication
with the sea by the little river Orne, by which
they bring their merchandize up in boats; and
their university is said to be in a flourishing con-

dition. The Normans first made this town con- CHA] siderable, WILLIAM the Conqueror having laid XX.
the foundation of their castle, according to the
tradition of the place. Certain it is, the Con-
queror and his Queen built two abbeys here, of
which some French historians give the following
relation. They say, that this Prince having mar-
ried MATILDA, the daughter of BALDWIN
Earl of Flanders, who was nearly related to him,
without a dispensation from the Pope, his Holiness,
by way of penance, enjoin'd them to build these
two abbeys; whereupon the Conqueror founded
that of St. Stephen, in which he was afterwards
interr'd; and his wife that of the Trinity, in which
she was buried. The first is possessed by monks,
and the other by nuns. Both the abbeys are of
the order of St. Bennet, and richly endowed.
The Conqueror, besides the lands he had granted
to that of St. Stephen in France, gave several
mannors in England to the monks of that house
by his last will.

The Bessin lies along the sea-coast to the west- The district
ward of Caen; the chief towns whereof are of Bessin.
Bayeux and St. Lo.

Bayeux, *Civitas Baiocassium*, is situated on the Bayeux
river Aure, a league and a half from the sea, and
six to the westward of Caen. It is the See of a
Bishop, and contains seventeen parishes; but is
not populous. The cathedral church dedicated to
the Virgin, is one of the finest of the province.

The Coutantin, or Costantin, is bounded on The Cou-
three sides by the British channel, and on the tantin.
east by the Bessin, and is a hilly uneven country,
but affords good pasture. The chief towns are,
Coutances, St. Saviour, Cherbourg, Barfleur,
Valogne, Carentan, Villedieu, Granville and La
Hogue.

Coutances, *Constantia, Cosedia*, pleasantly situa- Coutances
ted among the meadows and rivulets, about two
leagues distant from the sea, and ten south-east
of the isle of Jersey; the See of a Bishop, suffragan
of Rouen, and has a magnificent cathedral, es-
teem'd one of the finest pieces of Gothick archi-
tecture in Europe. There are also several con-
vents and monasteries, and two parochial churches.
It is not a place of any great trade, and the fortifi-
cations are demolish'd; but by the remains of a
Roman aqueduct, and other antient ruins, is held
to be a place of great antiquity.

Cherbourg, is situated on a bay of the sea, fif- Cherbourg
teen leagues north of Coutance. It is a small sea-
port, and fortified by LEWIS XIV, but he order'd
the works to be demolish'd in the year 1689.
This was one of the last towns the English pos-
sessed in Normandy.

Barfleur is situated on the sea-coast, four or five Barfleur
leagues to the eastward of Cherbourg. It was for-
merly one of the most considerable ports in Nor-
mandy; but the harbour is now filled up with
sand,

CHAP. XX. sand, and there remains only a small basin. Here part of the French fleet was burnt by the English after the victory obtain'd near Cape la Hogue, in the year 1692.

La Hogue. La Hogue is a village from whence the most north-west cape or promontory of Normandy takes its name; remarkable chiefly for the victory obtain'd near it by Admiral RUSSEL commander of the English fleet, over the French commanded by Admiral TOURVILLE, on the 19th of May 1692, wherein no less than one and twenty of the largest French men of war were destroy'd: the Rising-Sun particularly, the Admiral, was set on fire in sight of the French army on shore, who were making preparations to invade England.

The Avranchin. The Avranchin lies on the south of Coutantin. This country produces corn, cyder, flax, and hemp, but has very little pasture. The chief towns are Avranches, Pont Orson, St. James, Mount St. Michael and Mortain.

Avranches. Avranches, *Civitas Abrincatum*, is situated near the sea-coast on the top of a mountain, at the foot whereof runs the river See, being about eight leagues south of Coutance. It is a Bishop's See; the cathedral dedicated to St. ANDREW; besides which, there are three parochial churches, an abbey, and several monasteries. As the Normans and Britons were perpetually at variance, while they were subject to different Sovereigns, this was one of the most considerable frontier garrisons of the Normans against Britany.

Mount St. Michael. Mount St. Michael is situated on a rock, in a bay of the sea, form'd by the coasts of Normandy and Britany; the nearest of which is a league and half distant from it. The sea, twice in four and twenty hours at high water, covers all the strand between the rock and the continent; and consequently there is no coming at it by land, but at the tide of ebb. It stands about three leagues to the westward of Avranches, and to add to the strength of its situation has a castle for its defence. Here is also an abbey of Benedictines; the Prior whereof is governour of the place in time of peace, and has no other garrison but the burgeses; tho' in time of war the King sends them a commander and regular troops. And as this is a place of great security, hither the government sometimes send their state-prisoners, whom they immure in dungeons, at the bottom of this rock, when it is not convenient to punish them openly. The abbey is also famous for the crouds of pilgrims that annually resort hither, to adore the precious reliques they have in their custody.

The Bocage. The country of Bocage lies to the southward of Bessin; the chief towns whereof are Torigny, Vire, and Conde sur Noireau, none of which deserve a particular description.

The Marches. The Marches, which comprehend the Holme, is a little country, so call'd from its lying on the

confines of Perche and Maine. The chief towns are Alençon, Seez, Argentan, Falaise and Domfront.

Alençon, *Alençon, Alencio*, is situated on the river Sarte, near the borders of Perche. It is surrounded by a wall, flank'd with antique towers, and a castle, which are rather an ornament than defence to the place at present. It consists but of one single parish, the church whereof is dedicated to the Virgin, in which are the tombs of the Dukes of Alençon, the last of whom, brother to the then French King, made his addresses to Queen ELIZABETH, and was long kept in suspense by her. It has been of late years erected again into a duchy and peerage.

Seez is situated on the river Orne, five leagues north-east of Alençon. It has the honour of being a Bishop's See, but is a poor place, almost deserted. There are however, besides the cathedral, four parish-churches, an abbey of Benedictines, and several convents; in one of which, they pretend to have a thorn of our Saviour's crown, which St. LEWIS made them a present of.

This great province, as has been hinted already, consisted of eleven confederated cities or communities, while it remain'd a part of the antient Gaul, who were brought under the dominion of the Romans, by SABINUS the lieutenant of CÆSAR. Upon the decline of the Roman Empire, they underwent the fate of the rest of Gaul, till CLOVIS made a conquest of them. And the territories of this Prince being divided among his children after his death, this province made part of Neustria, or West France, sometimes denominated the kingdom of Soissons. The Danes, and other northern nations, who went under the general name of Normans, having ravaged the kingdom of France, in a terrible manner, establish'd themselves at length in Neustria, in the ninth century, and three times besieg'd Paris itself; to which city they were become so terrible, that the people made it part of their litany to be deliver'd from the Normans; *A furore Normanorum libera nos Domine*, were the words of the petition. And, say the French historians, CHARLES the Simple, found himself under a necessity of yielding this part of Neustria to them, that he might enjoy the rest of his dominions in peace: but it was upon condition, they add, that their Prince should hold it as a fee of the crown of France. Neustria, in changing its masters, changed also its name for that of Normandy, the name of the people that had conquer'd it. CHARLES the Simple, when he surrender'd Neustria to the Normans, in the year 912, gave his daughter GISELE or GISELLE in marriage to ROLLO or RAOUL, their Prince or Captain, the first Duke of Normandy, who thereupon embrac'd the Christian

CHAP. religion, and took upon him the name of RO-
 XX. BERT at his baptism. He was succeeded by the
 following Princes of his blood, Dukes of Nor-
 mandy, viz.

2. WILLIAM, surnam'd Longsword, An. 917
3. RICHARD I, surn'd Dreadnought, or the
 Old, — — — 943
4. RICHARD II, call'd the Undaunted, 996
5. RICHARD III, — — — 1026
6. ROBERT II, — — — 1028
7. WILLIAM the Conqueror, King of Eng-
 land, — — — 1035
8. ROBERT III. — — — 1087
9. WILLIAM II. call'd Rufus, King of England.
10. HENRY I, King of England, 1107
11. STEPHEN, King of England, 1135
12. The Empress MAUD.
13. GEOFFREY V, Earl of Anjou, and husband
 of MAUD.
14. HENRY II, King of England, 1154
15. HENRY the Younger, surnam'd Courtmantle,
 who died before his father.
16. RICHARD IV, surnam'd Cœur de Lyon, 1189
17. JOHN, King of England, who lost Norman-
 dy to the French about the year 1202. It was
 afterwards reconquer'd by HENRY V, King of
 England, about the year 1420, and possessed
 by the English thirty years; but regain'd by
 the French during the unfortunate reign of
 HENRY VI, and was formally united to the
 crown of France, about the year 1464.

The account the French give of these Dukes of Normandy, who were Kings of England, being attended with some circumstances omitted by our English historians, may be acceptable to the reader. They relate, that the Conqueror was the son of Duke ROBERT II. and of HERLEVE or HARLOT, the wife of a citizen of Falais. That St. EDWARD (EDWARD the Confessor) being driven out of England by a faction, fled for refuge to ROBERT II, Duke of Normandy, and resided in his court and his son WILLIAM's a considerable time. That the Saint being restor'd to his dominions, by way of gratitude, appointed WILLIAM his successor: but the English not approving the choice, crown'd HAROLD the Queen's brother. WILLIAM thereupon invaded England with a great army, and defeated HAROLD at the battle of Hastings, the 14th of October 1066, which victory made him master of England. WILLIAM the Conqueror dying in the year 1087, and leaving three sons, ROBERT, WILLIAM and HENRY, ROBERT suffer'd his brother WILLIAM Rufus to supplant him in the kingdom of England first, and afterwards in his duchy of Normandy. And WILLIAM II, dying in the year 1100, ROBERT suffer'd himself a second time to be deprived of the crown of England, by his youngest brother HENRY I. RO-

BERT indeed made some attempts to prevent it; CHAP.
 but HENRY having defeated him and taken him XX,
 prisoner, put out his eyes. HENRY dying in the
 year 1135, the male line of the Dukes of Nor-
 mandy fail'd, that duchy descending to MAUD
 or MATILDA his daughter, who married GEO-
 FREY, Earl of Anjou, by whom she had issue
 HENRY II, King of England and Duke of Nor-
 mandy; who, by his marriage with ELEANOR,
 Duchess of Guienne, whom LEWIS the Younger
 had divorc'd, became master of Guienne, Poitou,
 Saintonge and Aunis; which, with Normandy,
 made a very considerable part of the kingdom of
 France. HENRY II, died anno 1189, leaving
 three sons, viz. RICHARD, GEOFFREY, and JOHN.
 RICHARD succeeded him, but was killed at the
 siege of Chalons, anno 1199; whereupon his
 brother JOHN possessed himself of the kingdom
 of England, in prejudice of ARTHUR Duke of
 Britany, the son of GEOFFREY his elder brother.
 Nor was he content with usurping his nephew's
 dominions, but killed him with his own hand;
 for which parricide and felony, he was cited to
 appear before the court of Peers in France, and
 by an edict depriv'd of the territories he possessed
 in that kingdom, in the year 1202; which PHI-
 LIP-AUGUSTUS so far put in execution, as to
 wrest Normandy from him; and this province
 was thereupon united to the crown, till the civil
 wars happen'd between the houses of Orleans and
 Burgundy, about the year 1420, when the Eng-
 lish did not only make themselves masters of
 Normandy again, but of almost all the kingdom
 of France, possessing this province particularly
 for near thirty years.

As to the trade of Normandy, especially of Trade and
 Rouen, and the country about it, it consists chiefly produce of
 in their woollen and linnen manufactures, leather, Normandy,
 hats, combs, paper, playing-cards, pins, and a-
 bundance of other haberdashery-wares. The
 woollen manufacture employs several thousand
 hands, of which they vend the greatest part in
 France: they export scarce any woollen-cloth or
 stuffs. The manufacture of linnen is much more
 advantageous to the kingdom, for the greatest part
 is sent abroad to Spain and other countries. And
 their linnen or canvas, of which they make sails
 for ships, is valued in all the countries of Europe.
 They have also manufactures in glass, where they
 make glass-plates for looking-glasses and coaches,
 and all other glass-ware whatever.

Their fisheries for cod, herring, &c. employ
 abundance of hands, and bring them in a great
 deal of money, and they drive a great trade
 with their cattle, butter and cheese, which they
 vend in the southern provinces. Their butter is
 salted up, and sent to Paris and other great towns
 by the Seine.

And as there is no country abounds more in
 apples

CHAP. XXI. apples and pears, they make vast quantities of cyder and perry, the common drink of the country, and supply almost all the other provinces in France with it. Nay, they have such plenty of fruit, that they transport some years a great deal of it to England, and other foreign countries: but then they have little or no wine but what is brought them from the southern provinces.

Military government of Normandy. The government of Normandy being one of the most considerable in the kingdom, is always committed to a person of distinction. There are in it two general-lieutenants, one for the Higher, and the other for the Lower Normandy; and the King has also a lieutenant in every baillage, which are seven in number. The fortified places in this province are, Cherbourg, La Hogue, Caen, Honfleur, Havre, (but this is a distinct government) Diepe, St. Valeri, and Treport, which have each of them a particular governour.

CHAP. XXI.

Contains a description of the government of Havre de Grace.

Government of Havre de Grace. THE government of Havre de Grace lies in the country of Caux, to the northward of the mouth of the Seine, comprehending the towns and districts of Fescamp, Montvilliers, Havre de Grace, and Harfleur. This little district is only separated from the rest of Normandy in respect of its military government; for as to the ecclesiastical and civil government, it is comprized under the general government of Normandy. The only town of any consequence is that of Havre de Grace. As to those of Fescamp, Montvilliers, and Harfleur, they do not deserve a particular description.

Havre de Grace. Havre de Grace, *Franciscopolis*, *Portus Gratiae*, had its former name of Franciscopolis from FRANCIS its founder; but the French writers don't pretend to guess how it came by its present name of Havre de Grace. It is a small fortified town, situate in a flat country at the mouth of the river Seine, fourteen or fifteen leagues north-west of Rouen, and as many north-east of Caen. It is almost of a square figure, divided into two parts by the port, surrounded by a wall and other works, and defended by a citadel; of great consequence on account of its situation at the mouth of the Seine, its harbour and foreign trade, and is look'd upon as one of the keys of the kingdom; which, I presume, is the reason it is made a distinct government from the rest of Normandy. In the religious wars in the year 1562, it was surprized by the French Protestants, and deliver'd up to the Queen of England, who sent the Earl of Warwick thither with a good garrison; but the plague raging in the place, and carrying off most of his men, he was forced to surrender it again

the following year. Here the French used to arm out their privateers and small squadrons in the late war, which occasion'd its being bombarded by the confederate fleet in the year 1694.

CHAP. XXII.

Treats of the general government of Maine and Perche.

THE government general of Maine and Perche, Maine and Perche. comprehends the district of Maine, with the county of Laval, and the greatest part of the county of Perche.

Maine is bounded by Normandy on the north; by Perche on the east; by Touraine and Vendomois on the south; and by Britany and Anjou on the west; being about five and thirty leagues in length from east to west, and more than twenty in breadth from north to south, and about ninety in circumference. In it we meet with arable lands, vineyards, meadows, agreeable little hills and forests, and abundance of rivers; the chief whereof are the Maienne, the Huïfne, the Sart, and the Little Loire. Situation of Maine. Rivers.

The Maine and the Sart rise in the confines of Normandy, and having receiv'd the Huïfne, run to the southward till they unite their streams near Angers. Maine, Sart, Huïfne.

The Little Loire rises on the eastern confines of Perche, and running westward, joins the above-mention'd rivers near Angers; two or three leagues below which city, these united streams fall into the great river Loire.

There are several iron mines in the parishes of Andouilly, Chasson, Silly and Bourgon; and the mineral waters of Baignols and Linieres are in some reputation. There are also some quarries of fine marble at St. Berthevin, Argentre, Bernai and Villedieu. Iron mines and mineral waters. Marble quarries.

Perche is bounded by Normandy on the north; by Timerais and the county of Chartrain on the east; and by Maine on the south and west. It is one of the least provinces in the kingdom, being not above fifteen leagues in length, and twelve in breadth. It is a hilly uneven country. The higher grounds bear scarce any thing; nor are they cultivated indeed, but serve only for grazing sheep and cows. The valleys and flat country on the contrary bear all kinds of grain and hemp; and they abound in apples, of which they make cyder, the common drink of the country. As to their vines they have but few; and those produce such poor thin wines, that cyder is preferr'd before it. They have here also some iron mines and mineral waters. Their rivers, which are the Huïfne and Loire, have been already describ'd in Maine. Perche.

The chief towns of Maine are Mans, Laval, Maienne and Sable.

CHAP. Mans, *Civitas Cenomannorum*, the capital of XXII. Maine, is situated on a hill, at the bottom where-
 of runs the river Sarte, which here unites its wa-
 ters with the river Huifne, about ten leagues south
 of Alençon, thirteen north-west of Tours, and
 thirty-two south-west of Paris. In the city and
 suburbs are seventeen parishes, three thousand two
 hundred houses, and about fifteen thousand souls.
 It was antiently much more considerable than it
 is at present; however, it is still a Bishop's See,
 and besides, the cathedral dedicated to St. PE-
 TER, has several fine convents within its walls.

Laval. Laval is situated on the Maine, eight leagues
 to the westward of Mans, and is surrounded by a
 wall and other antique fortifications. It hath also
 an old castle of the same kind, but not capable
 of making any great defence, since the art of war
 has been improved. It contains three parishes,
 and several monasteries. This town was taken
 by scalade in the year 1446, by the famous
 TALBOT Earl of Shrewsbury, General of the
 English.

Maine. Maine, *Maduana*, is pleasantly situated on the ri-
 ver Maine, twelve leagues north-west of Mans.
 This place was antiently so strong, having a castle
 situated on the brow of a rock, besides its other
 fortifications, that it was esteem'd almost impreg-
 nable. The English General, the Earl of Salis-
 bury, however, took it in the year 1424. It was
 erected into a duchy and peerage anno 1573, and
 belongs now to the Duke of Mazarin, consisting
 of two parishes.

Sable. Sable is situated on the Sarte, nine or ten
 leagues south-west of Mans. It was formerly a
 strong place, but is only considerable at present on
 account of its being erected into a marquísate and
 peerage.

The chief towns in Perche are Mortaigne,
 Bellesme, Nogent and Chateaufneuf; none of which
 the French writers have thought fit to give a par-
 ticular description of.

The antient
 State of
 Maine and
 Perche. The province of Maine, like the rest of France,
 was subdued by the Romans, and afterwards by
 the Goths, Franks, &c. CHARLEMAIN esta-
 blish'd Counts here, who became hereditary, and
 after a long succession the heirs of Maine, about
 the year 1110, married FOULK Earl of Anjou,
 of which marriage was born GEOFFREY V. named
 PLANTAGENET, who married MAUD the Em-
 press, and was father of HENRY II. King of
 England, Duke of Normandy, Earl of Maine,
 &c. and the Kings of England were sovereigns of
 this country till King JOHN lost it, together with
 Normandy, in the beginning of the thirteenth
 century, when it was united to the crown of
 France, or became an appenage of some of the
 blood-royal. The Earls of Perche also were he-
 reditary, like those of Maine, till the earldom
 became annex'd to the crown.

As the province of Maine affords good arable CHAP.
 and pasture land, and abounds in corn and cattle, XXII.
 the peasants furnish their neighbours both with the
 one and the other, which brings a great deal of Trade.
 money into their country; and in the towns they
 have both woollen and linnen manufactures, those
 of woollen being serges, and other slight French
 stuffs. The whitening of linnen and wax also
 employs a great many hands.

Perche also affords corn and cattle, but not in
 such abundance as Maine, tho' they have the ad-
 vantage of lying nearer Paris, where they vend
 most of their cattle, corn, fowls, and other provi-
 sions. They make also some slight French stuffs,
 and have a manufacture of coarse linnen. The
 woollen stuffs of Nogent are vended at Paris, and
 exported to other countries. There are several
 iron forges in the country, insomuch that they
 furnish Paris, and other great towns, with iron
 to the value of fifty thousand livres annually. The
 tanners trade once flourish'd here; but the French
 writers acknowledge that this is almost ruin'd, as
 well as their other manufactures, by the extreme
 poverty of the country, most people being redu-
 ced to wooden shoes, by the tyranny and oppres-
 sion of the government.

The military government of Maine and Perche Military go-
 vernment. comprehends all Maine, the county of Laval and
 Perche, except Perche Gouet, which belongs to
 the government of Orleanois, and the Tineraiis,
 which is annex'd to that of the Isle of France.
 The governour-general has under him one lieute-
 nant-general, and two of the King's lieutenants,
 one for Maine, and the other for Perche. It being
 an inland country, there are scarce any towns for-
 tified after the modern way: the old towers, and
 other antique fortifications are held sufficient here,
 where they can scarce ever expect to see an enemy.

CHAP. XXIII.

*Contains a description of the general government of
 Orleanois.*

THIS government comprehends the Orleanois Orleanois
 Proper, the Pais Sologne, the Beausse or division.
 Beauce, the Blaisois, the greatest part of the Ga-
 tinois and the Perche Gouet; being bounded by
 Perche and the Isle of France, on the north; by Situation and
 extent.
 another part of the Isle of France, Champagne
 and Nivernois, towards the east; by the govern-
 ment of Berry, towards the south; and by Maine
 and Touraine, towards the west; being about
 two and thirty leagues in length, from east to
 west, and twenty-eight in breadth from north to
 south.

It is an exceeding healthful pleasant country, Soil and face
 divided by the river Loire in two parts, and wa- of the coun-
 ter'd by several other considerable streams, on the try.
 banks

CHAP. banks whereof are some of the best vineyards in
XXIII. France, with arable lands, forests and little hills,
which form a most agreeable prospect, insomuch,
that some have given it the name of the Enchant-
ing Country; and others the Granary of Paris, from
which the north-east part of it is not ten leagues
distant.

Rivers and
canals.

The principal rivers are the Loire, the Loiret,
the Cher, the Laconia, the Ergle, and the Hye-
rus; besides which, there are two canals, by which
the Loire and Seine have a communication; and
the navigation is continu'd from the Ocean to the
British channel.

The Loire.

The Loire has been already describ'd, which,
after having visited the city of Orleans, takes its
course to the westward, and discharges it self into
the Ocean ten or twelve leagues below Nants.
The merchants, who inhabit the towns on this
river, have obtain'd a grant of the King for laying
a duty on all goods passing and repassing it, to-
wards cleansing this river, and preserving the na-
vigation, which is of great consequence to the
whole kingdom, but more immediately to them.

The Cher.

The Cher rises in the Lionois, and running
northward till it reaches the eastern borders of this
country, turns about to the west, and falls into
the Loire between Tours and Saumur.

Canal of
Briare.

The Canal of Briare is so call'd from a little
village on the Loire where it begins, and is carried
on north-east to the river Loing, which falls into
the Seine, near Moret, and was esteem'd vastly
advantageous, as it preserv'd a communication
between Nants (and consequently the western O-
cean) and Paris, and all the fine provinces situa-
ted on the Loire, the Seine, &c. But the canal of
Orleans, which has been made since, is much
more commodious, insomuch that the canal of
Briare is very little used.

Canal of
Orleans.

The canal of Orleans begins at the Loire, about
two leagues above that city, and having travers'd
the forest of Orleans, and the plain beyond it,
joins the river Loing also about a league below
Montargis, being about eighteen leagues in length,
whereas that of Briare is not a fourth part of that
length. The canal of Orleans was begun in the
year 1682, and finish'd in the year 1692; and
the trade is so great upon it, that the duties on
goods passing and repassing in one year, have a-
mounted to an hundred and fifty thousand livres.
There are about thirty sluices upon it.

Forest of
Orleans, &c.

The forests of this country are those of Blois,
Russy, Boulogne, Chambord, Montargis, Dour-
dans and Orleans; of which that of Orleans is
much the most considerable, as well upon account
of its extent, containing fourscore and fourteen
thousand acres, as for the wood that grows in it,
viz. oaks, elms, and aspin-trees; of which they
cut as much as amounts to an hundred thousand
livres annually.

Orleanois Proper is bounded by La Beaulle to- CHAP.
wards the north; by Gatinois and Nivernois on XXIII.
the east; by Sologne on the south; and the Bla-
fois on the west. The chief towns are Orleans, Orleanois
Beaugency, Meun, Lorris, Sully, Gergeau and Proper.
Pluviers.

Orleans, *Genabum, Aureliana Civitas*, stands on Orleans
the river Loire, two and thirty leagues almost city.
south of Paris; and if we may compare a small
city with a great one, the situation resembles that
of London: for it is on the north-side of the ri-
ver, on the declivity of a hill, the buildings reach-
ing down to the water-side, and the town wind-
ing with the river, is much longer than broad.
The cross-streets are most of them narrow, and
make a very indifferent figure; but there is one
handsome broad street which runs the whole
length of the town, and is the beauty of it, be-
ing above a thousand fathoms long: but then the
buildings are old and ill-contriv'd, so that in this
respect it can by no means be compar'd to London.
There is a large handsome stone-bridge over the
river to one of the suburbs, which stands upon an
island. This bridge is an hundred and seventy
fathoms long, and upon it is a brazen statue of
the blessed Virgin, sitting at the foot of the cross,
and holding in her arms a dead CHRIST. On
one side of her is King CHARLES VII, in ar-
mour, on his knees, and on the other JOAN of
Arc, call'd the Maid of Orleans, in armour also,
and on her knees, design'd to perpetuate the story
of the deliverance this city received by the address
of that heroine, the Maid of Orleans, when it
was closely besieg'd by the English, and on the
point of surrendering, in the year 1429. And
indeed it is an event that deserves to be commemo-
rated. The English were at this time masters
of Paris, and of almost all the rest of France;
when 'tis said, JOAN of Arc, a poor shepherdess
about eighteen years of age, presented herself to
CHARLES the French King, stil'd by the Eng-
lish in derision King of Berry, having scarce an-
other province left him, declaring, that she had
received a revelation from heaven, that he should
drive his enemies from Orleans, and shortly be
crown'd King of France at Rheims, the usual
place where the Kings of France are crown'd, and
then in possession of the English, offering to lead
his troops in person, and shew them the way to
victory; and was so fortunate in the sallies she
made, say the French, that she soon after rais'd
the siege of Orleans, reviv'd the courage of the
French, and gave such a turn to their affairs, that
the English were defeated in every encounter, and
the French King, according to her prediction,
was crown'd at Rheims, which establish'd her
fame, and made her adored by the French as
their tutelary Goddess: tho' most men, I believe,
at this time of day, look upon this occurrence as a
pure

CHAP. pure state-trick. The people were dispirited upon
 XXIII. the repeated victories of the English, and the
 King's affairs become desperate; which put him
 upon counterfeiting a revelation from heaven in
 his favour, knowing how great things had been
 effected by such stratagems as these in all king-
 doms of the world. When a people can once be
 brought to think, they are fighting the cause of
 God, and are supported by his almighty arm, all
 dangers are contemn'd; like the Turks, or Eng-
 lish Enthusiasts, they are confident of victory if
 they live, or if they die of going immediately to
 paradise. But this stratagem alone would not have
 restor'd the affairs of the French, especially when
 she so soon after suffer'd the disgrace of being de-
 feated, made prisoner, and burnt by the English
 for an impostor, as she really was. There was a great
 many other concurring circumstances which con-
 tributed to the success of the French; as first, the
 English Generals having a misunderstanding with
 their great ally the Duke of Burgundy at this
 very time, which was the principal occasion of
 raising the siege of Orleans. 2. The minority
 of the King of England. 3. The York faction
 distressing his affairs. And, lastly, the disagree-
 ment among the English Governours and Generals.
 But I shall have occasion to consider these things
 more particularly in the history of France, and re-
 turn now to the modern account of this city,
 which has in it four handsome publick places or
 squares. The cathedral is said to be one of the
 finest in the kingdom. Here is also a university;
 but as far as I can learn, law is the chief or only
 study attended to in it. The town contains two
 and twenty parishes, and is near four thousand
 common paces in circumference, being encompassed
 on the land-side with an old wall, flank'd with
 antique towers, which are at this day rather an
 ornament than defence to the place. There is no
 city in France at such a distance from the sea
 which hath so brisk a trade, having an opportunity
 of exporting and importing all manner of mer-
 chandize, by the way of Nants, and the western
 Ocean; and on the other hand, by the Seine and
 the Loire, they have a communication with most
 of the northern and southern provinces of France.
 Their commerce with Paris alone is very conside-
 rable. The city is very antient: some will have
 it founded by the Druids; but certain it is, we
 find it mention'd by CÆSAR, under the name of
Genabum. Its name of *Aurelianum*, it is supposed
 to have received from the Emperor AURELIAN,
 who enlarg'd and beautified it. It was since the
 capital of the kingdom call'd Orleanois, which fell
 to the share of CLodomir, the second son of
 CLOVIS, which kingdom lasted about fourscore
 years. Orleans is a Bishop's See, suffragan of
 Paris, and capital of a duchy, giving a title to the
 second son of France, who is called Monsieur the

Duke of Orleans. The French tongue is said to CHAP
 be spoken in its greatest purity here and at Blois. XXIII.
 The natives are witty, and extremely given to
 raillery and ill-natur'd reflections in their conver-
 sation, which has occasion'd some of their neigh-
 bours to give them the character of a waspish ge-
 neration. There have been several councils held
 at Orleans, particularly in the years 511, 533,
 538, 541, and 549.

Beaugency is situated on a little hill, at the foot Beaugency,
 whereof runs the river Loire, over which there is
 a bridge of twenty-two arches. It has been a
 town of some consequence, but is now only con-
 siderable for being the capital of a county. It
 stands about five leagues south-west of Orleans.

Jargeau, or Gergeau, is situated on the Loire, Jargeau,
 four leagues above Orleans. It is a small town,
 but of some importance on account of its bridge
 over the Loire.

The Pais de Sologne lies south-east of Orleans, Sologne di-
 between the rivers Loire and Cher, and is a very strict,
 barren soil, producing scarce any thing but rye.
 The inhabitants are chiefly husbandmen, and
 have but very little commerce with their neigh-
 bours; the chief town whereof is Sully.

Sully, *Solliacum*, is a little town situated on the Sully,
 Loire, seven leagues above Orleans, remarkable
 chiefly for being erected into a duchy and peerage.

The Beausse, or Beauce, comprehends, 1. Beausse Beausse di-
 Proper, or the Pais Chartrain. 2. The Dunois. strict.
 And, 3. The Vendomois. Beginning about eight
 or ten leagues from Paris, and extending over vast
 fertile plains as far as the river Loire, abounding
 particularly in wheat, but has very few vineyards,
 woods, mountains, rivers or fountains in it; and
 their wells are very deep, insomuch, that the na-
 tives are oblig'd to preserve the rain-water in cis-
 terns and reservoirs.

The Beausse Proper, or the Pais Chartrain, is Beausse
 the most northerly part of the Orleanois, being Proper
 but a small district, and comprehends the towns of
 Chartres, Nogent le Roy, Gallerdon, Bonneval
 and Maintenon.

Chartres is situated on the river Eure, about Chartres,
 fourteen leagues south-west of Paris. It is divided
 in two parts by the river; the largest of which
 stands upon an eminence. It is a Bishop's See,
 and has a noble cathedral; but the town is not
 beautiful, the streets being narrow and the build-
 ings old. It contains ten parishes in the city and
 suburbs, and has been much larger, and is agreed
 by all to be a town of great antiquity, tho' not so
 antient perhaps as the natives make it; who say,
 it was founded by a grandson of NOAH soon after
 the flood. They have another tradition of equal
 authority; namely, that the town was once pos-
 sessed by the Druids, who built a temple, and de-
 dicated it to the *Virgin of whom a child should be*
born, and pretend to shew the place where it stood.

Among

CHAP. XXIII. Among other hospitals and charitable foundations, here is an hospital erected for an hundred and twenty blind people. The chief trade of the place is corn.

The Dunois. The Dunois lies to the southward of the Pais Chartrain, or Beaulle Proper, being ten leagues in length, and seven in breadth. The chief towns are Chateau-Dun, Marchenoir, Freteval, Patai and Puiseau.

Chateau-Dun. Chateau-Dun stands on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the Little Loire, or Loirette, and is supposed to take its name from its situation; Dun, in the language of the Gauls (says my French author) signifying an eminence, which I will not vouch for: but certain it is, this word has that signification in more modern languages. There is in the town four parochial churches, and several convents, and a castle, which is at present most admired for its antiquity.

Vendomois. The Vendomois lies south-west of the Dunois. The chief towns are Vendome, Montoire, Savigny, and St. Calez.

Vendome. Vendome is situated on the Loirette, about eight leagues to the westward of Orleans, and is the capital of a county; but the French writers do not think it worth a particular description. They only tell us that there is an old castle, a collegiate church, and several monasteries in the place, which I presume therefore is all that deserves mentioning.

The Blaisois. The Blaisois is bounded by la Beaulle on the north; by Orleanois Proper towards the east; by the government of Berry on the south; and by Touraine on the west. This is one of the finest countries in France, abounding in corn, wine, cattle, game and fish. The pastures about Blois are so rich, that the milk of their cattle, according to my French author, will restore a broken constitution, and produces the best butter in the kingdom. The chief places are Blois, Chambord, Mer, St. Die, Romorantin and Millancey.

Blois. Blois, *Castrum Blesense*, the capital of the Blaisois, is situated on the Loire, in an admirable good air, ten leagues south-west of Orleans. The body of the town lies upon an easy ascent of a hill on the north side of the river, and is join'd to a suburb on the other side by a bridge, being plac'd in the middle of one of the finest countries in France. It is a large handsome town, but the greatest beauty of it is the castle or palace, the residence of several of their Kings, with gardens, fountains, water-works and park, suitable to the magnificence of the buildings. In the grand court before the palace stands a collegiate church, one of the largest in France. The stair-case of the castle is much admir'd, as well as the gallery, which is an hundred fathoms long; and the equestrian statue of LEWIS XII. over the great gate. Blois was erected into a bishoprick but in the year 1697, and is suffragan to Paris. 'Tis observable, that there is

an image of the Virgin over every gate of the town, set up in the year 1631, when they suffer'd pretty much by the plague, and were miraculously deliver'd from this calamity by the Queen of heaven, (as they stile the blessed Virgin) according to the tradition of the place. The parish-church of St. Solenne, the largest in Blois, having been destroy'd by a tempest, was magnificently rebuilt by LEWIS XIV, and converted into a cathedral. The Jesuits also have a beautiful college here, the front whereof is adorn'd with the Dorick, the Ionick and the Corinthian orders of architecture. The other publick buildings mention'd by the French writers as worth the viewing, are the town-house, and the palace where the courts of justice are held. Their fountains also are very spacious, being supply'd by a noble aqueduct, suppos'd to be the work of the antient Romans. The natives are remarkable for their good sense and genteel behaviour, as well as for their speaking French in perfection, suppos'd to proceed from the frequent residence of the court here. There is a fat sort of earth found about two leagues from this city, used by their physicians, and esteem'd equal to the *Terra Sigillata* brought from the Levant.

Chambord. Chambord is a little hamlet, but considerable on account of a royal palace built there by FRANCIS I, which the skilful in architecture say exceeds any Gothick building in France, and has such various beauties, that the greatest masters may learn something from it. Four large pavilions compose the body of the building, and the whole is surrounded with a wall of hewn stone flank'd with towers, which give it a very magnificent appearance at a distance. So very large is this palace, according to some authors, that it would accommodate all the sovereign Princes in Europe; but I presume they speak by way of figure: this vast fabrick however was never finish'd. There is a winding stair-case in it of two hundred and seventy-four steps, so extravagantly wide, according to the French writers, that a person would hazard his reputation who should repeat what they say of it. But I find it is two stair-cases united, one for ascending and the other for descending. The anti-chambers, chambers, halls, wardrobes, cabinets and galleries, are all of a most exquisite architecture, and the garden and park answerable to the buildings.

There are abundance of other royal palaces and noblemens seats at a little distance from Blois, which were probably erected when the court resided there, the chief whereof are those of Montfrault in the forest of Boulogne, a league from Chambord. The Montils, two leagues from Montfrault. Herbault, four leagues from Blois. Villefavin, at the same distance. Beaugard, in the forest of Ruffi, two leagues from Blois. Chiverny, Menards, Nozieux, &c.

Romorantin, *Rivus Morentini*, is situated on a Romorantin rivulet,

CHAP. rivulet, seven or eight leagues south-east of Blois. XXIII. It consists of one parish only, but is considerable on account of its woollen manufacture, which is esteem'd one of the best in France.

The Gatinois.

The Gatinois or Orleanois hath the Isle of France on the north-east, and Orleanois Proper on the west. The chief towns are Montargis, Chateauneard, Milly, Chatillon-sur-Loing, Briare, Gien, Etampes, Blesneau, St. Fargeau and St. Amant.

Montargis.

Montargis, the capital, is situated on the river Loing, not far from the place where the canal of Orleans falls into it, five and twenty leagues south of Paris. The town is not large, but having been burnt down, is handsomely rebuilt, and has a castle pleasantly situated on a hill, which commands the town and the neighbouring country. Here are also a great number of convents, especially nunneries; and besides the parish-church, there are ten chapels founded by the inhabitants. The rest of the towns in the Gatinois are of no great consequence.

Perche Gouet.

The district of Perche Gouet, or Little Perche, lies on the north-east part of the Greater Perche, and contains the baronies of Auton, Basoche, Montmirail, Alluye and Brou, but has no considerable town in it.

Trade and produce of Orleanois.

The traffick carried on by the river Loire, say the French writers, is certainly the most extensive of any in the kingdom, since it not only takes in all that is produc'd in the southern and western provinces of France, but also the merchandize of foreign countries. This commerce consists in corn, hay, wine, brandy and strong waters, silk, wool, sugar, hemp, oil, iron, steel, fresh and salted fish, fruit, cheese, timber, oak-planks, deals, fire-wood, sea-coal and charcoal, earthen-ware, leather, and other goods, of which the greatest part is sent to Paris. Almost all these species of merchandize are unloaden at Orleans, and from hence distributed to the several cities and provinces of France as they are call'd for. But the most considerable articles in their trade are those of wine, brandy, corn and grocery-wares.

The vineyards of Orleans, as has been observ'd, are some of the finest in the kingdom: it is computed that they produce annually an hundred thousand tuns of wine. The corn arises chiefly in the Beausse. Their grocery-wares come from Provence by the way of Lyons, or from the American plantations by the way of Nants: and they have large sugar-works at Orleans where the sugars are refin'd, in great esteem with the merchants of Paris. Here is also a considerable manufacture of stockings, and another of shammy-leather.

The trade in the towns of Blois and Beaugency consists chiefly in wines and brandy. They have also a manufacture of serges, and other slight woollen stuffs; but those of Romartin are much more considerable. At Vendosme the drapers,

tanners and glovers ingross most of the trade of the place.

The governour-general of Orleans hath under him three lieutenant-generals; one for the Orleanois, a second for the Pais Chartrain, and a third for the Blafois.

The general lieutenancy of Orleans comprehends the duchy of Orleans, the Dunois and Vendomois.

The general lieutenancy of the Pais Chartrain comprehends that district, and the greatest part of the Gatinois.

The general lieutenancy of the Blafois takes in the country of that name; and in this and every one of the other general lieutenancies there is a lieutenant deputed by the King.

The towns which have particular governours of their own, are Chartres, Montargis, Gien, Jargeau, Pluviers and Beaugency.

CHAP. XXIV.

Contains a description of the general government of Nivernois.

Nivernois is bounded by the Gatinois on the north; by Burgundy on the east; by the Bourbonnois on the south; and by Berry on the west; being almost of a round figure, and about twenty leagues over either way. It produces corn, wine and fruit, except in the district of Morvant, which is a mountainous country, where there grows scarce grain enough for the subsistence of the inhabitants. They have also large woods, some pit-coal, and abundance of iron mines. The country is water'd with a great many rivers, of which three are navigable, viz. the Loire, the Allier and the Yonne. The Loire runs from south to north along the western borders of this country, receiving the Allier a league below Nevers. The Yonne rises in the south-east part of the Nivernois, and running northward, passes by Clamecy, Auxerre and Sens, and falls into the Seine at Montereau-faut-Yonne, beginning to be navigable at Clamecy in this province, the other streams only serve to render the country fruitful and pleasant. The mineral waters taken notice of here, are those of St. Parise and Pognes near Nevers, of which the latter are in the greatest reputation.

The Nivernois is usually subdivided into eight parts, viz. 1. The Vaux de Nevers. 2. The Amognes. 3. The valleys of Montenoison. 4. The valleys of Yonne. 5. The Morvant. 6. The Bazois. 7. The country between the Loire and the Allier. And, 8. The Donziois. But it not being consistent with a work of this nature, to enter into a particular description of every little district and subdivision, I shall proceed to specify the towns of

CHAP. XXIII
Military government of the Orleanois.

Nivernois, Situation, &c.

Rivers.

CHAP. of this province, mention'd by the French writers, XXIV. which are Nevers, La Charite, Chamblency, Montenoison, Premery Ville, Champalemand, Clamecy, Tannay, Domecy, Vezelay, Corbigny, Chateauchinon, Auroux, Moulins, Engilbert, Montruillon, Cercy, Desize, St. Saulge, Chatillon, Luzy, St. Pierre le Moutier, la Ferte Chaderon, Donzy, Entrain, Dreve, St. Saviour, Corvol, Billy, Estaiz, Cosne sur Loire; the chief of which is,

Nevers, *Nivernum*, *Noviodunum Æduorum*, the capital of the Nivernois, built in the form of an amphitheatre upon the banks of the Loire, thirty leagues south-east of Orleans. Here is a stone bridge of twenty arches, between which and the buildings, is a large space on the side of Moulins, which makes that part of the town look very magnificent, but the rest of the streets are narrow, and the ground uneven. The cathedral dedicated to St. CYR is a fine structure; besides which there are eleven parochial churches, and a great many religious houses of both sexes. It is computed there are about eight thousand souls in the place. The French writers mention no other publick buildings but an old castle of the antient Counts, which fronts a large square, consisting of fine houses, uniformly built. The fields about the town are exceeding pleasant, particularly the publick walks in the adjoining park. The principal manufactures are those of glass and earthen ware, in which they are said to excel the rest of the towns of this government, but do not deserve a particular description.

The trade of Nivernois consists chiefly in corn, hemp, and wood; and in the district of Morvant, 'tis said, they dig as much pit-coal annually as brought them in an hundred and twenty thousand livres. Their iron and tin wares which they send abroad, amounts to three hundred and fifty thousand livres, and their glass and earthen ware is computed to produce two hundred thousand livres. Their manufacture of cloth at Chateau-Chinon, says my French author, would be very considerable, were it not for the extreme poverty of the inhabitants, who are not able to purchase any great quantity of wool to work upon. Their manufactures of glass and earthen ware have been mention'd already; besides which, they traffick pretty much in hogs and fish. This government supplies the King's magazines with iron for guns, bullets, anchors, grenades, and other warlike and naval stores.

This province hath a governour-general, one lieutenant-general only, and one King's lieutenant.

CHAP. XXV.

Contains a description of the general government of Bourbonnois.

THE Bourbonnois is bounded by Nivernois on the north; by the duchy of Burgundy on the east; by Auvergne on the south; and by Marche

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and Berry on the west; being about thirty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. It is generally a plain even country, and tolerably fruitful, chiefly in corn, and has some good pastures for feeding of cattle. They have abundance of game, and a pretty many woods and lakes. Here grows also very good wine, but it will not bear exporting, and is therefore spent in the country. The air is for the most part temperate, except in that part of the country which borders upon the mountains of Auvergne, where it is sometimes excessive cold, occasion'd by the snows that cover them, and the frequent storms and tempests from that quarter, mix'd with hail, which frequently destroy their harvest; and the torrents of melted snow so swell the river Allier, ordinarily about the month of July, that the floods do very considerable damage to the towns and countries which lie upon the banks of that river.

The three principal rivers of this province, are the same that were mention'd in the preceding, besides which there are a great many small rivulets peculiar to the country; both the Loire and the Allier run from south to north thro' this province, from whence they take their course into the Nivernois.

There are no mines in the Bourbonnois, unless some of pit-coal, which are inconsiderable; but scarce any country affords greater variety of mineral waters, as the mineral spring of Bardou near Moulins; the waters of Neris, a league from the town of Montlucon; of St. Pardeaux; of Tranliere; but the most celebrated are those of Bourbon-Archambaud, and Vichy: those of Bourbon-Archambaud are contain'd in three basins, which have different sources. Below these basins or reservoirs, is a great square-bath, call'd the poors-bath, and two or three paces from thence, a house in which there are three vaulted ground-rooms for bathing; one appropriated for men, a second for women, and the third is seldom used. The waters of the springs or basins above mention'd are clear and limpid, and so hot that there is no bearing one's hand a moment in them without scalding. These waters, 'tis said, partake of an equal quantity of nitre and sulphur, exactly mix'd and incorporated, and are as good for drinking as bathing; and besides these hot wells they have a cold one, of an iron taste, which is suppos'd to contain some vitriol in it.

Near Vichy are six mineral springs, of which, that in the greatest reputation, is about three hundred paces from the town, call'd the grate-fountain, from its being inclos'd with an iron grate; the water whereof is hot and limpid, and of a poignant taste, and abounds with salt, mix'd with earth. Fifteen paces from this spring, is another less limpid, but hotter, call'd the Capuchin fountain, from its neighbourhood to a Capuchin cloyster;

B b b b

ster;

Bourbonnois.
Situation,
&c.

Military
government
of Niver-
nois.

Trade
and produce
of Niver-
nois.

Nevers.

Ch. of towns.

CHAP. XXIV.

CHAP. XXV.

Soil and
face of the
country.

Air.

Rivers.

Mines and
mineral
waters.

Baths.

CHAP. XXV. ster; this has more salt and less earth than the former. The King's house is between these two fountains, wherein are two baths, one of which receives its waters from the grate-fountain, and the other from the Capuchins: the salts they extract from all the six fountains are of the same nature, namely, nitrous salts.

Chief towns. They reckon up two and twenty great towns in the Bourbonnois, viz. Villeneuve, Moulins, Montlucon, Neris, Gannat, Bourbon-Archambaud, Vichy, Sovigny Billy, Varennes, St. Pourcain, Verneuil, Le Veudre, Jaligny, La Palice, Hericon, Montmeraut, Gonson, Huriel, Ville Franche, Le Montetaux, Moines, and St. Amand; the chief whereof are,

Moulins. Moulins, *Molinae*, the capital of the Bourbonnois, situated in an agreeable fruitful plain, upon the river Allier, twelve leagues south of Nevers, and sixty-four south of Paris, said to have taken its name from the many mills in the neighbourhood. The palace built by the Princes of the house of Bourbon is much admir'd, and the town itself is one of the handsomest and most agreeable in France, but without wall or fortification, containing a great number of religious houses; among which the Chartreuse and the Nunnery call'd the Visitation, are the most magnificent; the last was built by Madam DE MONTMORENCY, who retir'd hither after her husband the last Duke of Montmorency was beheaded, in the year 1632, and died Superior of the convent, anno 1666. There are about eleven or twelve thousand inhabitants in the place. Here are fine walks of elms along the banks of the Allier, which the French call the Course. There is scarce a great town in France without something of this kind; but the neighbouring fields of Moulins in general are extremely pleasant.

Montlucon. Montlucon is situated on the river Cher, nine or ten leagues south-west of Moulins; it stands on the side of a hill, which gently descends to the river, over which there is a stone-bridge that joins it to a suburb on the other side. It is surrounded with an antique wall and towers, which serve rather for ornament than defence, and contains about three thousand souls. It is look'd upon as the second town of the Bourbonnois.

Bourbon l'Archambaud. Bourbon l'Archambaud is situated in a bottom, surrounded by four hills; on one of which is an old square castle, supposed to be built by one of the Archambauds, sovereigns of the country. The town stands about five leagues to the westward of Moulins; it is small, containing only one parish-church and some chapels and convents, but it is neatly built and much resorted to on account of its baths, and the walks about it are exceeding pleasant.

Vichy. Vichy is a little town situated on the river Allier, most remarkable for its mineral waters and baths, which, with those of Bourbon, have been

already described. This town lies about ten leagues south of Moulins, and contains but one parish; it is in one of the pleasantest countries in France, and has a pretty brisk trade, occasioned by the numbers of people of quality that resort to the baths.

The Boii are generally held to be the antient inhabitants of the Bourbonnois, who, with their allies the Aedui, were subdued by the Romans. On the decline of that empire it underwent the fate of the other Gallick provinces, till at length it was govern'd by a Prince of its own, the first of whom, call'd AIMAR, liv'd about the year 921. The last male of this family was ARCHAMBAUD the IXth, who left only one daughter named AGNES, that married JOHN of Burgundy; the second son of JOHN IV, Duke of Burgundy, of which marriage was born BEATRIX of Burgundy, the wife of ROBERT of France, Count of Clermont, from whom descended the present French King LEWIS XV, of whose pedigree I shall give a larger account in the general history of France.

The trade of this country consists in corn, wine, hemp, cattle, wood, fish and hard ware; and they vend of mineral waters only, 'tis computed, the value of an hundred and fifty thousand livres per annum.

The Bourbonnois hath a governour and lieutenant-governour, besides two of the King's lieutenants, one for the country between the Loire and Allier, and the other for the towns of Bourbon, Montlucon, and the country to the left of the Allier.

CHAP. XXVI.

Treats of the general government of the Lyonois.

UNDER the title of Lyonois it is not intended to describe the antient government of Lyonois, which comprehended great part of Gallia Celtica, but only the three small districts of Lyonois Proper, Le Forez and Beaujolois, which constitute the modern Lyonois, and are bounded by Burgundy on the north; by Dauphiné and la Bresse on the east; by the Vivarez on the south, and by Auvergne and Velay on the west. Lyonois Proper is about twelve leagues in length and seven in breadth: Beaujolois is near the same extent; but Le Forez is something larger than both of them.

This country produces corn, wine and fruits, soil, but abounds most in excellent chesnuts, and is water'd by three large rivers already mention'd, viz. the Rhone, the Saone and the Loire, which are a great advantage to its commerce; and besides these there are abundance of other lesser streams and mineral waters, but the latter are not in such reputation as those of Bourbon.

The chief towns of the Lyonois Proper are Lyons, Tartara, Bresse, St. Chamond, Condieu and Ance.

Lyons,

CHAP. XXVI. Lyons, *Lugdunum*, is situated at the confluence of the rivers Rhone and Saone, seventy-five leagues almost south-east of Paris, and fourteen west of Savoy. It stands partly on the hills of Tornir and St. Sebastian, and partly along the banks of the above-mention'd rivers. The body of the town lies between the Rhone and Saone, and a considerable part of it on the western shore of the Rhone, besides which there are four suburbs, viz. that of Veize on the road to Paris; that of the Red Cross on the side of Bresse; that of Guillotiere towards Dauphiné; and that of St. Justus, or Irenæus, on the way to Mombrifon. That of Guillotiere, the most considerable, belongs to Dauphiné. The whole town consists of eleven parishes, which are divided into thirty-five wards, containing ninety thousand souls, which is a pretty large calculation, if there be but four thousand houses in the place, as the same French writers inform us, making above two and twenty people in every house. The several parts of the town have a communication by four bridges, one over the Rhone, and three over the Saone. The first is of stone, and consists of twenty arches: but what seems particular in this and the Pont Esprit, is, that it is not built in a right line, but has an angle in the middle, the convex part whereof stands opposite to the stream, and is thus the better enabled to resist the violence of the current. It was also made so narrow at first, that not more than one carriage could pass the bridge at a time, which they have remedied by joining another bridge to it of the same dimensions as the former. One of the bridges over the Saone also is of stone, but it is the narrowest and most inconvenient: the other two are of wood, and one of them look'd upon as a very bold piece of workmanship, as it consists but of one arch. The town hath six gates, and is about six miles in circumference.

The most eminent publick buildings are the cathedral church, formerly dedicated to St. STREPHEN, but now to St. JOHN. It is a large magnificent fabrick, and better enlightned than the Romish churches usually are. The high altar stands in the middle of the choir, and the front was adorn'd with abundance of fine statues and images, which the Calvinists defac'd during their religious wars.

The parochial and collegiate church of St. Nizier is little inferiour to that of St. John's, the choir whereof is fill'd with fine paintings, containing the history of our Saviour.

The church of St. Irenæus is the most antient, where they pretend to shew part of the pillar Christ was tied to when he was scourged.

The hospital of Charity, which stands on the square of Lewis le Grand, is remarkable for its extent and the commodiousness of the building.

The Jesuits have two colleges in the town, the

largest whereof is one of the most magnificent in the kingdom, and is dedicated to the most Holy Trinity. It consists of the four first orders of architecture, of which the Tuscan very naturally serves for the base: the Dorick order, with all its ornaments, is above that of the Tuscan; the Ionick is the third, and the Corinthian crowns the whole. But as some parts of the work are higher than the rest, in the most elevated they have added the ornaments of the Composite. And in every great town of the kingdom, 'tis observ'd, the Jesuits college makes one of the principal ornaments in it. Besides these, there are abundance of other fine abbeyes and convents at Lyons.

The square of Bellecourt, which in the year 1713 chang'd its name for that of Lewis le Grand, on the erecting an equestrian statue of that Prince in the middle of it, is of a vast extent, and surrounded by houses, in the phrase of my author, of admirable beauty. It is an oblong square, one end whereof terminates at the river Saone, and the other at the river Rhone, near which are planted twelve walks of chesnut-trees, which form an agreeable grove. The square of Terreaux also hath its beauties, of which the abbey of St. Peter, and the Guildhall of the city, which stand upon it, are the greatest ornaments. The last is one of the finest pieces of architecture of the kind in Europe. The paintings and ornaments within, are answerable to the building without; amongst which, those of the grand stair-case, where Lyons is represented in flames, are exquisitely fine. The exchange is less admir'd for its magnificence, than for the numbers of merchants that assemble there, who, in the language of the French, manage all the commerce of that kingdom and of foreign countries. No doubt the trade of this place is very great. The situation at the confluence of those great rivers the Rhone and Saone, and the neighbourhood of Italy and Switzerland, are such advantages as scarce any other town in France enjoys. Next to Paris it is esteem'd a place of the greatest trade of the kingdom, though some except Rouen. It is the See of an Archbishop, who is stiled Primate of Gaul. The civil government is administer'd by a provost of the merchants and four aldermen; but I perceive the King takes the liberty of altering their form of government as often as he pleases, and has done it not many years since.

It is a town of very great antiquity, tho' authors, as usual, differ much about the original of it. Certain it is, that in the reign of AUGUSTUS it was enlarged and beautified, and the usual seat of the Roman governour. AUGUSTUS resided here some time, and CLAUDIUS CÆSAR was born here. It was entirely burnt down in NERO's reign, who contributed largely to the rebuilding it. SÆTONTIUS, in the life of CALIGULA, mentions an Athenæum, or publick school here, wherein orators disputed

CHAP. XXVI. before an altar erected to AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, and the person who had the worst of the argument, was obliged either to retract his opinion, or be tumbled headlong into the river. The abbey of Aisnay was built on the ruins of this academy, and bears the name of *Monasterium Athænecense*. Here are still visible the ruins of some Roman palaces, and of an antient aqueduct: and every traveller mentions the tomb of the two lovers, erected on pillars near the gate of Vese, which some suppose to belong to HEROD and HERODIAS, who, according to tradition, were starv'd to death here: and others, that it was a monument erected to a married couple, who had made vows of perpetual virginity. There have been two general councils held at Lyons, the first in the year 1245, and the other in the year 1274.

Le Forez. The district of le Forez was antiently called the country of the Segusians, the chief towns whereof are Feurs, St. Estienne, St. Galmier, Montbrison, Rouane, St. Rambert and St. Bonnet.

St. Estienne. St. Estienne is situated at the foot of a hill on the little river Furens, whose waters are said to be very proper for the tempering iron and steel, in which manufactures the natives are very expert, and particularly in fire-arms.

Montbrison. Montbrison is situated on a rivulet, thirty miles west of Lyons, esteem'd the capital of the country, and was the residence of their antient Counts. It is still a considerable town, consisting of several parishes besides convents, the inhabitants computed to amount to between four and five thousand.

Beaujolois. The district of Beaujolois is a fruitful country; the chief towns whereof are Beaujeu, Ville Franche, Belle Ville and Lay.

Ville Franche. Ville Franche is situated on the Morgou, in a fine fruitful plain, five leagues to the northward of Lyons, and is at present the capital of Beaujolois, in which there is little that deserves notice, unless it be the collegiate church.

The antient state of the Lyonois. The Lyonois was part of the antient Gallia Celtica, and afterwards of the kingdoms of Burgundy and Orleans. Their Archbishops had for some time the sovereignty of it, or at least disputed it with their Counts, who pretended to the same dominion here as those officers did in other parts of France, till it came at length to be re-united to the crown about three hundred years ago.

The trade of the Lyonois. The trade of the Lyonois Proper, Le Forez and Beaujolois, consists of chefnuts, paper, hard ware, great guns, fire-arms, and all manner of utensils of iron; but the commerce of the country, though very considerable, is a trifle compar'd with that of the city of Lyons, the merchants whereof have a great trade with Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, England, Holland, the northern kingdoms, &c. Their commerce with Spain is carried on by the Italians, and particularly the Genoese, in which

the Spaniards are but their factors and trustees in reality; and it's observed, very rarely falsify the trust reposed in them. The merchants of Lyons send to Spain cloth, linnen, fustians, saffron, paper, and other small articles: and import from thence wool, drugs for painting, dollars, ingots of gold and silver; which traffick, say the French writers, never flourishes to that degree as when France is at peace with Spain, and at war with England and Holland. They export from Lyons to Italy, cloth, linnen, some silk-stuffs, gold and silver lace, haberdashery ware and alamoses: bringing back in return silks, velvets, damasks, brocades, sattins and taffeta's; with rice, which comes from Piedmont and the Milanese. It is computed that the merchandizes exported annually from Lyons to Italy, amount to six or seven millions of livres; and that those imported from Italy thither, amount to ten millions; so that this commerce seems to be disadvantageous to the French: but as they manufacture some species of goods brought from Italy, and export them again, it may not be detrimental in the main.

They send to Switzerland coarse cloth, hats, saffron, wine, oil, soap, and haberdashery wares, which amount to about a million annually; in return for which, they receive cheese to the value of six hundred thousand livres, and in linnen the value of fifteen hundred thousand livres; and in time of war they are furnish'd with horses from thence, which amount to a very considerable sum.

The great towns of Germany take off the same species of goods as those of Switzerland, together with gold and silver stuffs, amounting to more than fifteen hundred thousand livres per ann. for which the merchants at Lyons receive in return tin, copper and tin-plates, and the rest in silver; so that this trade is very advantageous to them, unless upon the breaking out of a war, when the Germans, to whom the French always give credit for their goods, make no conscience of running away with all the money they have in their hands belonging to the merchants of Lyons.

They export to Holland about the value of five hundred thousand livres annually in taffeta's and gold and silver-stuffs: for which they receive double the value in cloth, thread, fine linnen and spices; but the greatest benefit the merchants of Lyons receive from the Dutch is by negotiating bills of exchange, both for natives and foreigners, which are frequently made payable at Amsterdam.

They export annually to England, according to their own account, the value of two or three millions in merchandize, for which they do not receive a fourth part in goods in return, and consequently the rest is paid in specie. The merchandize they receive from England consists in fine woollen cloth, serges, stockings, lead, tin, grocery

CHAP. cery and haberdashery wares, drugs for dying and
XXVII. Campechy wood, and sometimes silk of the Le-
vant, when it is scarce at Marseilles.

They drive also a considerable trade with the other provinces of the kingdom; for example, they take off great quantities of oils and dry'd fruits of Provence; of the cloth, wine and brandy of Languedoc; of the saffron of Guienne; of the light stuffs of Champagne; of the linnen of Picardy, Maine, Normandy and Bretagne, and of the corn of Burgundy, &c.

Military go-
vernment of
the Lyonois.

These three small districts of the Lyonois Proper, Le Forez and Beaujolois have but one governor-general, one lieutenant-general, and two of the King's lieutenants; one of whom commands in the Lyonois and Beaujolois, and the other in Forez. The city of Lyons is the only fortified place in this government, which has three forts for its defence; the first called the Chateau de Pierre en scize, the second the fort of St. John, and the third Fort St. Clare.

CHAP. XXVII.

Contains a description of the general government of Auvergne.

Auvergne.
Situation,
&c.

THE province of Auvergne is bounded by the Bourbonnois on the north; by Le Forez on the east; by Rouergne and the Cevennes on the south; and by Quercy, Limosin and La Marche on the west; extending forty leagues in length from north to south, and thirty in breadth from east to west. It is divided into the Upper and Lower Auvergne. The lower, which is also called the Limagne, is one of the most beautiful and fruitful countries in the world; abounding in corn, wine, hemp, fruits, fine meadows which yield three crops annually, and arable lands so rich that they never lie fallow. Their fruits have a delicious taste, and there are such abundance of walnut-trees that they burn scarce any other wood. The mountains of the higher Auvergne are much less fruitful: however here they breed and fat great herds of cattle, and make abundance of good cheese.

The air.

The air of the Lower Auvergne is serene and warm; whereas that of the mountainous country of the higher Auvergne is excessive cold, being cover'd with snow eight months of the year, and subject to continual storms.

Rivers.

The principal rivers of this country are the Allier and the Dordonne, of which the former runs from south to north, and the latter from east to west, and have been already described.

Mineral
waters.

Here are a great many springs of mineral waters, of which the chief are those of St. Myon, whose waters are call'd vinous and eager; and the waters and baths of Mont d'Or, which are both hot and cold, and proper either for drinking or

bathing; the latter of which 'tis evident were known to the Romans by the ruins of the baths which are still visible. These are not so hot as those of Bourbon and Vichy, for a person may bathe in the very spring-head.

The highest mountains of Auvergne are, 1. Mountains. Those of Le Pui de Dome, *Mons Dominans*, upon which the celebrated Mr. PASCAL made his experiments of the weight of the air. This mountain is sixteen hundred and twenty yards above the surface of the earth. 2. The mountain Cantal, which is nineteen hundred and sixty yards high. And, 3. The Mont D'Or, which is two thousand and sixty yards above the surface of the lower grounds.

The towns of the Lower Auvergne are Clermont, Montferrand, Riom, Volvic, Aigueperse, Thiers, Ambert, Maringue, Pont du Chateau, Yssioire, Saucilanges, Brioude, Usson, St. German Lambron, Auson, Cuslet, Ebreuille, Billon, Ardes, Vic le Comte, Langeac, St. Amant, Hermant, Artonne, Corpiere, Besle, Montaign, Chambon and Evaux. Chief towns.

Clermont, *Nemossus*, *Augusta Nemetum*, the capital of Auvergne, is situated on a little eminence, between the rivers Artier and Bedat, twenty-six leagues west of Lyons. The streets are narrow and the houses dark, but it is esteem'd a rich populous place. The cathedral is a vast structure, and resembles that of Notre-dame at Paris. The Jesuits college an elegant building, as is the hall belonging to the court of aids; and the Course or publick walks are finely planted. Clermont.

Riom stands two leagues north of Clermont, and is much admir'd for its beautiful situation and its elegant buildings. It is also the capital of a duchy, but I don't find it considerable on any other account. Riom.

St. Flour, the capital of the Higher Auvergne, is situated on a steep rock, about twenty leagues south of Clermont. Its being a Bishop's See is the principal thing which makes it taken notice of. St. Flour.

Aurillac, or Orillac, is situated in a valley on the little river Jordan, twelve leagues south-west of St. Flour, and is one of the most populous and flourishing towns of Auvergne. It contains however but one parish, besides an abbey and some convents. Aurillac.

The people of Auvergne made a great figure among the antient Gauls, and pretended to be descended from the Trojans as well as the Romans. CÆSAR and LIVY mention several of their Kings, as AMBIGATUS, LUERIUS, BITUITUS and VERCINGETORIX, the last of whom is said to have commanded four hundred thousand men against CÆSAR. But then this must be understood of a general confederacy of the rest of the Gaulish Princes under VERCINGETORIX, and not of the natives only of this province, which now goes under The antient
state of
Auvergne.

CHAP. XXVII. under the name of Auvergne. This Prince being defeated and carried to Rome about the year 702, from the building of that city, Auvergne became a Roman province, and made a part of Aquitania. Upon the fall of the Roman Empire it underwent the same fate as the rest of the Gallick provinces, and like them came at length to be govern'd by its particular Count, and was reunited to the crown about three hundred years since.

Trade and
produce of
Auvergne.

Notwithstanding the French boast that the province of Auvergne is exceeding fruitful, I find they spend most of their corn and wine in the country, and export very little. Hemp is one of the most considerable articles they send abroad, and of this they vend large quantities at Brest, Rochefort, Havre, and other ports. Cattle and cheese are the chief articles of their trade in the lower Auvergne; and it seems there go a great many thousand people out of this province annually to work in Spain, either as mechanicks or husbandmen, by which they make their fortunes, and return into their own country in good circumstances. Here are also some woollen manufactures, in which they make serges and other slight French stuffs, but I don't find they are very considerable. Thread-lace is another manufacture here; and they make also some cutlers ware, with which they traffick in Spain. They furnish the neighbouring provinces with playing cards and excellent paper, but complain this manufacture is not encourag'd. Of sea-coal and timber they are said to vend large quantities abroad: their coals are carried as far as Paris; and their timber, which consists of oak and fir, is cut in their mountains, and sent down the rivers in floats to the port-towns, and used in building of ships.

Military
government.

The governour-general of Auvergne has under him two lieutenants-general, and two of the King's lieutenants, one for the higher and the other for the lower Auvergne. But there is not one fortified town in the whole government: those that were there formerly were demolish'd, that they might afford no shelter for the malecontents of this country, and the Cevennes their neighbours.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Contains a description of the general government of Limousin.

Limousin.
The situa-
tion.

Limousin is bounded by Marche and Poitou on the north; by Auvergne on the east; by Quercy on the south; and by Perigord and Angoumois on the west; being about five and twenty leagues in length from north to south, and almost as many in breadth from east to west.

The face of
the country.

This province also is divided into the higher and lower, the first being mountainous and cold, and the other level, warm and pleasant. The country

is almost cover'd with woods of chesnuts, which are the principal food of the inhabitants. Their arable lands are more fit for rye and buck-wheat than better grain. The wine of the higher Limousin is scarce fit to drink, but that in the lower part of the country is better.

The principal rivers are the Vienne, the Vezere, the Coueze and the Dordonne.

The Vienne has its source between the confines of the lower Limousin and Marche, and crossing the north part of this country, passes by Limoges; after which, it takes its course north-west thro' Poitou.

The Vezere has its source not far from that of the Vienne, and taking its course south-west, falls into the Dordonne, which runs from east to west thro' this province.

The French about the year 1703 discover'd some mines of lead, copper, tin and steel near Limoges; but not any of them, it seems, would turn to account, to their great mortification, who stand very much in need of those metals.

The chief towns in the Higher Limousin are Limoges, St. Junien, St. Leonard, Pierre Buffiere, St. Irrier and Chalus. The chief towns in the Lower are Tulle, Brive, Uzerche, Ussel, Bord, Neuvi and Turenne.

Limoges, *Vicus Ratiatensis*, the capital of the province, is situated on the river Vienne, partly on a hill and partly in a valley, by the river side, thirty leagues west of Clermont. The town is about a league and half in circumference, but ill-built, and has not one fine publick place or square in it. The houses are generally of wood, small and dark. The cathedral is a magnificent edifice, said to be built by the English, to whom, my French authors observe, their people ascribe most of their antient structures that have an appearance of grandeur and magnificence. A false opinion, say they, with which all our provinces seem to be infatuated; as if our own architects were not capable of erecting a fine building. Here are three abbeys and several convents in the place; but their writers do not give us a particular description of them, or their other publick buildings.

Tulle, *Tutela Lemovicum*, the capital of the lower Limousin, is situated in a bottom on the river Coueze, fifteen leagues south of Limoges, being about half a league in circumference. It contains about twelve hundred houses, and five thousand people. It is the See of a Bishop, who has the title of Viscount of the place.

Brive la Gaillarde is situated near the confluence of the Coueze and Vezere, seventeen leagues south of Limoges, and five west of Tulle, in a valley surrounded with little hills planted with vines and chesnuts, being a most beautiful situation. It is the only fine town of the province: the houses are elegantly built, and the walks about it exceeding pleasant. One finds in this place all the pleasures

CHAP. pleasures and conveniencies of life. It contains
XXVIII. about a thousand houses, and five thousand souls.

The antient
state of Li-
moufin. Limoufin was part of the antient Aquitain,
and follow'd the fortunes of that principality, be-
ing subdu'd by the Romans, Goths, Franks, &c.
ELEANOR of Guienne brought this province with
the rest of her dominions to HENRY II. King of
England, and the English held it about three
hundred years with some interruptions from the
French, who regain'd the entire possession of it
about the year 1429, in the reign of King HENRY
VI. of England.

Trade and
produce. The trade of the Limoufin consists chiefly in
cattle, which they sell to the neighbouring pro-
vinces, and send great droves of them as far as
Paris. And though this country be at a great
distance from any sea-port, and upon that account
should seem very ill situated for traffick, yet we
find it the center of trade between Paris and
Thoulouse, and between Lyons and Bourdeaux,
particularly for leather, cloth and paper; and
their iron ware and fire-arms are in good esteem.

Military go-
vernment. The governour-general of this province has
under him one lieutenant-governour, and two of
the King's lieutenants, one for the higher, and
the other for the lower Limoufin. But being an
inland country, and at a great distance from the
frontiers, there is not one fortified place in it.

C H A P. XXIX.

*Contains a description of the general government
of Marche.*

Marche.
Situation,
&c. THE government of Marche is bounded by
Berry on the north; by Auvergne on the east;
by Limoufin on the south, and by Poitou on the
west: being two and twenty leagues in length, and
eight in breadth. It is divided into higher and
lower, like Limoufin, and the soil and climate are
much the same. There are vineyards about Bellac
and Dorat, and the higher Marche yields corn.

Soil The principal rivers are the Vienne, the Cher,
the Creuse and the Gartempe.

Rivers. The Creuse, so denominated for its depth, rises
in the south-east confines of this province, and
taking its course north-west to Berry, falls into the
Vienne.

The Gartempe rises at Gueret in this country,
and taking its course thro' it from east to west, af-
terwards turns about to the northward, and falls in-
to the Creuse.

Chief towns. The province of Marche, as hath been observ'd,
is usually divided into the higher and lower. In
the higher the chief towns are Gueret, Felletin,
Jarnage, Aubusson, Aun, Chencrailles. In the
lower, Dorat and Beliac.

Gueret. Gueret, *Varadicum*, situate near the head of
the Gartempe, ten leagues north-east of Limoges,

is the capital of the country, and the place where
their courts of justice are held; but the French
writers give us no further description of it.

Aubusson. Aubusson is situated in a bottom on the Creuse,
five leagues south-east of Gueret. It is a little town
of an irregular figure, surrounded by rocks and
mountains, but considerable on account of its
woollen-manufacture.

Dorat. Dorat is a little town situate near the Gartempe,
ten leagues north-west of Limoges, containing a-
bout four hundred houses.

The antient
state of
Marche. This county of Marche, or the Marquisate, is
said to have taken its name from its situation on
the marches or confines between the territories of
France and those of the English in Guienne and
Poitou, and was possess'd by one or the other as
their arms met with success. Their trade consists
chiefly in cattle, and in the woollen manufactures
which are made at Aubusson and Felletin.

The mili-
tary govern-
ment. It has one governour-general, one lieutenant-
general, and two of the King's lieutenants,
one for the higher and the other for the lower
Marche. There is not one fortified place in the
country.

C H A P. XXX.

*Contains a description of the general government
of Berry.*

The pro-
vince of
Berry.
Situation,
&c. THE province of Berry is bounded by Sologne
on the north; by the Nivernois and Bour-
bonois on the east; by La Marche on the south;
and by Touraine on the west: extending thirty-
six leagues in length from north to south, and
twenty in breadth from east to west.

Air and
soil. The air of this country is temperate, and the
soil produces both corn and wine. Their wine
in some places is not inferiour to that of Burgundy,
but in most is weak and ill-tasted. They abound
in excellent fruits, and have good pastures for
sheep, that are valued for the fineness of their
wool. This country also produces flax and hemp.
They pretend to have some mines of silver and
iron, but they are not wrought. Their stone-
quarries on the contrary are of great advantage
to them.

Rivers. The chief rivers of Berry are the Creuse, the
Cher, the Indre, the Orron, the Evre, the Au-
rette, the Moulon, the Soudre, and the Nerre;
most of which have been already describ'd, and
the rest are but inconsiderable streams. The lake
of Villiers, which lies about ten leagues from Bour-
ges, is seven or eight leagues in circumference.

Berry is divided into High and Low; the
Higher extends eastward from the Cher to the
Loire; and the Lower is inclos'd between the
Cher and the Creuse.

The chief towns in the Higher Berry are Bour-
ges, Chief towns.

CHAP. ges, Dun-le-Roy, Chateaufneuf, Mehun, Vierzon, XXX. Argens, Catillon sur Loire, Aubigni, Concour-
 fault, La Chapelle-dam-Gilon, Les Aix-dam-Gilon, Henrichemont, Sancerre and Montfaucon.

Bourges.

Bourges, *Avaricum Biturigum*, the capital of Berry, and the See of an Archbishop, is situated on a little hill between the rivers Evre and Orron, to the banks of which it gradually descends; thirty-five leagues south of Paris, and seventeen almost south-east of Orleans. The two rivers above-mention'd encompass it on every side, except on that next the gate of Bourbonnoux. It is a large spacious town, containing sixteen parishes, but has nevertheless several void spaces within its walls, and the rest is not well peopled. We meet with a great many ecclesiasticks, gentlemen and scholars here; and 'tis computed there are in all about fifteen thousand souls, but not many of them tradesmen, the place having no other commerce than what is necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants. It is the privilege of Nobility which LEWIS XI. granted to the Mayor and Aldermen of this city, which occasion'd such numbers of gentlemen resorting hither, and is the mother of that indolence for trade which is so conspicuous in the inhabitants. The cathedral church, dedicated to St. STEPHEN, is the finest Gothick building (says my French author) that I have ever seen, and is situated in the highest part of the town.

The palace built by Prince JOHN of France, Duke of Berry, is a magnificent edifice; in one part whereof call'd the King's Apartment, the governour resides, and the other is taken up by their courts of justice. The great hall in the latter is esteem'd one of the largest and finest in the kingdom; it hath no pillars to support it. Here the States of the province have their sessions; and here it was CHARLES VII. assembled the clergy of France, and establish'd the Pragmatick Sanction. The town-house erected by JACQUES COEUR is one of the most elegant buildings that ever was undertaken by a private man, which was purchased by the celebrated COLBERT, prime minister of France, and given to the corporation of this city.

The square of Bourbon is the largest in Bourges, where antiently stood a Roman amphitheatre; the publick walks and the malls, without which no great town in France is thought to be compleat, are much admired by the French writers; but a long description of their various beauties is scarce consistent with a work of this nature. The great number of religious houses are another considerable ornament to the place. CÆSAR took Bourges by storm, and destroy'd near forty thousand of the natives, on account of some cruelties they had ex-

ercised on the Roman soldiers that had fallen into CHAP. their hands. CHARLES VII. of France made this XXX. the place of his residence, when the English were masters of almost all the rest of the kingdom in the fifteenth century; which occasion'd his being call'd King of Berry in derision by the English. It is at present a Bishop's See and University, instituted chiefly for the study of the law.

Yssoudun is situated on the little river Theol, Yssoudun, eight leagues south-west of Bourges. It is a large town, containing the parochial and collegiate church of St. DENNIS and others, several parishes and convents, and about ten thousand inhabitants. The most remarkable thing in it is the castle, which commands the town; within the walls whereof are an antique tower, and the abbey of Notredame.

At the time when antient Rome was governed by Kings, Gallia Celtica had theirs, and the citizens of Bourges elected a sovereign from among themselves. This form of Government continu'd till JULIUS CÆSAR subdu'd the Gauls, and took Bourges by storm. The dominion of the Romans lasted till the year 475, and then this city fell into the hands of the Visigoths, who were afterwards conquer'd by CLOVIS. Berry was govern'd by the Franks, as it had been by the Romans and Goths; namely by Counts, who at length obtain'd an hereditary dominion. Those of this province were stiled Counts of Bourges, as those of Languedoc were Counts of Thoulouse. BOLLON, or OLLON, is the most antient of these Counts upon record. To these Counts succeeded Viscounts, of whom Berry had one for about an hundred and seventy years, reckoning from GEOFFREY, who liv'd about 917, to Eudes, who sold this province to PHILIP I. of France, in 1100, when it was united to the crown. It afterwards became an appanage of some of the Princes of the blood, and was not long since the title of the Dauphin's third son, call'd Duke of Berry.

The trade of Berry consists chiefly in the sale of cattle and sheep; the latter also furnish their manufacture with wool, wherewith they make coarse cloaths, serges and stockings. They sell also great quantities of hemp that grows in the country; but make no linnen. The districts of Chateauroux and Blanc are as barren as any parts of France, and that of Chatre is no less fruitful. In some places their wine is not fit to drink; and in others they pretend it equals Burgundy; but in general, I find this country is not considerable, either for its commerce or the produce of its soil.

Berry hath a governour-general, a lieutenant-general, and two lieutenants of the King's. There is not one fortified town in the country.

CHAP.

*Treats of the general government of Touraine.*Touraine.
Situation,
&c.

THIS province, which takes its name from an antient people call'd Turones, lies upon the Loire, and is bounded by Maine and Beausse towards the north; by the Blaisois and Berry on the east; and by Poitou and Anjou on the south and west; being about four and twenty leagues in length from north to south, and two and twenty in breadth from east to west. The air is temperate, and the country generally pleasant and fruitful; insomuch that some have given it the title of, The Garden of France. The most considerable forests are those of Amboise, Loches, and Chinon. It is water'd with abundance of rivers; of which, the chief are the Loire, the Cher, the Vienne, the Indre, the Creuse, the Venlre, the Amasse, the Bren, the Choissille, the Braule, and the Cisse; most of which run from east to west through this country, and have been already describ'd.

Rivers.

Chief towns.

The chief towns are Tours, Langeai, Chateau-Regnaud, Amboise, Mont-Trichard, Loches, Chinon.

Tours.

Tours, *Cæsarodunum, Civitas Turonum*, is situated in a plain on the south-side of the Loire, between that river and the Cher; thirty-six leagues south-west of Pans, and fifteen south-west of Orleans. It is built of fine white stone; the streets spacious and extremely clean, occasion'd by several rivulets, which form six publick fountains. The cathedral dedicated to St. GATIEN has nothing remarkable in it; but there is another church dedicated to St. MARTIN, who is the favourite Saint of the place, and by whom they pretend many miracles have been wrought, that is one of the largest structures in the kingdom. The key upon the river is the most beautiful part of the town, and their mall, which is a thousand paces in length, passes for one of the finest in France. There are also abundance of handsome convents in the place, and the royal-palace built by LEWIS XI. with the park and gardens, are well worth the viewing. One of their gates goes by the name of Hugon, in memory, as 'tis said, of one HUGON a very wicked Prince, once Earl of Tours, whom the superstitious will have to walk the streets at midnight to terrify the inhabitants; and that the Protestants were first call'd Hugonots, from their walking and assembling near this gate in the night-time: tho' some of the French Protestants tell us, it was for their adhering to the present royal family, who descended from HUGH CAPET, that they obtain'd the name of Hugonots; the other faction setting up the Duke of Guise, who descended from CHARLEMAIN. Tours is the See of an Archbishop, as

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well as the capital of a duchy, and has had the honour of seeing the States of the kingdom several times assembled here, particularly by LEWIS XI, anno 1470; by CHARLES VIII, in 1484; and by LEWIS XII, in 1506.

Amboise, *Ambacia*, is situated at the confluence of the Amasse and the Loire, five leagues to the eastward of Tours. This town is not large, consisting only of two parishes and two streets; but has a fine castle, which is a great ornament to it. Here they pretended to shew the horns of a stag of a prodigious size, which being examined by the present King of Spain, and his brothers the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, in their passage to Spain; they discovered them to be the work of some artist, and not natural. LEWIS XI instituted the order of St. MICHAEL in this castle anno 1469. There is little else, that deserves notice here unless the Course or publick walks, which the French writers observe are very fine, as they do of those of every other town.

Amboise.

Chinon, *Castrum Chinonis*, is situated on the Vienne, ten leagues south-west of Tours. It consists of four parishes and fifteen religious houses, containing about a thousand families. It was remarkable formerly for the residence of CHARLES VII, and the first publick appearance of JOAN of Arc, or the Maid of Orleans, before him, which gave such a turn to the affairs of France, when they were look'd upon as desperate. The famous RABELAIS was a native of this town.

Chinon.

Touraine underwent the same fate as the rest of the Gallick provinces, and was, like them, at length govern'd by its proper Count. In the year 1044, it was conquer'd by GEOFFREY MARTEL Earl of Anjou, and pass'd to his descendants Earls of Anjou, and Kings of England, who held it till they lost their other territories on that side the water.

The antient
state of it.

The principal manufactures of this province were those of cloth, leather and silk; of which the silk, tho' the last establish'd, is the most considerable. As to the woollen manufacture, it is at present scarce follow'd any where but at Amboise, and here they only make slight French stuffs. That of leather also is sunk to nothing; and the silk, which in the time of Cardinal RICHLIEU, employ'd above twenty thousand weavers in the city of Tours only, scarce employs sixty at this time: which loss of their trade the French ascribe to several causes: as first, their small foreign traffick. 2. Their expelling such numbers of workmen out of the kingdom. 3. The obliging the merchants of Tours to buy their Silk at Lyons. And, 4. The wearing calicoes and Indian silks. This, says my author, has destroy'd the commerce of Touraine, which antiently brought them in more than ten millions of livres annually.

The trade
of Touraine
and the rest
of France
dwindled to
nothing,
thro' the op-
pression of the
government.

This province has a governour-general, a lieutenant-general, and a King's lieutenant. Besides which,

Military go-
vernment
of Touraine.

C c c c

CHAP. which have their particular governours, as the
XXXII. towns of Amboise, Beaulieu and Chinon.

C H A P. XXXII.

*Contains a description of the general government
of Anjou.*

Anjou.
Situation,
&c.

THE province of Anjou is bounded by Le Maine on the north; by Touraine on the east; by Poitou on the south; and by Bretagne on the west: extending twenty-six leagues in length from east to west, and four and twenty in breadth from north to south.

Air and face
of the coun-
try.

The air is temperate, and the country agreeably diversified with hills and plains, but rather level than mountainous, except on the banks of the Loire, and in some parts of Mauges; and it is computed there are thirty-three forests all of oak and beech in it.

Soil.

The soil produces white wines, wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, flax, hemp, nuts, chesnuts, and all manner of fruits: and their pastures feed great numbers of cattle and sheep, which are the greatest riches of the province. Here are also coal-pits, quarries of marble, and some iron-mines.

Rivers.

The chief rivers are the Loire, which divides Anjou almost in two equal parts; the Vienne, the Toue, which runs from south to north, and falls into the Loire at Saumur, the little Loire, the Sarthe and the Maine; all which run from north to south, and unite their streams at Angers, and a little after fall into the Loire. Besides which, there are abundance of other lesser streams that render the roads impassable sometimes for want of bridges.

Chief towns.

The chief towns are Angiers, Chateaugontier, La Fleche, Le Pont de Se, Chateau-Ceaus, Doue, Craon, Montforeau, and Montrevil-Bellay.

Angiers.

Angiers, *Inlicmagus Andigavorum*, the capital of Anjou, is situated a little above the place where the little Loire and the Sarthe fall into the Maine, the last of which rivers divides the town into almost two equal parts: it lies fifteen leagues almost east of Nants, and about fifty-three south-west of Paris. It was first inclos'd with a wall by JOHN King of England, which was demolish'd by LEWIS VIII. ST. LEWIS his son rebuilt the wall in the manner we see it at this day. The town contains nine thousand houses, and about thirty-six thousand inhabitants, which are divided into sixteen parishes, twelve within the walls and four in the suburbs. Besides the parish-churches, there are eight collegiate, and a great number of convents. The cathedral church is a noble structure, the roof high and broad, and yet is not sustain'd by one pillar. The choir is also very fine, and its three lofty steeples are much admired for their architecture. Part of the town is pleasantly

situated on the side of a hill, and the rest in a bottom. The castle stands on a steep rock and commands the whole, being flank'd with antique round towers, which at present serve rather for ornament than defence. In this town is annually a great procession of all the clergy and inhabitants, to shew their detestation of the errors of their Archdeacon BERENGENUS, who in the year 1019 preach'd against their doctrine of transubstantiation; which opinion however they say he abjur'd afterwards at Rome before Pope GREGORY VII. They pretend to shew here one of the pots which held the water that our Saviour turn'd into wine at the marriage in Cana. This city is the capital of a duchy, a Bishop's See, and a university chiefly for the study of the law; and LEWIS XIV establish'd an academy here in 1685, upon the same foot with that of the royal academy at Paris. The fathers of the oratory also have a college here, wherein they instruct their disciples in divinity and philosophy, as in other great towns of France.

Chateaugontier is situated on the Maine, seven leagues north of Angiers. It is divided into two parts by the river, and consists of three parishes, fourteen hundred houses, and five or six thousand souls. Besides the parish-churches it has a collegiate church and several monasteries.

La Fleche, *Flechia Castrum*, is pleasantly situated in a beautiful plain on the little Loire, eight leagues north-east of Angiers. It consists of one parish, but contains however six thousand inhabitants. HENRY IV, who was born here, enlarged and beautified it: he converted his castle or palace, which was very spacious, into a college for the Jesuits; and his heart lies buried under the steps of the altar. The palace of the late Marquis of Vavanne, a favourite of HENRY IV, is at present the greatest ornament of the town; the garden and water-works are suitable to the magnificence of the building. Among the illustrious persons who have been educated in the Jesuits college at La Fleche, the celebrated DESCARTES is one.

Pont de Se stands about a league and half to the eastward of Angiers upon the river Loire, which having broken its banks looks like a sea at this place, and is most considerable for its stone bridge, said to be a thousand paces long, and one of the most important passes on that river. The town consists of about four hundred houses, and has a castle for its defence, or rather ornament.

Doue or Doe, *Theotiadum Castellum*, is situated half a league to the southward of the Loire, containing about four hundred houses, most remarkable for an amphitheatre cut out of a rock sixteen hundred feet in circumference, and capable of holding fifteen thousand people; which some are of opinion was the work of the antient Romans, and others of the French. In this town also is one of the finest fountains in France.

Anjou,

CHAP. XXXIII. Anjou, like other parts of Gaul, was conquer'd by CÆSAR; and on the decline of the Roman empire underwent the same revolutions as the neighbouring provinces, till it came to be govern'd by Counts of its own, of whom GEOFREY III, surnamed PLANTAGENET, married MAUD the Empress, daughter and heiress of HENRY I, King of England, by whom he had issue HENRY II, who inherited both England and Anjou. This Prince left three sons, viz. RICHARD, GEOFREY and JOHN. RICHARD succeeded him, who leaving no issue, and his second brother GEOFREY being dead and leaving one son named ARTHUR, this Prince ought to have inherited both England and Anjou; but his uncle JOHN, his father's younger brother, usurp'd his dominions and murder'd ARTHUR. Whereupon the French King cited JOHN the usurper before the peers of France; and on his not appearing, adjudg'd him guilty of felony and murder; for which 'twas pretended all his French dominions were forfeited, and accordingly the French King seiz'd Anjou and Normandy, and most of the territories the English had in France about the year 1202, except Guienne and Gascony, which the English remain'd possess'd of till (the reign of HENRY VI,) about the middle of the fifteenth century. Anjou was afterwards an appanage of some of the blood royal of France, and lately gave a title to the Dauphin's second son, the present King of Spain.

The ancient state of Anjou.

The trade and produce of Anjou consists in white wines, cattle, corn, fresh-water fish, hemp, flax, thread, linnen, slight woollen stuffs, dry'd sweet-meats, game, saltpetre, brandy, vinegar, prunes, honey, refin'd sugar and white wax.

Trade and produce of Anjou.

Anjou has a governour-general, a lieutenant-general, and two of the King's lieutenants; besides which, there are particular governours in La Fleche, Beaufort, Chateaugontier and Bauge.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Contains a description of the government of Saumur.

The govern-ment of Saumur.

ALTHOUGH Saumur be really in Anjou, it is nevertheless made a separate government, and comprehends part of Anjou which lies south of the Loire, and a part of the higher Poitou. The chief towns whereof are Saumur, Richelieu and Mirebeau.

Saumur city.

Saumur, *Salons Murus*, and *Salmurum*, is pleasantly situated on the river Loire, seven or eight leagues to the eastward of Angiers. It is said to be call'd *Murus* from a rock under which it stands, that resembles a wall. The castle and fortifications might render it a strong place in the last age, but rather serve for ornament than defence at present. This was one of the cautionary towns given the Protestants, and here they had an academy, where JOHN CAMERON the Scot, whose disciples from

him were called Cameronians, and many other celebrated saints of that class receiv'd their education; but being suppress'd by LEWIS XIV, in the year 1684, and a liberty of their religion deny'd them, most of the inhabitants left their country. The three parishes do not contain above five or six thousand souls, tho' before the persecution they consisted of twice the number. The principal manufactures of Saumur are the refining of sugar, and those of hard ware and toys.

This little government has its governour-general, lieutenant-governour, and King's lieutenant, independent of the governour of Anjou. Richelieu and Mirebeau have their particular governours, which towns have been already mention'd in Poitou.

The towns in the government of French Flanders have been already describ'd in treating of the Low Countries: as has the town of Dunkirk, which makes a distinct government in the French plan. The towns also in the government of Metz, Toul and Verdun, and those of Alsace having been already treated of in the description of Germany, are omitted here.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Contains an abstract of the antient history of France; together with the modern history of that kingdom.

THE limits of the antient Gaul were far more extensive than those of the present kingdom of France; comprehending on one side all the north part of Italy, namely, the territories of the King of Sardinia, of the republick of Genoa, and Lombardy: and on the other, the Low Countries, and all that part of Germany which lies to the westward of the Rhine. That part of Gaul which lay to the eastward of the Alps was by the Romans called *Gallia Cisalpina*, on account of its situation in respect of Rome; and that part of Gaul to the westward of the Alps was for the like reason denominated *Gallia Transalpina*. It is the latter of these that is the subject of the present history, and even part of this is dismember'd from modern France.

The first account we have of the Gauls which can be relied on, is from the Romans: it seems they were a brave people, had storm'd even Rome itself, and were very near putting a period to that aspiring republick. Nor did the Romans think fit to attempt the conquest of them till they had reduc'd most of the other powers in the then known world under their dominion. FULVIUS FLACCUS the consul, about an hundred and thirty years before our Saviour, first invaded the Transalpine Gauls, and five years afterwards FABIVS MAXIMUS reduc'd *Gallia Narbonensis* into the form of a Roman province. CÆSAR, after a ten years war, brought all the powers of Transalpine Gaul under

CHAP. XXXIV. under the dominion of the Romans about 48 years before Christ. He found the whole country divided into three principal parts, the first of which was inhabited by the Celtæ, the second by the Aquitains, and the third by the Belgæ. The Celtæ were the most considerable, their country extending from the Alps to the British channel. To the west of them lay the Aquitains, bordering on the Ocean and the Pyrenees; and to the north-east the Belgæ, who inhabited Picardy, Champagne, the Low Countries, and that part of Germany which lies to the westward of the Rhine. These great nations were again subdivided into a multitude of little principalities or states, who frequently united under some one head for their common defence against the Roman arms; of whom CÆSAR mentions between sixty and seventy: every great town and community he speaks of frequently as a distinct nation: as the Allobroges, the people of Savoy and Dauphiné; the Segulini, the inhabitants of the city of Segusium and the district belonging to it; the Datii, the inhabitants of the city of Dax and its territory; the Gabali, the people of Gevaudan; the Sueffiones, the inhabitants of Soissons and its district, &c.

Their language.

Religion.

The learned are not entirely agreed about the language of the Gauls, or their manners; according to CÆSAR, the Celtæ, Aquitani, and Belgæ had very little resemblance in either: while SIDONIUS is of opinion that their language was the same, and they had only different dialects. Their religion also is variously represented by the Roman authors: TULLY affirms they had none; while CÆSAR and LIVY say they worship'd a multitude of Gods; that the chief of them were MERCURY, whom they call'd Teutates; and JUPITER, whom they named Taranis or the Thunderer. They thought him best represented by the tallest oaks, the noblest productions of nature; for I don't perceive they had any images, which might occasion some of the Romans to apprehend they had no Gods. Their priests were the Druids, and as the mysteries of their religion as well as their morals and history were taught in songs; it was by the Bards, an inferior order of Druids, that their disciples were instructed. Their Vates or Eubages sacrificed animals, and foretold, or pretended to tell, future events by the disposition of their entrails; and some relate that upon extraordinary occasions they sacrificed men, to which I do not give entire credit; but if they did, 'tis no more than their politer neighbours the Romans did before them.

The term Druid is said to be deriv'd from the Celtick word Deru, which signified an oak: the mistletoe, which grew about the oak was deemed sacred as well as the tree, and directions were given as to the time and manner of gathering it. The Druids seem to have presided in civil as well as religious matters; insomuch that a malefactor could

not be executed but by their approbation; and the chief of the Druids, or the high priest, had an uncommon veneration paid him. A late French writer has pretended to collect some of the sacred rules and maxims given by the Druids to their disciples; and as they are agreeable to what we find in other authors, I shall take the liberty to recite the principal of them, tho' I will not vouch for their being genuine.

1. They directed that none should be instructed in the mysteries of their religion but in the sacred groves.

2. That mistletoe be gather'd with reverence in the sixth moon, and cut with a golden bill.

3. That care be taken in the education of children, who are to be taught that every thing is deriv'd from heaven.

4. That the Arcana of their religion and sciences be not committed to writing, but to memory.

5. They taught that the soul is immortal, and after death goes into some other body.

6. That the world will be destroy'd by fire or water.

7. That upon extraordinary emergencies men are to be sacrificed; and as the body falls or moves after it is fallen, and as the blood flows from the wound, future events may be foretold.

8. That prisoners of war are to be sacrificed on their altars.

9. That they who kill themselves to attend their friends in the next world will enjoy their conversation there.

10. That the disobedient be outlaw'd and excluded the society of men.

11. That the heads of families have sovereign power in their own houses, and may put their wives, their children and servants to death.

As to the government of the Gauls, they were divided into a multitude of little principalities and states, as has been observ'd already; every one of which had their captain or leader, who judg'd their affairs at home, and commanded their armies in the field; which officer or magistrate LIVY properly enough stiles their King, while others are very angry with him for giving him this title; because, say they, he was elective, and might be restrain'd in his power by the people, and even depos'd for male-administration. But what the prerogatives of these princes were, or what the privileges of their people, no one sure will be so arrogant to describe particularly at this day. What seems probable is, that in some of these states, the power of the Prince was more limited than in others; and perhaps in some he was under no limitations at all; as we find it is in several countries at this day, where there are a variety of little kingdoms and states.

The cloathing of the Gauls seems to differ according

CHAP. XXXIV.

Habits.

CHAP. XXXIV. According to their situation: those who liv'd on the eastern side of the Alps next the Romans were distinguish'd by the term *Togata*, as they wore gowns like the Romans; and next to them the inhabitants of Savoy, Dauphiné and Languedoc were sometimes call'd *Bracata*, from their covering their loins, or wearing something in imitation of breeches. The Celtæ also were call'd *Comata*, from their wearing long hair; but I question whether they were much better cloath'd than the Britons, because the rest of the Gauls who lay nearer the Romans seem'd to be distinguish'd from them by their being cloath'd.

Houses.

Fortifications.

Diet.

Gaul divided into provinces.

Their houses were no better than round huts cover'd with straw, which they usually built in the woods, or on the banks of rivers; and their beds were the skins of beasts. Their fortifications consisted of little more than trees cut down and form'd into a kind of wall with a trench about them. They eat bread and flesh, chiefly that which was taken in hunting; and those that border'd on Italy drank their wines: but I don't find there was any wine made in France when JULIUS CÆSAR came amongst them, though in some places they had malt liquors.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR having restor'd peace to the empire visited Gaul, which he divided into four provinces, viz. 1. *Gallia Narbonensis*, so denominated from the city of Narbon in Languedoc, which comprehended Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiné and part of Savoy. 2. *Aquitania*, so call'd from its capital the city of *Aquæ Augustæ*, now Acqu's in Guienne. It contain'd Guienne, Gascony, Querci, Xantoigne, Poitou, Perigort, Limousin, Auvergne, Bourbonnois and Berry; extending from the Pyrenees to the river Loire. 3. *Celtica*, to which he gave the name of *Lugdunensis*, from its capital Lugdunum, now Lyons; which comprehended the Lyonois and Orleanois in their largest dimensions, Tournois, Burgundy, part of Champagne, the isle of France, Britany and Normandy. 4. *Belgica*, so named from the Belgæ, which contain'd all the north-east part of Gaul, viz. Picardy, the residue of Champagne, Franche Comte, the Netherlands, and all that part of Germany which lies to the westward of the Rhine. CONSTANTINE afterwards divided Gaul into seventeen provinces or governments, viz.

| Provinces. | Capital cities. |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Narbonensis Prima</i> | Narbonne in Languedoc. |
| 2. — <i>Secunda</i> | Aix in Provence. |
| 3. <i>Viennensis</i> | Vienne in Dauphiné. |
| 4. <i>Alpes Graiæ & Peninæ</i> | Monstriers in Savoy. |
| 5. <i>Alpes Maritimæ</i> | Ambrun in Dauphiné. |
| 6. <i>Lugdunensis Prima</i> | Lyons. |
| 7. — <i>Secunda</i> | Roan in Normandy. |
| 8. — <i>Tertia</i> | Tours. |
| 9. — <i>Quarta</i> | Sens in Champagne. |
| 10. <i>Sequania</i> | Besançon in Franc. Comte |

| Provinces. | Capital cities. |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 11. <i>Aquitania Prima</i> | Bourges in Berry. |
| 12. — <i>Secunda</i> | Bordeaux. |
| 13. <i>Novem Populania</i> | Aux in Gascony. |
| 14. <i>Germania Prima</i> | Mentz. |
| 15. — <i>Secunda</i> | Cologne. |
| 16. <i>Belgica Prima</i> | Triers. |
| 17. — <i>Secunda</i> | Rheims. |

The Romans having introduc'd their laws and customs, and civiliz'd this people, continu'd to govern them about five hundred years. But in the reign of the Emperor HONORIUS, the Goths having first ravag'd Italy, settled themselves there, and in France and Spain. The Burgundians and several other northern people follow'd their steps, till at length the Franks, a German nation, subdued or drove these powers out of Gaul, giving their name to the country, which it has ever since retain'd. This great event the generality of the French historians compute to have happened about the year of our Lord 420. Since that time the crown of France has been enjoy'd by three several families, viz. the Merovignian, the Carolovignian, and the Capetine. MEROVEE, from whom the first line is denominated, according to most of their writers, was their third King, and PHARAMOND the first; but the judicious Father DANIEL justly rejects the history of their four first Kings, and seems to me to have made it very evident, that CLOVIS was the first King of the Franks who reign'd in France; and that he founded this monarchy about the year 486, which is sixty-six years after the common account. But I shall first present the reader with the ordinary tables of their several Kings reigns, and then make my remarks on such of them as most require our attention.

The first line of their kings.

A Chronological Table of the Kings of France.

The Merovignian line.

| Kings. | A. D. |
|--------------------|-------|
| 1. PHARAMOND | 418 |
| 2. CLODION | 428 |
| 3. MEROVEE | 448 |
| 4. CHILDERICK | 458 |
| 5. CLOVIS | 481 |
| 6. CHILDEBERT | 511 |
| 7. CLOTAIRE | 558 |
| 8. CHARIBERT | 561 |
| 9. CHILPERICK | 570 |
| 10. CLOTAIRE II. | 584 |
| 11. DAGOBERT | 629 |
| 12. CLOVIS II. | 638 |
| 13. CLOTAIRE III. | 655 |
| 14. CHILDERICK II. | 670 |
| 15. THIERRY | 674 |
| 16. CLOVIS III. | 691 |
| 17. CHILDEBERT II. | 695 |

| CHAP. | Kings. | A. D. |
|--------|---------------------------------|-------|
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| | 19. CHILPERICK II. — — | 716 |
| | CLOTAIRE disputed — — | 721 |
| | 20. THIERRY II. — — | 722 |
| | An interregnum. — — | |
| | 21. CHILDERICK III. — — | 743 |
| | The Carolovignian line. — — | |
| | 22. PEPIN the Short — — | 751 |
| | 23. CHARLEMAGNE — — | 768 |
| | 24. LEWIS the Pious — — | 814 |
| | 25. CHARLES the Bald — — | 840 |
| | 26. LEWIS II. — — | 877 |
| | 27. { LEWIS III. } — — | 879 |
| | { CARLOMAN } — — | |
| | 28. CHARLES III. the Gros — — | 884 |
| | 29. EUDES — — | 888 |
| | 30. CHARLES IV. the Simple — — | 893 |
| | ROBERT disputed — — | 922 |
| | 31. RODOLPH — — | 923 |
| | 32. LEWIS IV. — — | 936 |
| | 33. LOTHAIRE — — | 954 |
| | 34. LEWIS V. the Slothful — — | 986 |
| | The Capetine line. — — | |
| | 35. HUGH CAPET — — | 987 |
| | 36. ROBERT — — | 996 |
| | 37. HENRY I. — — | 1033 |
| | 38. PHILIP — — | 1060 |
| | 39. LEWIS VI. the Gros — — | 1108 |
| | 40. LEWIS VII. — — | 1137 |
| | 41. PHILIP II. the August — — | 1180 |
| | 42. LEWIS VIII. the Lion — — | 1223 |
| | 43. ST. LEWIS IX. — — | 1226 |
| | 44. PHILIP III. the Hardy — — | 1270 |
| | 45. PHILIP IV. the Fair — — | 1286 |
| | 46. LEWIS X. Hutin — — | 1314 |
| | 47. PHILIP V. — — | 1317 |
| | 48. CHARLES IV. the Fair — — | 1322 |
| | 49. PHILIP VI. of Valois — — | 1328 |
| | 50. JOHN the Good — — | 1350 |
| | 51. CHARLES V. the Wise — — | 1364 |
| | 52. CHARLES VI. — — | 1380 |
| | 53. CHARLES VII. Victorious — — | 1422 |
| | 54. LEWIS XI. — — | 1461 |
| | 55. CHARLES VIII. — — | 1483 |
| | 56. LEWIS XII. the Just — — | 1498 |
| | 57. FRANCIS I. the Great — — | 1515 |
| | 58. HENRY II. — — | 1547 |
| | 59. FRANCIS II. — — | 1559 |
| | 60. CHARLES IX. — — | 1560 |
| | 61. HENRY III. — — | 1574 |
| | 62. HENRY IV. — — | 1589 |
| | 63. LEWIS XIII. — — | 1610 |
| | 64. LEWIS XIV. — — | 1643 |
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This table begins with PHARAMOND, to whom succeeded CLODION, MEROVEE and CHILDERICK: but Father DANIEL shews that these Princes only made irruptions into Gaul out of

Germany from time to time; that none of them fix'd their residence in Gaul, but being content with plunder, or beaten back by the Romans, return'd to their habitations on the other side of the Rhine, till CLOVIS passing this river at the head of a numerous army, laid the foundation of the French monarchy, in the fifth year of his reign, and the twentieth of his age, anno 486.

At the time of this expedition of CLOVIS, Gaul was divided between the Romans, the Visigoths and the Burgundians. The Roman territories comprehended almost all the provinces which lie between the Rhine, the Ocean and the Loire. The Burgundians possess'd the countries between the Saone and the Rhone, and several towns on both sides those rivers, as Lyons, Vienne, Geneva. The Visigoths possess'd all the rest of the country from the Alps to the Pyrenees, which lie to the southward of the Loire. THEODORICK, King of the Ostrogoths, or eastern Goths, was at this time King of Italy, and the Visigoths had the dominion of great part of Spain.

While the affairs of Europe were in this situation, CLOVIS pass'd the Rhine with a formidable army, bending his march directly for Soissons, the capital of the Roman territories in Gaul, where SIAGRIUS the Roman governour then resided. SIAGRIUS drew together all the forces he could assemble to oppose his march; but having the misfortune to be defeated, fled to ALARICK King of the Visigoths, or western Goths, for protection; who deliver'd him to CLOVIS, and he was not long after beheaded: whereupon most of the towns in the Roman government made their submission to the conqueror.

While CLOVIS was settling his new acquir'd dominions, the King of Thuringia fell upon his territories in Germany, and obliged him to repass the Rhine; but having defeated his enemies on that side, he return'd to Soissons in triumph; after which he endeavour'd to strengthen himself by alliances, and married CLOTILDA the niece of GOUDEBAND King of Burgundy; which Princess being a christian, gave him a favourable opinion of that persuasion. However, they tell us, he deferr'd the declaring himself a christian, till being engaged in a desperate battle with the Alemanni, who had invaded his country, he vow'd he would become a christian, if heaven should grant him the victory: which happening to fall on his side, he made no delay to perform his vow, but was baptiz'd at Rheims on his return, with three thousand of his officers and great men. But whatever was the occasion of his conversion, his professing christianity procur'd him the affections of his new subjects the Gauls, who were at this time generally christians: and perhaps the reason that none of his predecessors could fix their thrones here, was the difference of religion between them and the Gauls; for

The state of Gaul when the Franks conquered it.

The march of Clovis against the Romans.

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CLOVIS died at Paris in November 511, being the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign, leaving four sons behind him, viz. **THIERRY**, **CLODOMIR**, **CHILDEBERT** and **CLOTAIRE**, who divided his dominions between them; **CHILDEBERT** was King of Paris, **CLODOMIR** of Orleans, **CLOTAIRE** of Soissons, and **THIERRY**, the eldest, who had the largest share, was King of Austrasia, or eastern France, between the Rhine and the Meuse, the capital whereof was Metz in Lorrain. He possess'd also several other provinces of France, and all that belong'd to the Franks in Germany to the eastward of the Rhine. In the reign of these Princes Gaul obtain'd the name of France. The Visigoths were at this time in the possession of Spain and South France, and their King **ALARICK** being a minor, **THEODORICK** King of the East Goths in Italy took upon him the guardianship and protection of that Prince, who was the son of his daughter and of **ALARICK** their late King. This re-union of all the Gothick nations under one head, render'd them very formidable to France on the south, as the Danes and Normans now begun to be towards the north.

CLODOMIR being kill'd in a battle against the Burgundians, his three brothers shared his kingdom

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The Goths still made further efforts for restoring their affairs in Italy upon **BELISARIUS**'s retiring to Constantinople, and having elected the famous **TOTILA** for their King, recover'd great part

CHAP. part of the country from the Romans: among the
XXXIV. rest, Rome it self was twice storm'd and taken.

Hereupon the Emperor sent his General NARSES into Italy, who defeated TOTILA, and kill'd him in the field of battle; and after him TEIAS, whom the Goths chose for King in his room: whereby he oblig'd them to abandon Italy, and promise never to return thither again. All the Goths however did not leave the country, but call'd in the French to their assistance, who passing the Alps with a vast army, laid Italy waste from one end to the other, till they were met by NARSES the Imperial general, and entirely defeated. The plague happening among their forces at the same time, very few of the French liv'd to return home. In the mean time THEODEBALD King of Austrasia died without issue, and CLOTAIRE King of Soissons, his great uncle, seiz'd upon his dominions, without suffering his brother CHILDEBERT to share any part of them with him, which occasion'd a war between them: but CHILDEBERT King of Paris dying in the year 558, CLOTAIRE thereby became sole master of the French Empire. He enjoy'd it about a year, when a fever put an end to his life, in the fifty-first year of his reign, leaving four sons, viz. CHILPERICK, CHARIBERT, GONTRAN and SIGEBERT.

The French Empire united in one head.

Divided again into four kingdoms.

CHILPERICK succeeded to the kingdom of Soissons; CHARIBERT to that of Paris; GOUTRAN to Orleans with Burgundy, which thereupon obtain'd the name of the kingdom of Burgundy again; and SIGEBERT to Austrasia.

NARSES having driven both the Goths and the French out of Italy, govern'd that country in peace till the death of the Emperor JUSTINIAN, which happen'd about the year 566, when being recall'd by his successor the Emperor JUSTIN, and treated with indignity by the Empress SOPHIA, NARSES was so provok'd by this usage, that in revenge he invited the Lombards, another tribe of the northern people, into Italy. ALBOIN their King, who had formerly serv'd in Italy under NARSES against the Goths, and was acquainted with the beauty and fertility of the country, very readily accepted the proposal; and being join'd by a good body of Saxons, march'd into the Milanese, making almost an entire conquest of Italy: after which he march'd into Savoy and Dauphiné, and struck a terror into the Kings of France.

CHARIBERT King of Paris dying, his territories were divided amongst his three surviving brothers, but in a very odd manner, according to the custom of those times; for each brother had a share in almost every province, and in every city of his dominions; each of them had his share in the capital city of Paris itself: which occasion'd frequent disputes and misunderstandings between them, and sometimes an open war, as it happen'd in the year 575, when SIGEBERT King of Austra-

CHAP. sia having beaten his brother CHILPERICK out of the field, and forc'd him to shut himself up in Tournay, was kill'd by an assassin as he was carrying on the siege of that town. CHILDEBERT the son of SIGEBERT succeeded his father in the kingdom of Austrasia, between whom, and his uncle CHILPERICK King of Soissons, there were almost continual wars, till CHILPERICK was assassinated in his turn, and left his kingdom of Soissons to his son CLOTAIRE, an infant, whom his uncle GONTRAN King of Burgundy took under his protection: and clapping up a peace with his other nephew CHILDEBERT King of Austrasia, the French Kings enter'd into a war with the Visigoths of Languedoc and Spain on the one hand, and with the Lombards of Italy on the other, with various success; tho' in the end the French historians relate, that the Burgundians agreed to pay the French an annual tribute in acknowledgment of their dependance on them. These wars being ended, the French Kings liv'd at peace among themselves and with their neighbours about four years, when GONTRAN King of Burgundy died without issue, in March, 593, leaving the greatest part of his dominions to his nephew CHILDEBERT, King of Austrasia: so that at this time we find the French dominions divided between CLOTAIRE, King of Soissons and Neustria, and CHILDEBERT, King of Austrasia and Burgundy, the latter of which Princes had large dominions to the eastward of the Rhine, in Germany, Hungary, &c. The kingdom of Paris was neither divided or long possess'd by the one or the other, but occasion'd several wars between these Princes and their successors, and the towns and territories frequently chang'd their masters, as the one or the other met with success.

CHILDEBERT King of Austrasia died in the year 596, leaving issue two sons, to the eldest of whom named THEODEBERT he left the kingdom of Austrasia, and to THIERRY the youngest that of Burgundy: the latter resided at Orleans, making this city the capital of his dominions. These two young Princes confederating together, took from CLOTAIRE King of Neustria great part of his territories, and afterwards carried their arms into Spain, making the Gascons beyond the Pyrenees tributary to them. But falling out among themselves, THIERRY obtain'd a decisive victory over THEODEBERT, took him prisoner with his son, and put them to death; uniting thereby the kingdom of Austrasia to that of Burgundy: but dying soon after, and leaving four sons infants behind him, and his kingdoms in some distraction, CLOTAIRE King of Soissons and Neustria took advantage of the opportunity, seiz'd upon his dominions, and murder'd two of his sons; another of them escaped and was never heard of more; and of MEROVEE the fourth, 'tis said, he had

CHAP. XXXIV.

HAP. had some compassion, because he had stood god-
 XXIV. father to him, and this young Prince liv'd a con-
 siderable time as a private man; so that now the
 French dominions were again united under one
 head. CLOTAIRE had the good fortune to die
 a natural death, and leave his dominions entire
 to his son DAGOBERT, whom he had before
 made viceroy, or, as some say, King of Austrasia.
 He left indeed another son named CHARIBERT, to
 whom his brother assigned the kingdom of Aquitain:
 but he died soon after without issue, and
 DAGOBERT remain'd sole monarch of the French
 Empire. He resided for the most part at his capital
 city of Paris, and was a Prince pretty much
 devoted to pleasure, having three wives at the
 same time, to whom he gave the title of Queens,
 and a numerous herd of concubines, who drew
 him into many extravagancies, and occasion'd his
 oppressing his subjects with heavy taxes, tho' at
 the beginning of his reign he was esteem'd one of
 the best Princes that had sat upon the throne.
 While he was thus diverting himself with his women
 at Paris, his frontiers in Germany were attack'd
 by the northern nations, and his forces defeated
 in several battles, with whom he was glad to clap
 up a peace on such terms as he could obtain. The
 Duke or Count of Britany also invaded his territories,
 but the differences between them were accommodated,
 and he died in peace in the year 638, leaving two
 sons minors, (viz.) CLOVIS II, to whom he gave the
 kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy; and SIGEBERT II,
 whom he constituted King of Austrasia. In the reign
 of these infant Princes it was that the Mayors of the
 palace, or prime ministers of the French, begun to
 assume sovereign power, allowing their Kings little
 more than the name of Royalty. EGA was now Mayor
 of the palace to the King of Neustria, and PEPIN to
 the King of Austrasia, the grandfather of the famous
 PEPIN, who shew'd his posterity the way to depose
 their sovereigns and usurp their thrones, and from
 whom the second line of the French Kings descended,
 generally called the Carolovignian line, from CHARLEMAGNE
 or CHARLES the Great. PEPIN dying two years after
 DAGOBERT, his son GRIMOALD succeed'd him in the
 office of Mayor of the palace in Austrasia. This
 gentleman had so much address, that he prevail'd
 upon the young King to promise him that his son
 should succeed him in the throne if he had none of
 his own; and tho' the King liv'd a considerable
 time afterwards, and had a son, yet was he so weak
 as to commit him to the care of this GRIMOALD,
 which, in the words of my author, was to deliver
 him up to the discretion of an ambitious wretch,
 who had already a design upon the crown. SIGEBERT
 died about the year 655, of whom the French historians
 give us no other account than that he was a devout
 Prince,

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and founded several churches and monasteries, and
 had variety of women about him; which was
 scarce deem'd a vice in those days. GRIMOALD
 it seems had not so much cruelty in his nature as
 to murder his son DAGOBERT, but privately convey'd
 the infant into Scotland, where he hoped he never
 would be heard of more; after which he crown'd
 his own son CHILDEBERT King of Austrasia,
 under pretence that the late King SIGEBERT
 had adopted him his successor.

CLOVIS, whom their historians also make an
 indolent Prince, did not long survive his brother:
 he left three sons behind him, viz. CLOTAIRE III.
 CHILDERICK and THIERRY; of whom CLOTAIRE
 the eldest succeeded him in the kingdoms of Neustria
 and Burgundy; and the grandees in Austrasia
 refusing to be govern'd by the usurper CHILDEBERT
 the son of GRIMOALD, found means to depose him
 and place CHILDERICK the second son of CLOVIS
 upon the throne. GRIMOALD was taken and carried
 to Paris, where he died in prison. As to THIERRY
 the third son of CLOVIS II, I don't find he had
 any share assign'd him in the French territories
 at first.

EBROIN was constituted Mayor of the palace,
 or prime minister, to CLOTAIRE III, King of
 Neustria; of whom the French historians give the
 following character, that he equally exposed to
 false justice and injustice for a price, that he
 burthened the people with taxes, abused the nobility,
 and would condemn and banish persons of the
 highest quality for trifles. Of CLOTAIRE the French
 historians say very little more than that he died
 about the year 663, without issue, and that there-
 upon his dominions devolv'd upon CHILDERICK
 King of Austrasia, and the French Empire became
 united again under one head. CHILDERICK be-
 having himself in an insolent tyrannical manner
 towards the nobility, was assassinated with his
 Queen, who was big with child, and one of their
 sons: the other escap'd and shut himself up in a
 monastery for several years, tho' he afterwards
 found means to ascend the throne of his ancestors.
 Upon the death of CHILDERICK, THIERRY the
 third brother was declar'd King of Neustria
 and Burgundy; but EBROIN, formerly Mayor of
 the palace, repair'd to Austrasia and set up an
 impostor against him, with whom he return'd
 into Neustria at the head of a very great army,
 plunder'd Paris, and oblig'd THIERRY to make
 him Mayor of the palace again: whereupon he
 deserted the pretended King he had set up, and
 the Dukes PEPIN and MARTIN were constituted
 Dukes or Governours of the kingdom of Austrasia.
 MARTIN dying soon after, PEPIN became the
 sole Duke of Austrasia, being the same who in
 history is call'd PEPIN the Great, on the account
 of his stature, being short and thick.

EBROIN, Mayor of the palace to THIERRY,
 D d d d having

EBroin,
 Mayor of
 the palace.

The French
 Empire again
 united under
 one head in
 Childerick,
 anno 663.

CHAP. XXXIV. having tyranniz'd over the French nobility four or five and twenty years, so provok'd some of them at length, that he was assassinated; after whose death **THIERRY** had several other Mayors, and particularly one named **GISLEMAR**, who made war upon Duke **PEPIN** in Austrasia, but not meeting with success, **PEPIN** soon after return'd his visit, and entering Neustria, came before Paris, which city open'd her gates to him, delivering up the King and Court into his hands: whereupon the regal power in Neustria, Burgundy, and Austrasia became vested in **PEPIN**, who govern'd them under the title of Mayor of the palace, leaving **THIERRY** no more than the empty name of King, the ensigns of authority, and a suitable equipage. **PEPIN** endeavour'd to render himself popular by his wise regulations in church and state, and defending the frontiers against the Spaniards and Saxons, in which he met with success beyond his expectations. In the mean time **THIERRY** died, which made little alteration in the state of affairs. He left two sons behind him, viz. **CLOVIS** and **CHILDEBERT**; **PEPIN** caus'd **CLOVIS** to be proclaim'd King, who dying after a reign of five years, he gave **CHILDEBERT** the title, of whom the French historians say little more than that he liv'd sixteen or seventeen years after his brother; for neither the one or the other had any share in the administration, this was left entirely to the Mayor of the palace. **PEPIN** it seems had two sons of his own, **DROGON** and **GRIMOALD**: the first he made Duke of Burgundy, and the other Mayor of the palace to the King, reserving the duchy of Austrasia to himself, which he govern'd as an absolute sovereign, and not as viceroy to the French King; and in the same manner his son **DROGON** govern'd Burgundy. **CHILDEBERT** being dead, **PEPIN** thought fit to advance his son **DAGOBERT** to the throne, who made the same figure his predecessors had done. The French historians observe, that we hear no more of this line of their Kings for the last hundred years than their advancement to the throne and their deaths. But these Mayors of the palace met with many mortifications before they could establish their usurpation, **PEPIN** saw both his sons **DROGON** and **GRIMOALD** murder'd by the nobility, who could not bear to be tyranniz'd over by their fellow-subjects. Whereupon **PEPIN** made his grandson **THEOBALD** Mayor of the palace and governor of the King, tho' he was but an infant; but he died before he could accomplish his principal project of settling the crown in his family.

After the death of **PEPIN**, **THEOBALD** his grandson continued mayor of the palace for some time, under the direction of **PLECTRUDE** his grandmother, **PEPIN**'s relict; but an Empire of this extent could not be govern'd long by an old woman and an infant, who had neither of them

any pretence to the crown. An insurrection was form'd against them in Neustria, and they were driven from the palace, **RAINFRY** being made Mayor of the palace in the room of **THEOBALD**. In the mean time **CHARLES MARTEL** son of **PEPIN** by a second venter, and who had been imprison'd by **PLECTRUDE**, made his escape into Austrasia, where he was joyfully receiv'd as their Duke and successor of **PEPIN**.

DAGOBERT III, having borne the name of King for about five years, died, whereupon the Neustrians set **CHILPERICK II** upon the throne. He was one of the sons of **CHILDERICK II**, who had escap'd from the persons that were to have murder'd him, as has been related above, and had been shut up in a monastery till now. This Prince the Neustrians thought fit to prefer to **THIERRY** the son of **DAGOBERT** on account of **THIERRY**'s being an infant, and probably they were not unacquainted with his abilities, and hoped he would rescue both himself and them from the tyranny of the Mayors of the palace, and bring things into their antient legal channel; for, says my author, the French Lords made **RAINFRY** the Mayor of the palace yield him the command of the army, where he always behav'd himself with conduct and bravery becoming a Prince, till adverse fortune and the violence of his enemy depriv'd him of the liberty of acting: he ought not therefore to be reckon'd in the number of their slothful indolent Kings. He made an alliance with the Duke of Frize, and invaded Austrasia, of which **CHARLES MARTEL** had assum'd the government. The war was carried on for some time with various success, and several obstinate battles fought between the contending parties; but fortune did not favour **CHILPERICK** in the end, he was defeated and made prisoner by **CHARLES MARTEL**, who thereupon set **THIERRY** the son of **DAGOBERT II** upon the throne, and constituted himself Mayor of the palace, in which station he took all occasions to make himself popular. He was now peaceably possessed of all the French dominions as Duke of Austrasia and Mayor of the palace to **THIERRY**, and finding himself in this situation, he attack'd the German nations who had shaken off the French yoke, and sent missionaries amongst them to instruct them in the doctrines of Christianity; protecting Bishop **BONIFACE**, whom Pope **GREGORY II** had sent thither on the same design. In the mean time **Eudes** Duke of Aquitaine confederating with the Saracens, who had at this time possess'd themselves of great part of Spain and Languedoc, march'd into the heart of France with a prodigious army, threatening destruction not only to France, but to all Christendom. Whereupon **CHARLES MARTEL** assembled all the forces he could muster both in Austrasia and Neustria, and gave them battle, obtaining a compleat victory

Pepin usurps the sovereign power, anno 663, and leaves the King only his title.

Charles Martel, Duke of Austrasia, 716.

Chilperick II King of Neustria, 716.

Charles Martel makes himself Mayor of the palace.

CHAP. XXXIV. victory over the infidels, killing three hundred thousand of their men and upwards, according to the French historians; which made him esteem'd the hero of the age, not only in France, but in all the neighbouring nations. The Pope especially, who had felt the fury of the Saracens in Italy, became his fast friend upon this great event, and look'd upon him as the protector of Christendom. From this victory, 'tis said, he obtain'd the surname of MARTEL, having as it were with a hammer (Marteau) beaten the Saracens to pieces. While his fame was thus at the height, THIERRY, who had borne the name of King for some years, happened to die: whereupon CHARLES thinking himself establish'd in his power, and at liberty to erect what sort of government he saw fit, took upon himself the title of Duke of All France, without supplying the vacant throne even with a nominal King. It appears however, notwithstanding the great defeat of the Saracens above-mention'd, that they continued in possession of part of Languedoc and Provence, and maintain'd the war against CHARLES MARTEL for several years afterwards, and that he was not able to take Narbonne from them at last; which would incline one to believe, that the victory above-mention'd was not so compleat as the French writers pretend. Indeed there are frequent instances throughout their whole history, where according to their own accounts they have made an entire conquest of their enemies, and subdued their territories; and yet immediately after such relations we find them still in the possession of those Princes they pretend to have taken them from, even in the very same authors. If the French have a great deal of wit, they have certainly very little memory, or they would not write flat contradictions so often as they do. Another thing to be observ'd is, that they are very good at working up a novel; where they meet with a chasm in history, they never fail to supply it out of their own brains, adding and altering circumstances at their pleasure. Therefore as the history of the times we are speaking of, is in general extremely dark and confus'd, I look upon that of France to be less depended on than any other: where it is not supported by the concurrent testimony of other nations, it must be read with abundance of caution. But to proceed in our history.

The Pope having quarrel'd with the Emperor LEO ISAURIUS, on account of his breaking down the images of the Saints in churches, and prohibiting the adoration of them; and LUITPRAND King of the Lombards falling upon his Holiness at the same time, he had no other refuge to fly to but the heroick CHARLES MARTEL, to whom he sent a solemn embassy, inviting him into Italy, promising to proclaim him Consul and Sovereign of Rome, and to renounce

his allegiance to the Emperor, whom he calls the author of the heresy of the Iconoclasts, or Image-breakers, and a persecutor of the Catholics. But whilst CHARLES was preparing to enter Italy with a powerful army, he fell ill of a fever, and died in the fiftieth year of his age, anno 741; and the Pope and the Emperor it seems died the same year. CHARLES MARTEL used no other stile in all publick instruments than that of, Mayor of the palace, to which he added the epithet Illustrious, as the Kings of the first family had done. He permitted foreign Princes to stile him Viceroy and Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom. Historians sometimes call him Duke, and at others, Prince of France; also Consul and Patrician: and in his epitaph he is stiled King. He left three sons, two by his first wife, viz. CARLOMAN and PEPIN, and one by his second, call'd GRIFON; but he divided his territories between the two former. To CARLOMAN the eldest, he gave Austrasia and his German dominions; and to PEPIN, Neustria, Burgundy and Provence. PEPIN, for what reason does not appear, was pleased to set up another cypher of a King named CHILDERICK, who was of the royal family, but of what branch remains uncertain. He was declar'd King only of PEPIN's part of the Empire, but not of Austrasia, which was govern'd by CARLOMAN, as Duke, in his own right. The two brothers soon found their frontiers attack'd both on the side of Aquitaine and Germany; but uniting their forces, they were every where victorious, and became very terrible to their enemies. In the midst of this success CARLOMAN thought fit to relinquish the sovereignty of Austrasia, and retire into a monastery at Mount Soracte, whereby his brother PEPIN became possess'd of the whole French Empire; but still he wanted the title of King, which he was ambitious of. To prepare his way to the throne, he courted the clergy, nobility, and people, and omitted nothing that might render him popular; but the principal stratagem, which removed all obstacles, was the getting Pope ZACHARY into his measures. He consulted him in all things relating to ecclesiastical affairs, and caus'd his determinations to be read in council, and receiv'd with the greatest deference. On the other hand, the Pope being every day harass'd by the Lombards or Saracens, and detested by the Emperor CONSTANTIUS COPRONYMUS, who was as zealous against the worship of images, as his predecessor LEO ISAURIUS, was very glad of PEPIN's friendship to support him against those powers, and ready to grant whatever he could ask. In this juncture, PEPIN resolv'd to communicate to him his design of assuming the title of King of France, and to desire his approbation of it. Nay, 'tis said, he sent a formal embassy to the Pope, and propos'd it as a case of conscience,

CHAP. XXXIV. Martel dies anno 741.

The government divided between Car-
loman and
Pepin, the
sons of
Martel.

Childerick
set up for
King, anno
741.

CHAP. Whether considering the situation of affairs then
 XXXIV. in Europe, it was proper for the title of King to
 be separated from the royal power in the Empire
 of France, which alone was in a condition to pro-
 tect religion? To which the Pope answer'd,
 That in regard to the state of affairs, he who was
 in possession of the power, might add the title of
 King to it. Which determination of his Holiness
 remov'd the objections of the most scrupulous of
 the French nation. Whereupon they unanimously
 agreed to depose King CHILDERICK, and make a
 Monk of him, and crown their favourite PEPIN.
 And to make the ceremony more solemn and sig-
 nificant, the famous Bishop BONIFACE, who
 had been employ'd in the conversion of the Saxons,
 and was esteem'd the greatest Saint of the age,
 was pitch'd upon to consecrate the hero, and set
 the crown upon his head.

The Pope
 approves of
 the King's
 being depo-
 sed, and Pe-
 pin's usurp-
 ing the
 crown.
 P. pin
 cr. wn'd,
 anno 751.

Pope ZACHARY dying soon after the corona-
 tion of PEPIN, was succeeded by STEPHEN III.
 About the same time ASTOLPHUS, King of Lom-
 bardy, took Ravenna from the Emperor, which
 was the capital of the Exarchate in Italy, and by
 virtue of this conquest claim'd the sovereignty of
 Rome itself: whereupon the Pope retir'd into
 France, and put himself under the protection of
 King PEPIN; where, meeting with a favourable
 reception, he persuaded PEPIN to declare war a-
 gainst the King of the Lombards. And to encour-
 age him in this enterprize, he again consecrated
 him with his own hands, conferring on him the
 title of, Protector and Defender of the Church.
 PEPIN hereupon marched with a great army into
 Italy, and having defeated ASTOLPHUS, and
 recover'd the Exarchate of Ravenna out of his
 hands, he made a grant of it to the Pope, where-
 by he became a considerable temporal Prince. The
 rest of King PEPIN's reign was taken up with
 suppressing insurrections in Germany and France,
 in both which he was successful, and having
 entirely reduc'd the duchy of Aquitain, reunited
 it to the crown of France. Soon after which he
 was taken ill of a dropsy, and died on the 23d day
 of September, 768, in the fifty-fifth year of his
 age. He left behind him two sons, viz. CHARLES,
 afterwards call'd CHARLEMAGNE or CHARLES
 the Great, and CARLOMAN. To the first he
 gave the kingdom of Neustria, Burgundy, Aquitain,
 and that part of the kingdom of Austrasia,
 which lay to the westward of the Meuse; and to
 CARLOMAN the youngest, he gave the rest of
 Austrasia and all his territories beyond the Rhine.

He conquers
 the Exar-
 chate of
 Ravenna,
 and gives it
 to the Pope,
 anno 755.

Pe pin leaves
 his domini-
 ons to his
 two sons
 Charles and
 Carloman,

CHARLES at the beginning of his reign enter'd
 into an alliance with the King of Lombardy, and
 to cement it the stronger, married his daughter,
 tho' he was before married to another woman,
 and this expressly against the consent of the Pope;
 so far was he from suing for a licence for it: nor
 was any thing more common among the French

Princes at this time of day, than to put away one CHA-
 wife, and take another, whenever their interest XXXIV
 or pleasure prompted them to it, without the ce-
 remony of a formal divorce.

CARLOMAN King of Austrasia, died in the Charles
 year 771, leaving a widow and two sons. The seizes the
 Queen being apprehensive, that her brother heritance o.
 CHARLES would seize her person and her chil- his brother
 dren, and force them into a monastery, fled to children;
 DIDIER, King of Lombardy, for protection. and become
 Hither he pursued them, being encouraged by A- sole King
 DRIAN I, then Pope of Rome, who dreaded no- France, an
 thing more than the King of Lombardy. CHARLES no 771.
 or CHARLEMAGNE, as I shall call him for the
 future, easily defeated DIDIER, and made a con-
 quest of two thirds of Italy, leaving the Greek Conquers
 Emperor only in possession of Venice, Naples and Lombardy.
 Sicily. As to DIDIER, he shav'd his head and
 shut him up in a monastery, adding to his other
 titles that of King of Lombardy. He visited
 the Pope at Rome, where he was received in tri-
 umph; and 'tis said, confirm'd the grant of the
 Exarchate of Ravenna to his Holiness, which
 PEPIN had made the Holy See.

This Prince having settled his Affairs in Italy, His war
 was call'd into Germany by the revolts of the with the
 Saxons. According to the French, he gain'd num- Saxons.
 berless victories over that people, but was no
 sooner remov'd at a distance from their frontiers,
 than they renounc'd his authority, and had re-
 course to arms, defeating his forces in several en-
 counters; which provok'd him to that degree,
 that besides the many thousands he had destroy'd
 of them in the field of battle, he order'd four thou-
 sand five hundred of the chief men of the country
 to be executed in cold blood, which serv'd but to
 exasperate that people the more, who maintain'd
 the war against him for thirty years and upwards.
 However, by erecting fortresses, by destroying
 their country by fire and sword, and the terrible
 executions he made of the revoltors, he compell'd
 them to be quiet sometimes for a year or two,
 when he carried his arms into Bavaria, Hungary
 and Sclavonia on the one hand, and into Spain on
 the other, enlarging the bounds of his Empire on
 every side. He had at this time three sons, viz.
 PEPIN by a former Queen, who seems to have
 been in disgrace with his father; another PEPIN,
 and LEWIS by his present Queen, the first of
 whom he created King of Lombardy, and the last
 King of Aquitain; which so provok'd the eldest
 PEPIN, that he enter'd into a conspiracy against
 his father, who was so fortunate however to dis-
 cover it; and having executed his accomplices,
 imprison'd his son PEPIN the elder in a monastery.
 TUSSILON, Duke of Bavaria, also being con-
 demn'd in a council at Francfort for his revolts,
 and oblig'd to make a formal renunciation of that
 duchy, CHARLEMAGNE united it to his domi-
 nions.

CHAP. XXXIV. nions. Still the Saxons gave him fresh disturbance ; he refused to pardon them therefore but upon these two conditions, 1. That they should receive the Christian priests and missionaries amongst them whom they had expell'd. And, 2. That one third of them should be transplanted to some distant country : to both which they were oblig'd to submit.

From Saxony **CHARLEMAGNE** went to Italy, to do justice to Pope **LEO** the third, who had been depos'd by **PASCHAL** and **CAMNUTE**, two nephews of the preceding Pope, and forc'd to fly into France ; and, if we may credit the French historians, had his eyes and tongue pull'd out. But as it is certain, that this Pope both saw and spoke afterwards, few people give entire credit to the latter part of the relation. **CHARLEMAGNE** having examin'd into the insults that had been committed on his Holiness, whose enemies charg'd him with the most scandalous crimes, in order to justify their conduct, he condemn'd the late Pope's nephews to death, who were the authors of these outrages ; but at the instance of Pope **LEO**, 'tis said, their punishment was turned into banishment.

The Pope in gratitude to **CHARLEMAGNE** for restoring him to his See, determin'd to confer on him the title of Emperor, and without his knowledge, as the historians of those times affirm. While **CHARLEMAGNE** was on his knees at mass in St. Peter's church at Rome on Christmas-day, anno 800, he placed a crown upon his head ; whereupon the whole chapter and people cry'd out, as they had been taught no doubt, God bless **CHARLES AUGUSTUS**, crown'd by the hand of God, life and victory to the grand and pacifick Emperor of the Romans ! After which **CHARLEMAGNE** being plac'd on a throne, the Pope came and paid his reverences to him, saluting him as Emperor of Rome, and presenting him with the Imperial habit. And tho' **CHARLEMAGNE** pretended he knew nothing of the Pope's design of crowning him Emperor, it appears that he was very well pleas'd with the honour afterwards, and expected to be treated accordingly.

The King of Persia a little before this having made himself master of Jerusalem, granted it to **CHARLEMAGNE** ; and a priest named **ZACHARIAS**, brought a banner and the keys of the city to that Prince, whereby he was ceremoniously put into possession of it, which gave occasion to the fabulous account of **CHARLEMAGNE**'s march to the Holy-land, and his conquering Jerusalem. But to proceed : **CHARLEMAGNE** being now Emperor of the west, began to think of reducing the rest of Italy to his obedience, which was in the possession of the Greeks. This the Empress **IRENE** endeavour'd to prevent ; but despairing of defending it by force, she sent an embassy to

CHARLEMAGNE to propose a marriage between them, by way of amusement, as 'tis generally thought.

This Empress had put out the eyes of her son **CONSTANTINE**, who dying soon after of the wounds, caus'd herself to be proclaim'd Empress. **CHARLEMAGNE** however finding it an advantageous proposal, and that he might by closing with it unite the Empires of the east and west in his own person, receiv'd her Embassadors with all imaginable honours, and sent another embassy to Constantinople, with powers to conclude the match. The Pope, to whom the Emperor communicated the affair, readily came into it, and did all that was in his power to promote it, not doubting but by this means he should have had an opportunity of modelling the Greek church, and making it conformable to the Latin. But the Grandees of Constantinople apprehending they should be look'd upon as subjects and dependants of the Roman Empire, both in spirituals and temporals, depos'd the Empress **IRENE** in that very instant, and proclaim'd **NICEPHORUS** the Patriarch, Emperor. **CHARLEMAGNE** finding the thing was become impracticable, and that the Germans were again in arms, and his presence requir'd on that side, accepted of the proposals of peace that were made him by **NICEPHORUS**, and consented to settle the limits of their respective Empires in Italy.

CHARLEMAGNE being arrived in Germany, and finding the Saxons were never to be tamed while they remain'd in a condition to disturb him, order'd ten thousand families of them to be transplanted to the westward of the Rhine, and brought other people to supply their places. He decreed also, that none of those who continu'd in Saxony should for the future inherit the estates of their ancestors if they were found disaffected to his government. And by this means, 'tis said, he entirely put an end to the revolts of that people.

And now finding himself peaceably establish'd in his Empire, he called a general Diet at Thionville in Luxemburg, where he divided his dominions between his three sons, **CHARLES**, **PEPIN** and **LEWIS**, reserving however the supreme command in the whole to himself. **PEPIN** had Italy, **LEWIS** Aquitain, and **CHARLES**, who was generally near his father's person, had the superintendency of the rest. Each of these Princes had their hands full for the most part. The Greeks and the Saracens attack'd **PEPIN**'s territories in Italy ; the Saracens of Spain were perpetually breaking in upon Aquitain ; and the Danes and Normans entered Germany, defeated the Emperor's troops, and recover'd great part of the country from him : and had not **GODFREY** King of Denmark been assassinated, **CHARLEMAGNE** would have found it very difficult to remove them ; but

CHAP. XXXIV.

Irene usurps the Empire of the east.

Charlemagne crown'd Emperor of the Romans, anno 800.

Charlemagne divides his Empire between his three sons, anno 803.

CHAP. but upon the death of this Prince, the Danes re-
XXXIV. imbark'd their troops and return'd home.

PEPIN, King of Italy, dying in the year 810, left one son named BERNARD, and five daughters; whereupon the Emperor constituted his grandson BERNARD King of Italy: but we are to remember, that his territories consisted only of part of Italy; for the Emperor of the east was still master of Venice, Naples, Sicily, and part of Sardinia. In the year 812, the Emperor lost his eldest son CHARLES; and having only LEWIS, King of Aquitaine left, of all the sons he design'd should succeed to his dominions, he associated him with him in the Empire, and caus'd him to be crown'd at Aix la Chapelle, the place of the Emperor's usual residence. The Emperor had many other sons, and some of them elder than any of those above-mention'd: but the French Sovereigns took the liberty in those days of appointing whom they pleased their successors. Sometimes they married women of an inferior rank; and this was thought reason sufficient to set aside their children. At others, a second, third, or fourth wife got the ascendant of the old doating Prince, made him divorce his former wife, and declare all his elder children incapable of inheriting; got them shav'd and thrust into a monastery, and perhaps assassinated.

Charlemagne's death and character.

CHARLEMAGNE died the latter end of January, 814, in the seventy-first year of his age, and forty-seventh of his reign, (as King) and fourteen after his being crown'd Emperor. His piety and virtue are much cried up by the French historians, tho' at the same time the facts related of him by those very writers must give us an indifferent idea of this Prince. Even his planting the christian religion in Saxony, which is esteem'd so very meritorious, if we consider with what injustice and cruelty it was effected, will perfectly efface the merit of it. The Turks may have an equal claim to piety, who plant their religion wherever they come with their scymeters, and water it with the blood of the conquer'd.

Lewis his son succeeds him in the Empire, anno 814.

LEWIS, surnam'd the Godly, succeeded his father CHARLEMAGNE in the Empire, and his nephew BERNARD did homage to him for the kingdom of Italy. The Pope also made the Romans take an oath of fealty to the Emperor, and came into France to crown him and the Empress HERMINGARDE with his own hand. In the year 817 the Emperor associated his eldest son LOTHAIRE with him in the Empire: his second son PEPIN he constituted King of Aquitaine; and LEWIS the youngest, King of Bavaria. At the same time his nephew BERNARD, King of Italy, rais'd a rebellion against him; but the Emperor took him prisoner and bor'd out his eyes, of which he died soon after, and Italy was re-united to the French Empire. This punishment of boring out the eyes of rival or rebellious princes was become

very common in France about this time. They are suppos'd to have learn'd it of the Grecian Emperors, with whom they were pretty conversant.

The Saracens in the year 828 were very successful against both the western and eastern Emperor's dominions. From the French they took several places in Spain and South France, and from the Greeks the island of Sicily; but what distracted the affairs of the Emperor LEWIS most, was his marriage with a second wife by whom he had children; and as he had parcel'd out all his dominions amongst his sons by the first venter, the present Empress was ever soliciting him to revoke what he had done, and make some provision for her issue. The old Emperor was ready to comply with her; but it coming to the ears of his sons by the first wife, they apprehended they should be disinherited, and immediately form'd a conspiracy against their father, in which they met with such success, that they deposed the Emperor. He had the address however to create a misunderstanding among the brothers, and was restored to his throne; whereupon he assign'd his son CHARLES by the second venter the kingdom of Neustria and the country of the Alemanni beyond the Rhine, and soon after the kingdom of Aquitaine, upon the death of PEPIN, though he left two sons, named PEPIN and CHARLES. The old Emperor a little before his death, which happen'd anno 840, constituted his eldest son LOTHAIRE Emperor, and gave him all the rest of his territories, but those assign'd to CHARLES and to LEWIS King of Bavaria, afterwards King of Germany. LEWIS the Godly was no sooner dead, but LOTHAIRE his son form'd a design of making himself universal monarch, attack'd the territories of his two brothers CHARLES and LEWIS, and made himself master of great part of them. But these Princes entering into a confederacy against LOTHAIRE, brought him to terms, and a new division of the dominions of France was agreed on between them.

The Saracens success against Christian dom.

Lothaire Emperor, anno 840.

During these intestine divisions, the enemies of France took an opportunity of attacking it on every side. The Normans enter'd the mouth of the Seine, took Rouen and Paris, and laid all the country waste on that side. The Saracens ravaged Italy with fire and sword, fixing themselves there: and the Duke of Bretagne enlarg'd his territories at the expence of the French, obliging them to give him the title of King, which he had lately assum'd. The Normans also enter'd the Loire, plunder'd Nantz and all the fine towns upon that river without opposition.

The distressed condition of France.

LOTHAIRE the Emperor died the 29th of September, 855, leaving three sons, viz. LEWIS, LOTHAIRE and CHARLES. LEWIS was appointed King of Italy, &c. and Emperor. LOTHAIRE had the countries lying between the Rhine and Meuse, and several other provinces to the

Lewis II. Emperor.

CHAP. the southward, which from him were call'd the XXXIV. kingdom of Lotharingia, and afterwards Lorrain; tho' the modern Lorrain takes up but a small part of the country which antiently went under that name. CHARLES the youngest succeeded to Provence, Dauphiné, and Transjuran Burgundy, which division obtain'd the name of the kingdom of Provence.

The French Empire united in Charles the Gros, anno 884. I shall not trouble the reader with all the divisions and subdivisions made by the French Princes of their territories the next twenty years, but proceed to the reign of the Emperor CHARLES the Gros, in whom all their dominions were again united under one head, which happen'd about the year 884. This Prince, the French observe, was one of the most powerful of their monarchs, being Emperor and King of Italy, Sovereign of Germany, Pannonia and all France, with a considerable part of Spain as far as the Ebro: he was the son of LEWIS of Bavaria King of Germany above-mention'd; and though he was not very famous for his good sense, yet he shew'd himself a true descendant of the French Kings by his treachery: GODEFROY, a Norman Prince to whom the French had given up Frizia and part of the Low Countries, being at war with CHARLES the Gros, he invited the Norman to a treaty, where he procur'd him to be assassinated. To revenge which, the Normans pour'd into France, destroy'd the country with fire and sword, and laid siege to Paris, which lasted two years, when the Emperor gave them a large sum of money to remove their quarters. This render'd him very contemptible in the eyes of his subjects, who dethroned him in the year 888, whereupon ARNULPH Duke of Carinthia and bastard of CARLOMAN late King of Bavaria, procur'd himself to be chosen King of Germany; and EUDES Count of Paris, who had bravely defended that city against the Normans, was advanc'd to the throne of France, Italy, and the rest of the French territories, which had abundance of pretenders to them, who vanish'd in a little time.

Ends King of France, 888. The kingdom of France was in a very indifferent state when Eudes had the name of King of it. Every Duke and Count look'd upon himself as sovereign of the territories he govern'd, and made war upon each other without any regard to the French King, filling all places with blood and desolation; while the Normans on the other hand ravaged the country from one end to the other. The Lords indeed were obliged to assist the King with a certain number of troops when he demand'd them; but if they were in a different interest they frequently disobey'd his summons. At this time we find them caballing and confederating against EUDES, whom they had but a little before elected their King, and setting up against him CHARLES the son of LEWIS the Stammerer, an

infant, who shar'd the kingdom of France with CHAP. EUDES till he died, which happened in the year XXXIV. 898, when CHARLES surnamed the Simple succeeded to the whole.

Part of Neustria granted to the Normans, 911. The first remarkable thing in this reign is the cession of that part of Neustria now call'd Normandy, to ROLLO, a Prince or General of the Normans whom the French stile the most powerful of all the Norman chiefs who had harra's'd their country. He kept them in perpetual alarms, marching his troops from province to province, till he became so formidable, that deputations were sent to the King from all parts, desiring him to purchase peace of ROLLO on any terms; and a treaty being set on foot, a peace was concluded upon the following conditions: 1. That the country now call'd Normandy should be granted to ROLLO and his heirs; and as it had been pretty much ruin'd by his troops, Bretagne also should be put into his hands till the country had recover'd it self. 2. That ROLLO should become a christian. And, 3. That the French King should give him his daughter GISELA in marriage. Which articles were duly perform'd in the years 911 and 912.

The German Empire becomes elective, and distinct from France. ARNULPH King of Germany had procur'd himself to be declared Emperor, which title he enjoy'd three years; but leaving no legitimate issue, the German Princes elected CONRAD Duke of Franconia for their Emperor. From this time therefore we may look upon the Empire of Germany to be elective, and France a distinct kingdom. The succeeding Emperors may be found in the State of Germany. But to proceed in the history of France: CHARLES the Simple, it seems, was a soft good-natur'd Prince, and suffer'd his nobility to encroach on his prerogative, and impose upon him to that degree, that at length they dethron'd him, and advanced Duke ROBERT to the crown, brother of the late King EUDES. ROBERT was kill'd in a pitch'd battle with CHARLES soon after: but HUGH the son of ROBERT, afterwards called HUGH the Great, maintain'd the fight against the King, and entirely routed his army. The French Lords hereupon offer'd the crown to HUGH, who for some reasons declin'd the honour himself, and recommended RODOLPH Duke of Burgundy, his sister's husband, for their sovereign, whom they accepted: while HERBERT Count of Vermandois, a treacherous courtier, who had been most instrumental in this revolution, kept the unfortunate King CHARLES prisoner at Chateau-Thierry.

Robert crown'd. RODOLPH had a reign of perpetual vexation; sometimes attack'd by the Emperor of Germany; at others, by the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine; and the faithless HERBERT, Count of Vermandois, not thinking his treachery sufficiently rewarded, threatned to restore CHARLES to his throne, which gave him abundance of disquiet,

Rodolph crown'd.

CHAP. till the death of that unfortunate Prince, which
 XXXIV. happen'd in the year 929. RODOLPH dying with-
 out issue in the year 935, the French Lords sent
 Lewis IV. for LEWIS the son of CHARLES the Simple from
 crown'd, 936. England (whither his mother OGIVA, the sister
 of King ATHELSTAN, fled with him on the de-
 throning of her husband) and crown'd him at
 Rheims. He had remain'd in exile thirteen years,
 and was about sixteen years of age at his advance-
 ment to the throne. HUGH the Great, already
 mention'd, took upon him the administration of
 affairs; at which the young King seem'd impa-
 tient, dismiss'd HUGH from his employment, and
 sent for his mother OGIVA from England, to
 assist him with her advice: HUGH hereupon en-
 ter'd into a conspiracy with some other Lords,
 and maintain'd a rebellion for several years against
 his Sovereign. But these troubles were at length
 accommodated by the mediation of the Duke of
 Normandy, who happening to die soon after he
 had perform'd this friendly office, the French King
 very basely seiz'd upon his son, the heir of his
 dominions, with an intent to have depriv'd him
 of them. But the governour of the young Prince
 had some notice of it, and fled with him into
 Normandy, where he rais'd an army for his de-
 fence. The French King march'd against him,
 and being drawn into the country under pretence
 of a treaty, was made prisoner in his turn, but
 was releas'd from his confinement on confirm-
 ing Normandy to the Duke, and releasing him
 of all future services on account of that duchy.
 The King was no sooner set at liberty in Nor-
 mandy, but HUGH the Great made him a pri-
 soner again: nor would he release him till he oblig'd
 that Prince to deliver up Laon, which was almost
 the only city he was master of. The rest of his
 reign he continu'd to be insulted by HUGH and
 his confederates, whom he sometimes reveng'd
 himself upon by the assistance of the Emperor
 OTHO, but could never entirely suppress the fac-
 tions that were form'd against him. He was kill'd
 by a fall from his horse as he was hunting, in the
 nineteenth year of his reign, and the thirty-third
 of his age, anno 954, leaving behind him two
 sons, viz. LOTHAIRE and CHARLES, LO-
 THAIRE succeeding to all his dominions: whereas
 'tis observ'd, that before this time the French
 Kings used to divide their territories among their
 sons.

Lothaire
 succeeds his
 father
 Lewis, 954.

LOTHAIRE was crown'd, but HUGH the Great,
 as he was call'd, had the administration of the go-
 vernment: nothing was transacted at court with-
 out him. And tho' he was already Duke of
 France, Count of Paris and Orleans, and Duke of
 Burgundy, he would not be contented till he had
 procur'd a grant of the duchy of Aquitaine, to the
 prejudice of the Count of Poitiers, which if he had
 gotten possession of, would have made him master

of the best part of France. The Count of Poitiers CHAP
 refusing to deliver up Aquitaine, HUGH oblig'd the XXXIV
 King to make war upon him: but to the great sa-
 tisfaction both of the King and the Count, HUGH
 died in June 955, whereby they were both de-
 liver'd from his tyranny. Nor would his ambition
 have stopp'd here: it is not at all doubted but he
 had a design upon the crown, and only waited a
 proper opportunity to usurp it. He left four sons,
 the eldest of which was HUGH, surnamed CAPE, after-
 wards King, to whom he left the counties of
 Paris and Orleans. The second was OTHO, who
 succeeded him in the duchy of Burgundy: and
 the other two, viz. Eudes and HENRY, were
 successively Dukes of Burgundy after the death of
 OTHO.

It is observ'd of King LOTHAIRE, that he was
 a Prince without territories: that many of his vas-
 sals had greater possessions than himself; for Laon
 was almost the only city he had a property in.
 During most of his reign he was but a spectator,
 and sometimes arbiter of the differences of the
 petty sovereigns, who gave him the title of King,
 while they plunder'd and pillag'd each other's lands,
 took and retook cities, and sometimes came to a
 pitch'd battle, without any regard to him: and it
 was well if his own demesns did not sometimes
 suffer by their insults. And what was very unfor-
 tunate for the Kings of this second line was, that
 having very few cities or territories that depended
 immediately on themselves, and the royal armies
 being always compos'd of forces which belong'd to
 the great Lords, the King was often at their dis-
 cretion, and forc'd to purchase their assistance on
 such terms as he could.

LOTHAIRE therefore to remedy these incon-
 veniences, consider'd how he might enlarge his
 territories. The most popular way he could think
 of was by driving the Normans out of the king-
 dom, and seizing the countries they possess'd;
 which he attempted first by way of surprize; and
 that failing, he declar'd open war with RICHARD
 Duke of Normandy, who was so provok'd at this
 usage, that he ravag'd the rest of the kingdom of
 France in a most terrible manner, insomuch that
 the nobility and clergy begg'd of the King to clap
 up a peace, which the Duke at length yielded to,
 on condition that the French King would restore
 what he had taken, and confirm the grant of Nor-
 mandy to him.

LOTHAIRE met with better success in another
 place: for ARNULF, Count of Flanders, suc-
 ceeding to that earldom, and being summon'd to
 pay his homage, or, as some say, to furnish his
 quota of troops, and refusing to obey the summons,
 the King enter'd Flanders at the head of a power-
 ful army, and seiz'd upon the earldom as forfeited.
 He afterwards govern'd the kingdom of France in
 peace for many years, till a dispute about Lorrain
 with

CHAP. with the Emperor OTHO, engaged him in a new war, that was carried on with various success, and continued almost to his death, that happen'd in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-second of his reign, anno 986. He had procur'd his eldest son LEWIS to be recogniz'd King during his life-time, and at his death recommended him to the Lords, and particularly to HUGH CAPET, so little was he appriz'd of his ambitious views. LEWIS reign'd but a year and three months, suppos'd by some to be poison'd; and leaving no children, shou'd have been succeeded by CHARLES Duke of Lorrain, his father's brother: but HUGH CAPET stepp'd into the throne, and begun the third line of the Kings of France, from whom his present majesty LEWIS XV. descended; of which event the French historians give the following account. There had been a dispute between the Emperor and the French about the duchy of Lorrain, as hath been observ'd already; and Prince CHARLES, brother of LEWIS the late King, had accepted it of the Emperor upon condition of becoming his vassal; which so provok'd the French nobility, that they entertain'd an aversion to him. While on the other hand, HUGH CAPET had so distinguish'd himself by his courage and prudence in the two last reigns, that he was become the darling of the people, and look'd upon as the only man that could protect them against their enemies. True it is, this family had long been in the administration, and had the command of their armies, which gave them great opportunities of forming their interests, and opening a way to the crown, which they aim'd at for several generations, and now found an opportunity of usurping, when the heir of the crown was at a distance, and sufficiently blacken'd, no doubt, by their artifices. But Prince CHARLES did not easily relinquish his pretensions; for he enter'd France with an army, and besieg'd Laon, one of the strongest and most important towns in the kingdom, and made himself master of the place. Whereupon HUGH, who had been proclaim'd King by his party, came and besieg'd him. CHARLES did not only make a brave defence here, but sallied out with the best of his troops, forc'd the enemies trenches, and cut their army in pieces; HUGH himself escaping with great difficulty. He afterwards over-run the Soissonois, took Rheims and several other towns, and probably had found means to ascend the throne of his ancestors, if he had not been betray'd by the villanous Bishop of Laon, who let the enemy into that city when they were not expected to be near it; and thus the unhappy CHARLES was made a prisoner, and probably soon after murder'd, for he was never heard of more: whereupon HUGH CAPET govern'd for the future without a competitor. This was the glorious beginning of that house which the French seem to adore, and from

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whence the present King is descended. By the encomiums every where given to this and other usurpers by historians, one would be tempted to think, that murder and rebellion were virtues, and that killing or deposing an innocent Prince, and taking possession of his dominions, constituted a heroe: for such are most of the heroes we meet with on record.

HUGH CAPET, 'tis observ'd, begun his reign with greater advantage than many of the former Kings, on account of his having larger demesnes. He was in his own right possessed of the duchy of France, and the counties of Paris and Orleans; and the duchy of Burgundy he was secure of, as being in the hands of his brother: so that he could raise a considerable force without being oblig'd to his vassals, and was in a condition to keep the greatest of them in awe. Accordingly we are told that he made a greater figure than his predecessors, and settled his government so firmly, that during the ten years he reign'd there was not one insurrection against him. But it seems he contented himself with restoring tranquillity to the distracted country, keeping the nobility within bounds, and cultivating the acts of peace, for which he is highly applauded by the French; and did not trouble himself about extending the bounds of his dominions; making good the old proverb, the worse title the better King. And true it is, usurpers are generally oblig'd to do abundance of popular things to obtain the affections of their new subjects; for where the people find themselves under an equitable and gentle administration, they don't much trouble themselves about the title of the Prince. On the other hand, where a usurper despairs of bringing the people into his interests, he is oblig'd to govern them with a rod of iron; by standing armies, grievous taxes, and other oppressions, that they may not be in a condition to contest his title. HUGH CAPET was succeeded by his son ROBERT, who in the beginning of his reign met with some disturbance from the Pope. He had married a near relation, and refusing to part with her, his Holiness thought fit to excommunicate him. Nor would he be reconciled till he dismissed the lady; whereupon the King married another named CONSTANTIA, a turbulent women, who gave him a great deal of uneasiness. The Pope also oblig'd King ROBERT to set the Archbishop of Rheims at liberty, whom his father had imprison'd; such an influence had the Pope over Christian Princes in this age. And as he found he should never enjoy his dominions in quiet without keeping in good terms with the Holy See, he proceeded to persecute, and even to condemn to the flames, a set of people whom the church were pleas'd to denominate hereticks; though I perceive by their own writers, their principles were the same with

CHAP. XXXIV.

Robert succeeds his father Hugh Capet anno 996.

Persecutes the Albigenses.

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the

CHAP. the Albigenſes; of whom the proteſtant world
XXXIV. have a very favourable opinion. There was little
more remarkable in this reign, unleſs ſome wars
between the vaſſal Princes; and a rebellion of two
of the King's ſons againſt him, by the inſtigation
of their mother CONSTANTIA; which was ſup-
preſſ'd without much blood-ſhed. This Prince
died in the ſixty-fiſt year of his age, anno 1031.
He had three ſons, HUGH, HENRY, and RO-
BERT, (of whom, HUGH he aſſociated with him
in the kingdom, but he died before him) and a
daughter named ALIX, or ADELA, married to
RICHARD III. Duke of Normandy.

Henry I.
anno 1037. HENRY I. ſucceeded his father; againſt whom
the Queen-mother CONSTANTIA enter'd into a
conſederacy with her younger ſon ROBERT, and
oblig'd the King to fly to the Duke of Normandy
for protection: but he was ſoon after reſtor'd to
his throne by the aſſiſtance of that Prince; and his
mother dying, he took his brother ROBERT into
his favour, and either made or confirm'd him Duke
of Burgundy; and in gratitude to the Duke of
Normandy, for the aſſiſtance he had given him in
his diſtreſs, he transfer'd over to him the cities of
Gisors, Chaumont and Pontoife, with all the
Vexin Norman. And that intimacy there appears
to have been between theſe two Princes, that the
Duke of Normandy choſe to commit his ſon WIL-
LIAM to the French King's care while he went a
pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This was that
WILLIAM afterwards ſurnamed the Conqueror,
from his conqueſt of England. He was indeed il-
legitimate, but ſucceeded to Normandy by the do-
nation of his father. The Princes of thoſe times
taking the liberty of diſpoſing of their territories to
whom they ſaw fit, eſpecially if they had no legi-
timate iſſue. ROBERT Duke of Normandy hap-
pening to die in his return from the Holy Land,
we find the French King acting a very odd part;
ſometimes in the intereſt of young Duke WIL-
LIAM, and at others in an alliance with thoſe who
diſputed his title on account of their deſcent from
former Dukes. However, Duke WILLIAM, hav-
ing defeated King HENRY and his allies in a de-
ciſive battle, gain'd a mighty reputation, and en-
joy'd his dominions in peace till his expedition into
England, which he conquer'd in the year 1066.
There is little more remarkable in the reign of
HENRY I, unleſs a rebellion form'd againſt him by
his brother Eudes, which he had the good for-
tune to ſuppreſs. Finding himſelf very ill, he
aſſociated with him his eldeſt ſon PHILIP, in the
government in the year 1059, who was then about
ſeven years of age, and died the following year, be-
ing the thirtieth of his reign.

William
Duke of
Normandy
defeats the
French
King.

Philip I.
anno 1060.

PHILIP the firſt took all opportunities of leſſen-
ing the power of the Duke of Normandy, and in-
citing the neighbouring Princes againſt him; ſome-
times he encourag'd the Duke of Bretagne to re-

nounce all dependance on Normandy, (for Bretagne CHAP.
as well as Normandy was granted to ROLLO,) XXXIV.
ſometimes he join'd his forces with ROBERT the
conqueror's ſon, who was in rebellion againſt his fa-
ther, and after the death of the conqueror he kept
up the diviſions and miſunderſtandings among his
children: but there happen'd an occurrence in
his own family which had lik'd to have render'd
him incapable of intermeddling with the affairs of
his neighbours; PHILIP having fallen in love with
BERTRADE the wife of the Earl of Anjou, took
the liberty to divorce his firſt wife, by whom he had
ſeveral children, and marry BERTRADE; where-
upon he was excommunicated by the Pope, and
begun to be contemn'd by his ſubjects; which put
him upon aſſociating with him his ſon LEWIS in
the government, who being a prudent and active
Prince, kept the great Lords within the bounds of
their duty, and reſtor'd the credit of his father's ad-
miniſtration: but BERTRADE, who had children
by the King, ſtudied all means to deſtroy this young
Prince and advance her own, and when nothing
eſe would do fairly, gave him a doſe of poiſon,
which being timely diſcover'd, his life was pre-
ſerv'd with a great deal of difficulty; but his con-
ſtitution appear'd to be broken, and he always
look'd very pale afterwards. Notwithſtanding this
vile attempt, the poor old doting King procur'd
a reconciliation between his ſon LEWIS and this
execrable woman, and had a licence of the Pope
to retain her for his wife upon the death of his firſt
Queen. But the moſt remarkable thing which
happen'd in this reign was the ſetting on foot the
crufado's; ALEXIS the Grecian Emperor had de-
ſir'd the aſſiſtance of the Pope and the chriſtian
Princes of the weſt againſt the Mahometans, who
were become maſters of all the Leſſer Asia, and
advanc'd even to the ſhores of the Boſphorus over
againſt Conſtantinople. The Pope and clergy im-
mediately preach'd up the merit of defending chri-
ſtendom againſt the infidels, and propos'd the con-
quering even of Jeruſalem and the Holy Land, and
reſcuing the ſepulchre of our bleſſed Saviour out of
their impious hands; and this in ſo moving a man-
ner, that all Europe ſeem'd impatient to enter up-
on that holy war.

Crufado's
firſt ſet on
foot.

An innumerable multitude of people of all con-
ditions and ſexes immediately took the croſs for
their badge: the moſt backward ſeem to have
been the Kings of this part of the world, there
was not one of this exalted dignity in the firſt ex-
pedition; but a great number of Princes and
Lords, eſpecially of the French, Flemmings and
Germans: the chief of theſe were HUGH Count
of Vermandois, the King's brother, ROBERT
Duke of Normandy, ſon of the Conqueror, RAY-
MOND Count of Thoulouſe, ROBERT Count of
Flanders, STEPHEN Count of Blois and Chartres,
and the celebrated GODFREY of Bouillon Duke
of

CHAP. XXXIV. of Lorrain, with EUSTACHIUS and BALDWIN his brothers; and an infinite number of Lords and gentlemen, that drew almost whole provinces after them. They began their march in the year 1096. Besides those who went as soldiers, there were old men, women, children, priests and monks, engaged in the enterprize, not less than seven or eight hundred thousand souls of all nations; most of whom had very little consider'd the length of the journey, or how they should subsist till they came into the enemies country; and in fact, one half of them perish'd before they arriv'd there; if perishing be a proper term where the people were infallibly sure of being received into paradise as soon as they left this world.

As they observ'd very little discipline, many of them were destroy'd even in the christian countries through which they pass'd, by the sword, sickness, or famine; and those of them that arriv'd at Constantinople, and had procur'd vessels to transport them to the opposite shore, were many of them cut to-pieces as soon as they landed, for want of conduct; but these, 'tis true, were for the most part a confus'd multitude, the fore-runners of the army; the Princes and generals, who had been us'd to military exploits, march'd with more caution. GODFREY of Bouillon, and other commanders, who observ'd an exact discipline, arriv'd at Constantinople with their troops in pretty good condition. And indeed they appear'd so numerous upon their rendezvous, that they put the Grecian Emperor into the utmost consternation. He began to stand much more in fear of them than he did of the infidels, and instead of joining his arms with theirs, took all opportunities underhand to distress the forces engaged in the crusado: he durst not deny the generals shipping to transport their troops, 'tis true, lest they should make him sensible of their resentment; and perhaps he thought this the readiest way to get rid of them: but notwithstanding all their losses and difficulties, when they came to draw up their troops upon the Asiatick shore, they found they had still near an hundred thousand horse, and almost twice that number of foot; whereupon they immediately laid siege to Nice in Bythinia, almost over-against Constantinople, and the usual place of Sultan SOLIMAN's residence. The Sultan march'd to the relief of the town, but was defeated; whereupon the place capitulated, and was put into the Emperor's hands, as had been agreed on when he engaged to furnish them with shipping and provisions, and to join them with his forces.

From Nice the christian Princes advanc'd to besiege Antioch, and SOLIMAN opposing their march with an army of two hundred thousand men, they gain'd a compleat victory, and had the plunder of his camp, which was very rich; after which they

over-ran great part of the Lesser Asia, and having made themselves masters of Antioch, sent to the Emperor to join his forces with them as he had promis'd; instead of which he only sent them complaints, because Antioch was not deliver'd into his hands. Whereupon they resolv'd to have no concern with him, but to act independently of the Greeks for the future.

From Antioch these heroes march'd to Jerusalem, which they invested; tho' 'tis said their numbers were so diminish'd that they did not amount to fifty thousand men, and that the garrison in the town was as numerous. But it seems a fleet of English, Normans, Flemmings and Genoese luckily arrived at this time with supplies, which gave fresh vigour to the christian army; who making an assault upon the outward wall, carried it sword in hand. At another attack, which had lasted from break of day to noon, when the besiegers began to faint and give way, the famous GODFREY of Bouillon encouraged them, with an assurance of success; pretending he had seen an horseman descending from the clouds, and that heaven fought on their side: which so animated the troops that they carried all before them, and the town was taken by storm.

The celebrated GODFREY, who had distinguish'd himself by his conduct and bravery thro' the whole expedition, was by universal consent crown'd King of Jerusalem, who afterwards made Ptolemais, Cesarea, Antipatris, Askalon, and other cities tributary to him: but did not live to enjoy his kingdom more than one year. He was succeeded by his brother BALDWIN: and fresh detachments of christians arriving every day, who were encouraged to take the cross upon them by the news of the taking of Jerusalem, BALDWIN conquer'd several other cities and provinces, making a large addition to his dominions.

But to return to PHILIP King of France; the greatest advantage he and his successors made by these crusado's seems to be the uniting some fiefs to the crown; for several of the great Lords mortgag'd or sold their territories to the King, to enable them to undertake the crusado; and we find ROBERT Duke of Normandy engaged his duchy to his brother the King of England with the same view.

France enjoy'd a perfect tranquility during the last ten years of PHILIP's reign, who died in the 57th year of his age, anno 1108, leaving his dominions to his son LEWIS VI. surnamed the Gros.

The beginning of the reign of LEWIS VI. was disturb'd by some insurrections and rebellions promoted by his mother-in-law and her son, but he had the good fortune to suppress them. HENRY the First, King of England, prov'd a much more formidable enemy; for having ascended the throne

Nice in Bythinia taken from the Turks.

Antioch taken.

Jerusalem taken.

Lewis VI, anno 1108.

CHAP. XXXIV. of England while his brother ROBERT was engaged in the crusado to the Holy Land; he also depriv'd that Prince of the duchy of Normandy at his return, and made him prisoner: and having form'd an alliance with the Duke of Bretagne and Earl of Anjou, he attack'd the frontiers of France and took Gisors. The war between the English and French monarchs lasted many years, in which the English, according to their own writers, were generally victorious; and yet the French pretend, that upon the conclusion of the peace, the King of England submitted to do homage for the duchy of Normandy: which ought to be well proved before it is entirely credited. In these disputes between France and England, King LEWIS made great use of WILLIAM CLITO, as he was call'd, the son of ROBERT Duke of Normandy, to draw off the Norman Lords from their allegiance to King HENRY. He gave him the Vexin Francois upon the frontiers of Normandy, and afterwards the county of Flanders; but this unhappy Prince could never recover the inheritance of his father. He died of a slight wound in his hand, which happen'd to gangreen, according to the French writers. LEWIS VI. died in the year 1137, leaving five sons and one daughter, of whom LEWIS his eldest son succeeded him.

Lewis VII,
1137.

Undertakes
a crusado
with the
German
Emperor.

The crown of England being disputed by MAUD the Empress and STEPHEN of Bologn, France had time to breathe in the beginning of the reign of LEWIS VII. who found his dominions in a state of such tranquility, that he thought it a proper season to undertake a crusado in person to the Holy Land; and CONRAD the Emperor of Germany agreed to join with him in the enterprize.

The Christians, who had now been in possession of the Holy Land and the adjacent countries for forty years, had form'd out of them four considerable states, viz. 1. That of Edesla, which comprehended the countries on the banks of the Euphrates. 2. The district of Tripoli, which lay in the neighbourhood of the sea. 3. The district of Antioch. And, 4. The kingdom of Jerusalem. And had the Princes of these several territories been unanimous, they would have been able to have maintain'd their ground against the Mahometans: but falling out among themselves, SANGUIN, sultan of Aleppo, and afterwards NORADIN his son, made great advantages of their ill-timed disputes, and recover'd most of the conquests they had made; which occasion'd the King of Jerusalem and the Prince of Antioch to desire succours of the European Christians, and gave birth to this second crusado.

The Emperor CONRAD was first ready, and began his march in Easter, 1147, with an army of an hundred thousand men, of whom seventy thousand were horse, arm'd back and breast. When he arriv'd on the frontiers of the Grecian Empire,

he found but a very indifferent reception from the subjects of the Emperor MANUEL COMMENIUS: they cut off the stragglers of the army, and refus'd to furnish CONRAD's troops with provisions but at excessive rates: and in some places their disputes arose to such an height, that they were upon the point of coming to a general battle. And it must be confess'd, that the Grecian Emperor, if he was not consulted in this affair, had reason to be upon his guard; and might very well entertain apprehensions, that these mighty preparations were design'd against his dominions. The difference of religion also between the Greeks and Latins might contribute to heighten their aversion to each other. Nor was it at all improbable, if the Emperor CONRAD had met with success in this expedition, but he would have put what terms he pleas'd upon the Greeks; and the Pope and western churches would have been for forming their church after the model of their own, and reducing the whole Christian world under one spiritual head. We cannot therefore entirely blame the Grecian Emperors for discouraging these crusado's; tho' the treacherous part they acted in Asia afterwards, if the French and German accounts are to be credited, are never to be justified. To proceed therefore, the Emperor MANUEL having furnish'd CONRAD with vessels to transport his army cross the Hellespont, supply'd him also with treacherous guides, who led them into ambuscades, and in effect deliver'd up this fine army a prey to the Mahometans; insomuch that after they had travers'd the greatest part of the Lesser Asia, and undergone inconceivable hardships, CONRAD found himself oblig'd to return to the Hellespont again, having lost more than three parts of his forces; where he had the satisfaction indeed of meeting with the French King at the head of much such an army as he had lost. The Emperor advis'd the French King to continue his march by the sea-coasts, to prevent his being surrounded by the Mahometans; which precaution he observ'd for some time, passing by Smyrna and Ephesus: but finding it very troublesome crossing the mouths of rivers, he alter'd his march, and turn'd off into the inland country, where the Turks being possess'd of all the passes, destroy'd most part of his army, and the King with a very few of his Lords escap'd to Antioch, after which he proceeded to pay his devotions at Jerusalem, and return'd to France. The Emperor CONRAD also found means to visit our Saviour's sepulchre privately, before he return'd to Germany: and thus ended all these mighty preparations for subduing the infidels.

But I must not forget an adventure in this expedition, which afterwards had a considerable influence on the kingdoms of France and England, LEWIS had married ELEANOR, the heiress of Guienne and Gascony, frequently call'd the king-

dom

CHAP. dom of Aquitain, and thereby made a considerable
 XXXIV. addition to his dominions. She was a beautiful
 princess, of whom he was infinitely fond, which
 induc'd him to take her along with him to the
 Holy Land: but unluckily at Antioch she engag'd
 in an amour with the Prince of that territory, who
 was her Uncle. So open they were in the matter,
 that the King seem'd fully convinc'd of their cri-
 minal correspondence, and was forc'd to make use
 of a stratagem to bring her away with him. At
 his return he procur'd a divorce, tho' he had two
 children by her, and was forc'd to return her the
 territories she brought in marriage. HENRY Duke
 of Normandy, son of the Empress MAUD, finding
 the lady at liberty, struck up a match with her
 within six weeks after the divorce, by which means
 he added to his dominions Aquitain, Maine, &c.
 and became as formidable to STEPHEN his com-
 petitor in England, as he was to LEWIS in France,
 who thereupon enter'd into a confederacy against
 him. But HENRY maintained his ground against
 both of them: and STEPHEN having buried his
 son EUSTACHIUS, and finding the English weary
 of the war, entered into a treaty with HENRY,
 wherein 'twas agreed, that STEPHEN should en-
 joy the crown of England during his life, and that
 HENRY should succeed him.

Henry II.
 Duke of
 Normandy,
 adds Aquitain to his
 other domi-
 nions, and
 succeeds to
 the crown of
 England.

STEPHEN dying not long after, HENRY came
 with the title and equipage of a King, say the
 French historians, to do homage to LEWIS, who
 ought to have trembled when he received it, it be-
 ing for Normandy, Aquitain, Anjou, Touraine,
 Maine, &c. that is, for the best part of the king-
 dom, which he was in effect absolute master of.
 THIERRY of Alsatia also making a journey to
 the Holy-land, left the guardianship of his son
 PHILIP, Flanders, and all his other territories,
 to the care of King HENRY; so that LEWIS
 was hemm'd in by him on every side. But the
 affair of THOMAS A BECKET, Archbishop of
 Canterbury, happening about the same time, gave
 the King of England so much vexation, that he
 had not an opportunity of making those advan-
 tages he might otherwise have reaped by the vast
 encrease of his dominions.

Archbishop BECKET being assassinated by some
 who thought to do King HENRY good service, he
 was threatned with an excommunication by the
 Pope; whereupon the King caused his Son HEN-
 RY to be proclaim'd King, to prevent any ill con-
 sequences: but this step had near occasioned the
 loss of his crown, for young HENRY having the
 name of King, and none of the power, was inci-
 ted by the Queen and the French King to raise a
 rebellion against his father, into which his bro-
 thers RICHARD and GEOFFREY were also drawn,
 with many of the French and English nobility.
 But the conduct and bravery of King HENRY was
 such, that he reduc'd his rebellious Queen and

sons, defeated his enemies, and prescrib'd what
 terms of peace he saw fit to them. The two king-
 doms being in full peace, King LEWIS, called
 LEWIS the Pious, desired leave of the King of
 England to come in pilgrimage to the tomb of
 THOMAS of BECKET at Canterbury, to perform
 his devotions for the health of his son PHILIP,
 which was comply'd with; and heaven, say the
 French historians, was pleas'd to hear the prayers
 of the devout King upon this occasion; his son's
 health was restor'd: so meritorious was the inter-
 cession of THOMAS of BECKET thought in a very
 few years. The following year 1180, King LEW-
 IS died at Paris in the sixtieth year of his age, and
 the forty-fourth of his reign, being succeeded by
 his son PHILIP, surnamed AUGUSTUS by some
 of their historians; but this title was never given
 him during his reign.

CHAP.
 XXXIV.

PHILIP began his reign with banishing the
 Jews, and persecuting the Albigenes, whom the
 French writers call Hereticks. Next we find him
 inciting and encouraging RICHARD and JOHN,
 the sons of HENRY King of England, in their
 rebellion against their father; and after the death
 of HENRY, he became no less an enemy to his son
 RICHARD, who had been his ally; but the
 Pope persuaded them to lay aside their private
 quarrels, and join in a crusado for recovery of the
 Holy-land, which was almost lost through the
 dissensions of the Christian Princes on that side.

Philip Au-
 gustus, anno
 1180.

The armies did not take the same rout as in the
 preceding wars; but were transported to Palestine
 by sea, and Sicily was appointed by the two Kings
 for the place of rendezvous. The French King em-
 bark'd at Genoa, and RICHARD King of England
 at Marseilles; and finding the year pretty far ad-
 vanc'd when their forces arriv'd in Sicily, it was
 thought convenient to winter there. Here arose
 a misunderstanding between the two Kings, which
 the French ascribe to King RICHARD's refusing
 to marry ALICE the French King's sister, accord-
 ing to his engagements; but RICHARD making it
 appear, that this Princess had been faulty in her
 conduct, King PHILIP seem'd to be satisfied.
 Some of the French writers go so far as to say,
 that this Princess had a child by King HENRY II.
 RICHARD's father; and the English historians
 suggest something of the same nature: but how-
 ever that matter was, the two Kings were never
 afterwards heartily reconcil'd. In the following
 spring, they sail'd to Palestine, and assisted in the
 siege of Acon or Ptolemais, where there were per-
 petual misunderstandings between them. They
 agreed however to attack the place by turns; and
 when one of them was busied in carrying on the
 siege, the other defended the lines against Sultair
 SALADIN, who lay within a bow-shot of their
 camp. At length the town being taken, the two
 Kings divided it between them, and had each
 their

He engages
 in a crusado
 with Ri-
 chard King
 of England.

CHAP. their governour in it. The summer not being
 XXXIV. half spent, it was expected these Princes would
 have enter'd upon some further action; but the
 French King, who seems all along to have had
 some base treacherous views with regard to King
 RICHARD, resolv'd to return to Europe, leaving
 only a small body of troops in Palestine, under
 the command of Eudes of Burgundy. King
 RICHARD had that precaution indeed before he
 went, to make King PHILIP swear, that he
 would undertake nothing against his dominions in
 his absence; but there are not many instances in
 history, where the French Kings have kept their
 oaths or promises longer with the English, than
 they have found their interest in observing them;
 at least thus it happened on this occasion. The
 King of England remained a year after him in
 Palestine, and made some further conquests; he
 had continued there longer, if he had not receiv'd
 intelligence of the practices of King PHILIP and
 his brother JOHN against his dominions; and as
 he was hastening home to prevent the consequences
 of this confederacy, he was detain'd by LEOPOLD
 Duke of Austria, and put into the hands of HEN-
 RY VI. the German Emperor, with whom he
 remain'd a prisoner upwards of a year, by the ar-
 tifices of PHILIP, who spar'd no treasure to pre-
 vent his returning to his kingdom. In the mean
 time he incited JOHN to mount the throne of
 England, and promis'd him his assistance in it,
 upon condition he would become his vassal. Ac-
 cordingly JOHN paid his homage to him for his
 brother's territories in France; and some of the
 French writers affirm, for England also. JOHN
 went over to England, and gave out that his bro-
 ther RICHARD was dead, demanding to be ac-
 knowledg'd their Sovereign; which some of the
 Lords did, but most of them continued unshaken
 in their loyalty. PHILIP in the mean time did
 not only use his utmost endeavours to get King
 RICHARD put into his hands, but enter'd Nor-
 mandy with an army, and seiz'd on several towns
 and provinces belonging to the English. The Em-
 peror having squeez'd what money he could out of
 the French King, begun to listen to the proposals
 which were made him by the English for the ran-
 som of their Sovereign; and having work'd them
 up to an immense sum, gave that Prince his li-
 berty, without consulting PHILIP in the matter.

The practi-
 ces of King
 Philip a-
 gainst King
 Richard.

RICHARD being return'd to England, and
 having drawn off his brother JOHN from PHILIP's
 interest, went over into Normandy, to re-
 venge the treachery of his faithless ally. He de-
 feated him in several battles, retook the towns he
 had lost, and had probably made him pay very
 dear for his breach of faith, but was unfortunately
 kill'd at the siege of the castle of Chalons. In-
 deed, the French writers relate extravagant sto-
 ries of the conduct and bravery of their Prince,

as that he gain'd a victory over the Emperor's CHA
 troops at Bovines in Flanders, (who was become XXXI
 the King of England's ally,) when the numbers
 were three to one against him. But they all a-
 gree, that King RICHARD died in very good
 time for PHILIP; and that if he had liv'd much
 longer, their august Monarch would have run the
 hazard of being driven from his throne: whereas
 the sudden death of this Prince furnished him
 with glorious work, and gave him an opportunity
 of enlarging and establishing the French Empire.
 I must confess his first attempt had a plausible
 appearance: he pretended to assert the rights of
 King ARTHUR against the usurpations of his un-
 cle JOHN, who had ravish'd from him both his
 English and French dominions. But it appears
 pretty evident from the event, that PHILIP's
 real intention was to set one against the other,
 that he might enlarge his own territories at the
 expence of both of them; a game that the French
 have ever play'd, when the English have been di-
 vided into factions.

RICHARD was no sooner dead, but the hero
 PHILIP, as the French writers call him, had the
 courage to march into Normandy, Maine, An-
 jou, and the rest of the English provinces, burn-
 ing and destroying the country with fire and
 sword, and possessing himself of all the defence-
 less places. JOHN, who had procur'd himself to
 be proclaimed King of England, having a defect-
 ive title, and ill-beloved by his subjects, was not
 able to resist the torrent. He drew an army toge-
 ther however, defeated the forces of his nephew
 Prince ARTHUR, and made him prisoner; and
 if we may credit some French writers, he mur-
 der'd him with his own hand: certain it is, that
 Prince never obtain'd his liberty afterwards. This
 gave King PHILIP a handle to summon King
 JOHN before him and the Peers of France, to an-
 swer to a charge of felony and murder, in seizing
 his nephew Prince ARTHUR's territories, and
 afterwards taking away his life. And JOHN not
 appearing, the Peers, by the direction of PHILIP,
 adjudg'd him guilty of the charge, and that he
 had forfeited all his dominions in France. JOHN
 having his hands full in England, could not pre-
 vent the French King's making himself master of
 Normandy, and several other fine provinces, under
 pretence of that sentence; but the English retain'd
 however that part of France, which was call'd A-
 quitaine, now Guienne and Gascony, with Ro-
 chelle and the country contiguous to it.

The English
 depriv'd of
 Normandy,
 an. 1202.

The next remarkable thing in the reign of King
 PHILIP, was the Pope's publishing a crusado a-
 gainst the Albigenes, a people who oppos'd the i-
 dolatry and other errors of the church of Rome.
 They were possess'd of Languedoc and all South
 France, extending themselves into Piedmont in
 the east, and to Spain on the west. The Pope, it
 seems,

A crusado
 against the
 Albigenes,
 an. 1208.

CHAP. XXXIV. P. seems, thought them so considerable, that nothing less than a crusado could suppress them. He granted remission of sins therefore to all that would take up arms against them for forty days; so that these armies consisted of volunteers only, who chose the celebrated SIMON MONTFORT for their General; and not of troops paid or commanded by the King. And tho' these armies consisted frequently of three or fourscore thousand men, yet was it some hundred of years before these Hereticks, as the French call them, were entirely suppress'd: for not only the people, but their Princes the Count de Thoulouse, the Count de Foix, and other Sovereigns, were, in the Catholick phrase, infected with it; and we find the Pope depriving them of their territories, and granting them to Catholick Lords by the connivance of PHILIP.

The French writers in their relations of these wars, give incredible accounts of the miraculous victories the Catholicks obtain'd over the Hereticks, particularly that at the siege of Moret, SIMON MONTFORT made a sally from the town with eight or nine hundred men, and gained a compleat victory over the King of Arragon, and other chiefs of the Albigenes, who commanded an army of an hundred thousand forces; only fit to amuse women and children with. However, they admit that their hero SIMON MONTFORT, was knock'd on the head at last, by a stone thrown from the walls of one of the towns he besieg'd; and the posterity of the Count de Thoulouse found means to recover great part of the possessions of their ancestors. Nor were the Albigenes ever entirely suppressed, tho' the French King's son marched in person against them, exercised unheard-of cruelties on these poor people, and demolished most of the castles and fortified places of the country, to prevent their taking shelter in them.

The French King had no sooner broke the power of the Albigenes, but he turned his eyes towards England, endeavouring to pick a new quarrel with King JOHN; but the Pope saved him the labour: for King JOHN having insisted on his right of nominating the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Holiness, without any regard to the royal Prerogative, appointed STEPHEN LANGTON to fill that See, whom the King refusing to acknowledge, the Pope excommunicated him, published a sentence of deposition against him, and gave his dominions to King PHILIP. Whereupon PHILIP assembled a fleet of seventeen hundred ships, and a proportionable land-army, in order to invade England; and that he might leave no enemy behind him, first fell upon the Earl of Flanders, who was in alliance with King JOHN, and took the best part of his country from him. In the mean time, King JOHN and the Earl got together all the shipping they could, and attacking

the French fleet, while they lay on the coast of Flanders, and in the mouth of the Scheld, destroyed almost every ship in the fleet. CHAP. XXXIV.

During these transactions, the Pope's Legate PANDULPHUS came to Dover, where he found King JOHN, and offer'd him, that if he would consent to hold his dominions of the Pope, he would oppose any further attempts of the French King. He accepted the proposal, and his Holiness immediately prohibited PHILIP to act any more in a hostile manner against England, for that it was become a fee of the Holy See. The French King however permitted his son LEWIS to accept the invitation of the disaffected Lords in England, who actually proclaim'd him King in London, and he maintain'd a war against King JOHN till he died; tho' the Pope excommunicated LEWIS and all his adherents.

It was generally expected that the death of King JOHN would have fix'd LEWIS upon the throne of England; but it was so far from it, that the English united themselves upon the death of this Prince, drove out the French, and proclaimed HENRY the son of JOHN their King; which put an end to the hopes the French had of adding England to their Empire. The French driven out of England, an. 1217.

After this the two nations lived in peace till the death of PHILIP AUGUSTUS, which happened in the forty-fourth year of his reign, and the fifty-ninth of his age, anno 1223. The French writers make him the greatest Prince that ever sat on the throne of France, except CHARLEMAGNE; but the principal reason is, I find, because he added Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou to his dominions, which formerly belong'd to England. But if these same writers would consider the base and treacherous artifices he made use of against the Kings of England in order to effect this, and that when he swallow'd up these provinces there was scarce any power in the field to oppose him, they would surely cease to admire either his virtue or courage. Among common minds, 'tis true, success alone creates the hero; they seldom consider the honour or justice of the enterprize. The death and character of Philip.

LEWIS VIII. being advanc'd to the throne on the death of his father PHILIP, the court of England demanded of him the restitution of Normandy, and the rest of the provinces in France belonging to the English, which had been taken from them in the last reign, in pursuance of the treaty made at London. (LEWIS, as has been intimated already was besieg'd in that city, and had no way of escaping the fury of the English, but by promising to deliver up those provinces when he should succeed to the crown.) LEWIS answer'd this demand with a complaint, that King HENRY had not attended in person at his coronation, as he ought to have done, for the territories

CHAP. ritories he held of him in France, and suggested, XXXIV. that he had broke the treaty of London first, by

not restoring his subjects their ancient privileges, as was promis'd on his part. But surely if the French King had been a Prince of any honour, he would not have hesitated to have yielded up those provinces, with which he ransom'd his life and liberty. However, his refusal occasion'd a war between the two nations, wherein the French made themselves masters of Rochelle. We find the English very backward in assisting either King JOHN, or his son HENRY, in maintaining their foreign dominions. They were taxed and harrassed from time to time to carry on these wars, without reaping any manner of advantage from them: so early had the people of England learned, that foreign dominions and foreign wars were infinitely destructive to them. But we were never more sensible of this truth than at present, when our revenues are mortgaged for ages to come; the consequence of which must be eternal poverty and slavery, unless we are saved by a miracle. To proceed: The French writers assure us, that we had at this time infallibly lost Guienne and Gascony, as well as Rochelle, if their King had not been diverted from this war by another crusado,

A crusado against the Albigenes.

publish'd by the Pope against the Albigenes; at the head of which King LEWIS marched in person, took Avignon, and many other cities, and would have extirpated those Hereticks, as they are called at this time, if he had not been unfortunately taken ill in the midst of his conquests. What his distemper was, none of them pretend to tell us, tho' they acquaint us with the recipe prescrib'd by his physicians, which was a very odd one: they let him know, that nothing but a young girl could save his life; and when his scruples would not suffer him to follow their advice, they took an opportunity of putting a virgin to bed to him, when he was a-sleep: the King waking and discovering the lady, call'd to one of his servants to take her away, pronouncing that noble sentence, says the Jesuit my author, That it was better to die than save his life by a mortal sin. He died therefore, according to the same writer, the most noble death that a Christian King could wish; a martyr to chastity, with his sword drawn in defence of religion against heresy, in the fourth year of his reign, and the fortieth of his age; and was succeeded by his son LEWIS IX. an infant of twelve years of age, the Queen-mother BLANCHE of Castile, being appointed Regent. This Princess is highly applauded by the French historians for her administration during the minority of her son. She suppressed several dangerous rebellions of the vassal Princes; carried on the war against the Albigenes, till she brought the Count de Thoulouse to consent to marry his daughter JANE to ALPHONSO the King's brother; by which the

Lewis IX. 1226.

territories of the Count were in the next generation united to the crown of France. CHAP. XXXIV

During the civil wars of France, in the King's minority, the English had a fair opportunity of recovering the provinces they had lost. The Duke of Britany, and several other disaffected Lords, invited the King of England to come over and join them; but he was engag'd in a civil war with his Barons himself, which found him full employment at home; and the Count of Bretagne, and the rest of the malecontents, were forced to submit to such terms as the Court of France were pleas'd to impose upon them. And it being observed, that nothing had occasion'd more distraction in France than the vassal Princes matching into the families of foreigners, they were prohibited to enter into any treaty of marriage with other powers, without the leave of the French King.

The Queen-mother did not quit the title of Regent of France till the King was full one and twenty years of age; tho', by the present constitution, the King takes the government upon him at fourteen. His Majesty also continued to be advised by her as long as she lived, this Princess being esteem'd a perfect mistress in politicks.

Pope GREGORY IX. taking upon him to excommunicate the Emperor FREDERICK in this reign, for not submitting to his usurpations in Italy, and proceeding to publish a sentence of deposition against him, made a present of his dominions to Prince ROBERT, the brother of King LEWIS. But as remarkable as the French King was for his respect to the Pope, it appears he did not at all approve of the precedent, any more than the other Princes of Europe; and tho' several succeeding Popes gave the Emperor a great deal of trouble, by interdicting his dominions, and absolving his subjects from their allegiance, he remained upon the throne till his death. But to return to France.

The Emperor Frederick deposed by the Pope

LEWIS IX. having been taught that the holy war was the surest way to Paradise, after three years preparation undertook a crusado in the year 1248, declaring Queen BLANCHE, his mother, Regent in his absence. The Queen-consort attended the King, with many other ladies of the first quality, and the fleet sail'd first to the island of Cyprus, where the King had many large Magazines.

A crusado to the Holy Land.

At the undertaking of this crusado, the affairs of the Christians in Palestine were in a very desperate condition; and had not the Mahometan powers been engaged in civil wars among themselves, they would infallibly have been driven from thence. There were however still four Christian states remaining here, that had been formed by the Europeans, viz. 1. That of Acon or Ptolemais, which was defended by the Venetians, Genoese and Pisans. 2. Tyre and its district. 3. Tripoli. And, 4. Antioch. Jerusalem

CHAP. XXXIV. *Jerusalem had been wrested from them, and was in the hands of the infidels, who surrounded them on every side. The most formidable of the Mahometan powers at this time was the Sultan of Egypt, who had possessed himself of great part of Palestine as well as Jerusalem. At a council of war therefore that was held before Lewis, in the island of Cyprus, it was thought proper first to invade Egypt; which, if the Christians could have made themselves masters of, Palestine would have fallen into their hands of course. In pursuance of this resolution, the King having assembled a fleet of eighteen hundred vessels great and small, embark'd his land-forces, amounting to sixty-thousand men and upwards; amongst which were twelve or thirteen thousand Knights, French, English, and Cypriots, and set sail with them for Egypt the beginning of June 1249; but a violent storm happening to disperse the fleet, the King was forced back to Cyprus with a very small number of his ships. He set sail again on Trinity-sunday, and having join'd the best part of the scatter'd navy, they arriv'd in four days within sight of Damietta, then one of the strongest towns in Egypt, and situated at the mouth of the most eastern branch of the Nile. They found a great fleet of the infidels in that river, and a numerous army of them on shore ready to oppose their landing; but upon the first charge, both the one and the other thought fit to quit their stations, and suffer the Christians to land with very little opposition; and a rumour being spread in the Mahometan army, that their Sultan was dead, the garrison retired from Damietta without waiting to be besieg'd; whereupon King Lewis immediately possessed himself of that important post. Here the French historians observe, that while the King was taken up with acts of piety and devotion, in his army, on the contrary was seen nothing but revelling and lewdness. They had succeeded at first so much beyond their expectations, that they thought there was nothing more to do, but to march and possess themselves of the capital city of Cairo, and all would fall before them; but the Nile having overflow'd the country, as usual at this time of the year, they were oblig'd to wait in their camp near Damietta, till that river was fallen: where, as it has been observ'd, they spent their time in all manner of excesses and extravagance; the merit of taking up the cross they held to be sufficient to atone for all the crimes they had been, or could be, guilty of.*

A new supply of forces being arriv'd from France, the King left the Queen with a good garrison at Damietta, and began his march towards Grand Cairo, with an army of twenty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot; with whom the infidels did not think fit to come to a general battle; but so harrassed them, and cut off their provisions,

that in three months time the Christians were scarce able to advance forty miles; and the Mahometans taking an advantage of the King's army, when the van was separated at a great distance from the rear, and most of them in a bad state of health, they fell upon them and entirely routed the Christian army, making the King Prisoner, with all his forces that were not killed in the battle: and one could have expected no less from this barbarous people, as they are represented, than that they should have murder'd every one of them, considering the provocations that had been given them. The Christians would certainly have requited the Saracens in this manner, had they confederated together and invaded their country without any colour; for surely the difference of religion can never justify murder and rapine in the opinion of any considering man; tho' it seems, it was the opinion of the Roman Catholics then, as it is still, that dominion is founded in grace, and that the Pope could authorize the destruction of infidels and hereticks, who did not believe as the church believes. Our English sectaries and enthusiasts therefore were not the authors of these accursed doctrines; they did but borrow them from the Papists. But to return to the King and the rest of the prisoners. It was debated, it seems, among the Emirs and Saracen Chiefs, whether they should not cut the throats of every one of them, whereby they might deter the Europeans for the future from undertaking these romantick expeditions again: but the prospect of enriching themselves immediately by the ransom of so many considerable men, prevailing above their revenge, or any political considerations, they agreed to give the King and his people their liberty, upon their delivering up Damietta, and paying an immense treasure for their ransom, such as the Sultan and his Emirs could never have expected to be masters of by any other means; and for the raising of which France was sufficiently fleec'd. They had rejoic'd indeed for the taking of Damietta, and many other imaginary successes, as the conquest of Grand Cairo and Alexandria, and even for dethroning the Sultan: and we may easily believe they were sufficiently mortified, when they understood that the King with the Princes and Lords, and the best part of the army lay at the mercy of the infidels. But to proceed: The King having paid down a fourth part of their ransom, and left hostages for the rest, and deliver'd up the town of Damietta, withdrew the garrison, and embark'd with his Court for Acon, or Ptolemais, in Palestine; where he arriv'd the beginning of May 1250. The Pope and the Princes of Europe express'd abundance of concern for this unfortunate attempt upon Egypt. His Holiness sent missionaries into every kingdom in Europe to preach up the crusado, in hopes to have supply'd the French King

CHAP. XXXIV. *The Christians defeated and made prisoners with the French King their General.*

CHAP. with such a force, that he might have redeem'd
XXXIV. the credit of the Christian arms in Palestine be-
fore his return: but all men were so confounded
and astonish'd at the disgrace so fine an army had
met with, that nothing could induce them to run
the like hazard again while it was fresh in their
memories; all that the Pope could do was to send
the French King such supplies as might enable him
to put the places in the Holy Land, which remain-
ed in the possession of the Christians, in such a po-
ture, as they might not become an easy prey to
the infidels; which he effected during his stay in
Palestine, where he continued four years; return-
ing to France in July 1254, he found all things in
peace and quietness at home, nor had there been
any disturbance in his absence, unless what was
occasion'd by a parcel of enthusiasts; who, on
the news of his defeat in Egypt, immediately
took into their heads, that God had on purpose
confounded the designs of the great ones of the
earth, to manifest his glory in delivering the Ho-
ly Land out of the hands of the infidels, by the
meanest of the people. They took upon them the
title of shepherds, and being encouraged in these
whimfies by one JACOB an apostate monk, en-
creased to a prodigious number, and were joined
by all the rogues and vagabonds in the kingdom,
insomuch that the government seemed to be in
danger from them: but their leader JACOB being
kill'd, this mob was soon dispersed by the care of
the Regent.

The French were mightily rejoic'd on the re-
turn of their King; and he enter'd his capital city
amidst the loud acclamations of his people, but
seem'd little affected with them. He lamented
the ill state of the Christian world; ascrib'd the
ill success in his last expedition to his sins; and by
the negligence of his dress and mournful aspect,
sufficiently express'd his concern for the brave
men he had lost in that unfortunate attempt. He
continued to wear the cross upon his cloaths also,
to shew that he had not quitted his design of re-
turning to the assistance of the Christians in Pale-
stine, which gave his subjects but a melancholly
prospect.

Soon after King LEWIS's return to France,
King HENRY III. of England, happening to visit
his territories in Gascony, desir'd leave to return
home thro' France; which the French King did
not only agree to, but went to meet him a great
way, and entertain'd him splendidly at Paris for
eight or ten days. At a conference between the
two Kings, LEWIS being a Prince of a very scru-
pulous conscience, proposed the restoring Nor-
mandy, &c. to the English, which had been ta-
ken from them in the last reign; but acquainted
King HENRY at the same time, that he despair'd
of procuring the consent of his Peers and Barons
to it, without which he could not alienate them.

However, some time afterwards he prevailed with CHAP.
them to relinquish Limousin, Querci, Perigord, XXXIV.
Agenois, and Xaintonge to the English, upon con-
dition that King HENRY should confirm Nor-
mandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine and Poitou to
France; which was agreed to; and the two
Kings lived in perfect amity afterwards.

The pious LEWIS also proceeded to make such
regulations at home, as might conduce to the peace
and happiness of his dominions. He prohibited all
wars between the vassal Lords, and put an end to
that barbarous custom of clearing their innocence
by duelling. And as the King of Arragon had
pretensions on some cities and territories in France,
particularly to Besiers, Agde, Narbonne, the
Gevaudan, Nismes, Thoulouse, and other places
in Languedoc: and France laid claim to Cata-
lonia, Roussillon, the Lampourdan, Cerdagne, &c.
in Spain; he proposed to relinquish his right in all
the Spanish places, upon condition the King of
Arragon should give up his right to those above-
mention'd in France; which was complied with.
In the mean time, the civil wars in England threat-
ened the destruction of that kingdom. The Ba-
rons had gain'd some advantage of their King,
and oblig'd him to submit to certain conditions at
Oxford, which had in a manner depriv'd him of
the regal power. Both parties however agreed to
refer their differences to this pious Prince LEWIS,
whose justice and wisdom, say the French writers,
were acknowledg'd by all the Powers in Europe.
Accordingly the King and Queen of England,
with their Court and the Lords of their party;
as also the confederated Barons, except their chief,
the Earl of Leicester, resorted to Amiens in Pi-
cardy, the place appointed for deciding this fa-
mous cause between the King of England and his
subjects, about the Feast of Epiphany 1264: and the
French King coming thither soon after, and hav-
ing heard the parties with great deliberation, de-
clar'd, that the articles obtain'd by force at Ox-
ford ought to be abolished, as innovations that
were injurious to royal majesty; and that the
King's oath, which he had taken to observe them,
was void. He directed also, that the cautionary
towns that had been put into the hands of the Ba-
rons for the observance of them, should be deli-
ver'd up to the King. That he might dispose of
the great offices of the kingdom as formerly; and
admit whom he pleas'd into his councils. That
in short, he ought to be restor'd to all his just
rights which his predecessors had enjoy'd: but that
the charters which contained the liberties of the
people should be observ'd.

The disaffected Lords refused to obey this a-
ward, how equitable soever. The Earl of Lei-
cester drew his troops together again, defeated the
King, and took him prisoner, with his eldest son
Prince EDWARD, and his brother RICHARD.
Prince

His award
between the
King of Eng-
land and his
Barons.

CHAP. Prince EDWARD finding means to escape out of XXXIV. prison, raised another army, routed the Earl of Leicester, and killed him in the field of battle : whereupon the King was set at liberty, and restored to the throne. But I shall enlarge on this occurrence in the history of England, and return to France, where we find the Pope offering the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to CHARLES Count of Anjou, (his Holiness having fallen out with MAINFROY, then Sovereign of those countries.) But it was on the following conditions he made the proposal to the Count of Anjou: 1. That he should renounce for himself and his successors all pretensions to the city of Benevento in Naples, to Rome, Campania, the duchy of Spoleto, the marquisate of Ancona, the patrimony of St. Peter, and the rest of the demesns of the Holy See. 2. That he should take an oath to become the Pope's vassal for Naples and Sicily, (at that time called the two Sicilies, the one on this side, and the other beyond the Pharos.) That the Count, or his successors should never accept of the empire, or the sovereignty of Lombardy or Tuscany; and if they did, they should relinquish the kingdom of Naples, to the end that no power in Italy might be a match for the Pope; and that Naples being dependant on him, he might give laws to the Italian Princes.

The Pope gives Naples and Sicily to the Earl of Anjou.

A crusado in his favour.

A crusado for the Holy Land.

The Pope in order to enable the Count to invade the dominions of King MAINFROY, published a crusado in his favour, anno 1266, giving remission of sins to all that would list under his colours, and excusing them from their vows of visiting the Holy Land; which brought an incredible number of people together, with whom the Count of Anjou enter'd the kingdom of Naples, defeated his rival in a general battle, and mounted his throne, MAINFROY happening to be killed in the fight; whereupon all the towns in Naples and Sicily submitted to the conqueror.

The old French King, whose heart was always with the Christians in the Holy Land, receiving advice from time to time of their deplorable circumstances, could not die with any satisfaction till he had undertaken another crusado. Accordingly he prevail'd with the Pope to send missionaries into his kingdom to preach up the merit of such an undertaking; and by his example and influence, his three eldest sons PHILIP, JOHN and PETER, and many others of the French nobility, were induc'd to take the cross. And having spent three years in making the necessary preparations, and settled a regency during his absence, he set sail from France the first of July 1270; and being arriv'd at Cagliari in Sardinia, a council of war was held on board the fleet, wherein it was agreed to land at Tunis on the coast of Africa, where CHARLES King of Sicily had appointed to join them. The King of Tunis it seems had given old LEWIS

great hopes of his turning Christian if he had an army to support him, which was the principal reason of carrying the war thither; tho' the cunning Mussulman, as appear'd afterwards, had never any intention of altering his religion. Another reason given for this expedition against Tunis, was, that it would facilitate any future enterprize against the Holy Land, inasmuch as the Sultan of Egypt was supply'd with men and horses from thence. The fleet having weigh'd anchor, in pursuance of the determination of the council of war, came before Tunis and Carthage on the eighteenth of July. The next day they disembark'd their troops; but in such disorder, that if the Saracens had not run away before the vessels approach'd the land, a very small body of men would have oblig'd them to retire to their ships. They found great difficulties on their first coming on shore, for want of water; but making themselves masters of the old castle of Carthage, they found good wells of water there in abundance. The infidels here behav'd themselves in the same manner they had done in Egypt: they attack'd the Christian army by parties from time to time, cut off their provisions, and kept them in perpetual alarms; but would never stand a charge, or come to a general engagement. As soon as they had discharg'd their arrows, they wheel'd about and fled; and their motions were so very swift, that it was in vain for European troops to pursue them. In this condition the army remain'd, till the excessive heats had fill'd the camp with diseases; destroying most of the generals, as well as soldiers, and among the rest the King, who died in the crusado, according to his wishes, on the 25th of August, 1270, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign. And had not the King of Sicily arriv'd before Tunis with a fresh supply of troops in the very instant, the whole army had infallibly become a prey to the infidels, it was so much weaken'd by sickness. After this new reinforcement from Sicily, and another from England commanded by Prince EDWARD, there happen'd some smart encounters between the Christians and infidels, in which the Christians met with success; whereupon the King of Tunis came to a treaty with them, and it was agreed the captives should be releas'd on both sides; that the King of Tunis should pay the charges of the expedition, and a tribute to the King of Sicily: but the latter part of the agreement was ill perform'd. However, the winter coming on, the Christians were glad to accept such terms as they could get, and having embark'd their army, arriv'd at Trapano in Sicily, where great part of their fleet and army which remain'd were destroy'd by a storm; so unfortunate were these crusades, says my author, to the French nation, who were principally concern'd in them: they lost an incredible number of

They make a descent near Tunis in Africa.

CHAP. brave men, and an immense treasure. In this last, XXXIV. the young King PHILIP lost the King his father, the Queen his wife, the Count of Nevers his brother, the King of Navarre his brother-in-law, and his uncle ALPHONSO, very hardly escaping with his own life; which repeated ill success had this good effect, that it pretty well wean'd the Princes of Christendom from these romantick adventures.

Philip III.
1270.

PHILIP being return'd to Paris, celebrated the obsequies of the King his father, and the rest of the nobility, who perished in the late expedition to Africa, with great magnificence. He assisted himself, 'tis said, in carrying the corps of St. LEWIS to the abbey of St. Dennis: and my author (DANIEL) observes, that in his time there were seven pyramids in the suburb of St. Lawrence, which were erected by this Prince in the places where he rested with the corps.

The next thing he undertook was the humbling of some of the vassal Lords; particularly the Count de Foix, who presum'd to enter into a war with his neighbours without his leave, and refus'd to be determin'd by the arbitration of the King. He made the Count prisoner, and kept him in chains a whole year, which so terrified the other Lords, that he had no more disturbances of this kind. But the most remarkable event we meet with in the reign of PHILIP III. was the Sicilian Vespers, and the war with the King of Arragon, which was the consequence of them. CHARLES Earl of Anjou, the French King's uncle, who by the assistance of the Pope had depos'd MAINFROY the late King, and stepp'd into his throne, having behav'd himself insolently in the island of Sicily, the people grew uneasy, and were ever endeavouring to throw off the yoke. They apply'd themselves at length to the King of Arragon, who had married CONSTANTIA, the daughter and heiress of MAINFROY, and to PALEOLOGUS the Grecian Emperor, who were both of them enemies to the King of Sicily; and these Princes promis'd to support them with all their power. It was thereupon agreed to massacre all the French that were in the island of Sicily, and at the same time the King of Arragon was to appear with a great fleet upon the coasts, and land Queen CONSTANTIA there with a good body of troops, to assert her right to that island. Easter-sunday in the evening, anno 1282, was appointed for the general massacre of the French, and the signal was the ringing the bells for vespers, from whence this tragical occurrence obtain'd the name of the Sicilian Vespers. At the time appointed the natives fell upon the French in every part of the island, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, and murder'd them all by one means or other; sparing only one single gentleman, who had distinguish'd himself by his equity and moderation in the post he possess'd. Soon after this, the

The Sicilian
Vespers.

King of Arragon's fleet defeated that of King CHARLES's, and made his son the Prince of Salerno prisoner; and the sea being open to them, they landed Queen CONSTANTIA with the King of Arragon's troops, and by that means secured the island against any attempts of the French. What is most admir'd is, that tho' this conspiracy was three years carrying on, and several foreign Princes concerned in it, the French had not the least intimation of it till it was executed, so detestable was the tyranny they exercised over the poor Sicilians.

The Pope hereupon thunder'd out his excommunications against the King of Arragon, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and took upon him to transfer the kingdom of Arragon to Prince CHARLES, one of the French king's sons; and even published a crusado, promising forgiveness of sins to all that would take the cross upon them, and list under the French King's colours. PHILIP being thus supported, and having assembled an army of an hundred thousand men, marched into Spain, where the nobility being terrified by the excommunications of the holy See, durst not join their Sovereign, or oppose the torrent, but for some time remained neuter. The King of Arragon, a Prince remarkable in this age for his courage and conduct, assembled however a flying army, with which he perpetually harra's'd the French; and PHILIP sitting down before Gironne, one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, he cut off his provisions: and by the continual sallies from the town, and the attacks which the Spanish troops made from time to time on the French camp, their forces were so weakened, that when Gironne surrendered, King PHILIP found himself incapable of entering on any further action. A sickness also reigned in the camp, which carried off abundance of the French, and among the rest the King himself. In this distress the Arragonians fell upon the rear of the army as they were retiring through the passes of the mountains, so that very few of them returned home. Even the sick and wounded, and the heavy baggage which had been put on board the fleet, were met with by the King of Arragon's fleet, and entirely ruined: and thus ended the reign of PHILIP III. CHARLES King of Sicily died about the same time, and the King of Arragon survived him but a few months. The deaths of these Princes put an end to their quarrels, which were however revived by their posterity.

PHILIP IV. surnamed the Fair, succeeded his Father PHILIP III. and by his marriage with JANE of Navarre added that kingdom to his dominions. He enter'd into a war with EDWARD I. King of England on a trifling pretence, surprizing several of his towns in Guienne, designing to have united that province also to the crown of France.

CHAP.
XXXIV.

Philip IV.
1285.

CHAP. France. But King EDWARD seems to have been
 XXXIV. an over-match for him; he was content to yield
 up the towns he had taken, to England again on a
 treaty of peace.

He had another quarrel with Pope BONIFACE VIII. upon much juster grounds, which was drawn out to a great length; but he succeeded at last. The Pope publish'd a bull, prohibiting all the clergy in Christendom to grant money to their respective Sovereigns under whom they liv'd, either by way of loan, subsidy, or free gift, without the consent of the Holy See; which affected the King of France more than any other Prince at this time, as he was in great want of money to maintain the war he was engaged in with England. Whereupon the King made an ordinance, forbidding all his subjects to export out of the kingdom, either silver, gold, jewels, or any other valuable moveable; which was chiefly levell'd at the Holy See, tho' not mentioned in the edict. Whereupon the Pope wrote to the King, charging him with folly and imprudence in pretending to lay any restraint upon the Ecclesiasticks, over whom, neither the French King or any temporal Prince, could claim any authority. He told him also, that the disputes between France and England ought to be determin'd by the Holy See, and if he refus'd to stand to his award, he threaten'd him with interdicts and excommunications.

The King, on the other hand, sent circular letters thro' his dominions, containing a protestation that the government of his kingdom, as to temporal concerns, belong'd to him alone: that he neither acknowledged or had any superior in this respect; nor should be concerned at the censures of the Pope, any farther than they related to purely spiritual affairs. This quarrel was made up for a time, but broke out with greater fury than ever, on the Pope's reviving his prohibition to the clergy to grant the King any money. The King thereupon entertain'd the Lords of the house of Colonna, whom the Pope had driven out of Italy. He also imprison'd the Bishop of Paniez, the Pope's legate, who was a subject of France, and had threatened the King with an interdict and excommunication; which provoked his Holiness to such a degree, that he declared in a letter to King PHILIP, that as he was the Vicar of Jesus Christ, God had given him power over the Kings and kingdoms of the earth; and, in the words of the prophet, to pluck up, destroy, and build: and advises him therefore not to suffer himself to be persuaded that he had no superior upon earth, and that he was not subject to the ecclesiastical hierarchy; for this was a mad and foolish thought, and he who obstinately persisted in that error ceas'd to be of the number of the faithful.

The King thereupon held a great council of ecclesiastical and temporal peers and lawyers, whom

he found very ready to assert the liberties of the Gallican church, and gave encouragement to some of the nobility, assisted by the Colonna's, to draw up a petition against the Pope, wherein they endeavoured to shew, that BONIFACE was not legally chosen to the Holy See; that he was guilty of heresy, simony, and the most notorious crimes; upon which they request the King to use his endeavours with the Cardinals for calling a general council to elect another.

The Pope also called a council at Rome, wherein several of the French Bishops assisted, notwithstanding the King's prohibition; and a bull was published by this council, declaring, that all men were subject to the See of Rome, nor could they be saved without believing it. The Pope proceeded to excommunicate the King, and to prohibit the clergy of France to celebrate divine service. But these bulls were either not published, or not much regarded: however, the King was so provoked with this usage, that he employed the Colonna's and some others to seize the Pope's person; which they effected when his Holiness was retired to a country-seat. He was rescued afterwards out of the Colonna's hands, but they used him so roughly, that he died in a little time; which put an end to the disputes between France and the Holy See.

King PHILIP being now at leisure to attack Flanders, and having by indirect means got the Count into his hands, with his three eldest sons, made them all prisoners, and seiz'd his territories. Whereupon the Flemmings had recourse to arms; and tho' they were not successful in their first attempts to throw off the French yoke, the insurrection became so general in the year 1303, that they rais'd an army of threescore thousand men, and gained an entire victory over the French, killing twenty thousand men, and amongst them many of the principal nobility. The King afterwards rais'd another army and engaged the Flemmings, between whom and the French an obstinate battle was fought again; but neither side had much reason to boast: whereupon a treaty was set on foot, and it was agreed, that ROBERT the son of the late Count, who was lately dead, should enjoy all Flanders, except Lille, Douay, and some other inconsiderable places, as the old Count had done; so that the French King got little by this war but the curses of his subjects, who were taxed at an extravagant rate to maintain it.

The King being in peace apply'd himself to the conclave, who were now busy in chusing a Pope; and by his artifices got a French Bishop elected, on whom he had an influence. The Pontiff revers'd every thing that BONIFACE had done to the prejudice of the King and kingdom; and to oblige PHILIP, removed the See from Rome to Avignon, where it remained seventy years.

The Pope
 and his
 power over
 temporal
 princes.

A French
 Pope re-
 moves the
 See to Avig-
 non.

King Philip
 seizes Flan-
 ders.

CHAP. years. He took upon him the name of CLEMENT VII.
XXXIV. MENT VII.

Till this time the city and territory of Lyons had been an independent state; but the Archbishop, the present Sovereign, unadvisedly provoking the King, he rais'd an army, and set down before it, and compell'd the Bishop to surrender the town to him upon his own terms: whereupon PHILIP re-united it to the crown of France. Lyons once made part of the kingdom of Arles, afterwards of the kingdom of Burgundy; then it was subject to the empire; and by insensible degrees the Archbishop had possess'd himself of the temporal power.

The order
of Knights
Templars
abolish'd.

The last considerable event in this reign was the abolishing the order of Knights Templars, not only in France, but in all the kingdoms of Europe. These Knights of the Temple, or Templars, were a religious order, who besides the usual vows of celibacy, &c. oblig'd themselves to defend such pilgrims as resorted to the Holy Land from the insults of the natives, and to guard the roads leading to Jerusalem. They were establish'd about the year 1120, and were call'd Templars from a house that was given them by BALDWIN the second King of Jerusalem, which stood on or near the place where SOLOMON's temple did. All people seem'd fond of entering into this order at first, so that they became exceeding numerous, and lands were settled on them in all countries in Europe, to enable them to perform the vows they had made of protecting pilgrims &c. Their order in time became immensely rich, whereupon they grew lazy and indolent, and were as remarkable for their lewdness and immoralities, as they were at first for their virtue. Nay, the charge against them, which was fully prov'd by witnesses and their own confession, was such, that it could never have been credited if their convictions did not still remain upon record, and that they were so universally detested as to be extirpated in every Christian nation at one and the same instant. But notwithstanding they were grown the most impious of human race, the historians of that time observe, that their monstrous crimes were conceal'd from the world by the vows of secrecy they impos'd on all that enter'd into their society; and had it not been that two of the order had been thrown into prison and dealt very severely with by their superiors, their impieties might have remain'd a secret to the world much longer. These two prisoners made an offer to the French court, of laying open the whole matter, if they might be protected: with which the King being acquainted, he order'd they should be examin'd. They discover'd matters of that atrocious nature, that the King thought fit to communicate the examination to the Pope; but finding him not inclin'd to prosecute them, as believing their crimes had been magnified only with an intention of seizing their estates, the King de-

termin'd to act independantly, and in one night order'd all the Knights Templars to be seiz'd throughout the kingdom, viz. on the 13th of October, 1307. The grand master himself was apprehended at the temple in Paris; their estates also were seiz'd, and that the Pope might not take umbrage at it, they were sequestred into the hands of two cardinals. The Pope afterwards examin'd seventy-two of the knights himself, and was surpriz'd to find them confess the principal part of the charge. An hundred and forty more of them were examin'd at Paris, who confess'd the whole matter also.

1. They depos'd, that at their admission into the order, they were oblig'd to renounce Jesus Christ, and the better to express their contempt of him, they were to spit three times upon a crucifix.

2. That upon their admission they kiss'd the mouth, the navel, the back and anus of the person who receiv'd them.

3. They promis'd to have no concern with women, but were permitted to commit sodomy with their brethren.

4. They oblig'd themselves to adore a wooden head with a great beard, partly gilded and partly silver'd; which was expos'd at their general chapters.

5. If any one of the knights acquainted another of his brethren with any sin he had committed, and such brother should reveal it to the world, he should suffer the punishment the person deserv'd who had committed it.

6. GEOFFREY of Gouneville, who had been admitted in England, declar'd, that refusing to deny Jesus Christ, the superior said, this need not trouble him, it was a custom introduc'd by one of their grand masters, who obtain'd his deliverance from captivity in Turkey by swearing he would introduce this usage in his order.

As to their drunkenness it was so very common, that it was become a proverb, to be as drunk as a Templar.

The Pope being satisfied of their guilt, issued his bulls to England, Scotland, Germany, Spain, Italy, &c. for abolishing the order, and seizing their estates; which were readily put in execution by their respective Princes, after the sentence against them had been confirm'd by the council of Vienne, anno 1312; so that this order continued near two hundred years from their first institution. In France the lands of the Templars, 'tis said, were given to the knights of St. JOHN of Jerusalem, now the knights of Malta, as they were in some other countries; but in others they were apply'd to the uses of the state.

While the King was thus expressing his detestation at the immoralities of the Templars, there broke out in his own family some scenes of lewdness, which gave him much more uneasiness: the
wives

CHAP. wives of every one of the three Princes his sons
 XXXIV. were charg'd with being false to their husband's
 beds; and upon two of them it was sufficiently
 prov'd, viz. upon MARGARET daughter of RO-
 BERT Duke of Burgundy and wife of LEWIS
 King of Navarre, the King's eldest son; and upon
 BLANCHE the wife of Prince CHARLES: they
 were convicted of having been familiar with two
 gentlemen of the household who were brothers,
 viz. PHILIP and GAUTIER LANNAY, who
 were flea'd alive and hang'd upon a gibbet; and
 the two Princesses were shut up in prison. So true
 it is, that people in the most exalted stations are of-
 ten as unhappy in their families as their inferiors,
 and that crown'd heads are not exempted from
 horns. Whether this melancholly discovery con-
 tributed to impair the King's health or not, I shan't
 pretend to say; but he was taken ill of a languish-
 ing distemper that his physicians could not find a
 name for, and died on the 29th of November 1314,
 being succeeded by his eldest son LEWIS X. King
 of Navarre, who was surnamed Hutin.

Lewis X.
 A prime
 minister sa-
 crificed to
 the rage of
 the people.
 LEWIS X. named Hutin from his hasty passi-
 onate temper, was hardly crowned when there
 happened an insurrection of the Barons against
 him, who had been grievously oppressed by taxes
 in the last reign; to appease whom, the Count
 de Valois, the King's uncle, proposed the sacri-
 ficing of EUGUERRAUD MARIGNI, who had
 been prime minister in the last reign, and supposed
 to be the author of that variety of impositions
 which had been made use of to raise money:
 but by destroying of this minister he proposed
 more the gratifying his own revenge it seems,
 than the satisfaction of the nation; for they had
 not a very good understanding. MARIGNI there-
 fore was seiz'd and thrown into a dungeon, and
 articles drawn up against him; but he was not per-
 mitted to make his defence: his mercenary judges,
 by the direction of the court, condemn'd him with-
 out hearing him, and though he was a person of
 quality, he was hang'd upon a gibbet without the
 town, erected for exposing the bodies of the most
 notorious malefactors. He protested his innocence
 at his death, which was not then much regarded,
 but the King being convinc'd of the injustice of
 the sentence afterwards, consider'd his children in
 his will; and the Count de Valois himself, in a
 dangerous fit of sickness, when he thought he was
 going to give account of this barbarous prosecu-
 tion, amongst his other sins, ordered a large sum
 of money to be distributed to the poor of Paris;
 and when any person received this alms, he who
 gave it was ordered to say, pray for the soul of my
 Lord EUGUERRAUD (who had been executed)
 and for my Lord CHARLES of Valois. Which
 abundantly cleared up the reputation of that mi-
 nister.

LEWIS being in as great straits for money as

his father had been, several ways and means were CHAP.
 proposed to him, among which he fixed upon two; XXXIV.
 one was the enfranchising the lower sort of people
 for a sum of money, who were yet in a state of
 villainage, and no better than slaves to their re-
 spective Lords; and the other by introducing the
 Jews, who had been banish'd in the last reign,
 for which they paid him a round sum: and hav-
 ing thus replenish'd his treasure, he was about
 entering into a war with the Count of Flanders,
 but died before he effected any thing, leaving a
 daughter by his first wife, and his second big with
 child: whereupon his brother PHILIP took the
 regency upon him. The Queen was afterwards
 brought to bed of a son named JOHN, who did John, 1315.
 not live a month; whereupon PHILIP changed Philip V,
 his title of Regent for that of King: his nephew 1316.
 JOHN, tho' really King, is not reckon'd among
 the number of their monarchs by the generality of
 the French historians.

When PHILIP V. ascended the throne, it was
 objected to his title, that JANE the daughter of
 the late King LEWIS X. was nearer in blood:
 but the nobility being assembled, they declared,
 that the crown of France could not descend to a
 female. Whereupon they all acquiesced in PHIL-
 IP the brother of LEWIS. The King's next
 care was to settle the peace between France and
 Flanders upon a lasting foot; for no nation had
 given his predecessors more uneasiness than that
 people; whereupon he married his daughter MAR-
 GARET to LEWIS the grandson of the Count of
 Flanders; and it was agreed that he should suc-
 ceed to the county of Flanders before his father;
 also that Lisle, Douay and Orchies should belong
 to France. And having settled all things at home,
 he began to make preparations for a crusado to the
 Holy Land, which he had formerly vow'd: but
 the Mahometan Princes hearing of it, we are
 told, hired the Jews, who had lately been hardly
 used, to poison all the wells and springs in France,
 hoping to prevent another invasion by the death
 or sickness of that people. The Jews, 'tis said,
 employ'd the Lepers in this affair, who were ex-
 cluded the society of other people, (of whom there
 were then a great many in France,) and generally
 disaffected to the government, who had laid such
 restraints upon them. The wells were accordingly
 poisoned in some places, and people died with
 drinking the waters; but it being discovered be-
 fore the calamity become general, several of the
 Jews and Lepers were burnt; and the Jews again
 for ever banish'd the kingdom: and according to
 my author, they have never been admitted into
 the kingdom by legal authority ever since, tho'
 they venture to reside there. The King however
 never performed his crusading vow, being taken
 ill with an aguish distemper and a dysentery, which
 carried him off in five days, not without suspicion
 of

CHAP. of his being poisoned. He died in the 29th year XXXIV. of his age, and the sixth of his reign, anno 1322, leaving only three daughters; whereupon his brother CHARLES, surnamed the Fair, succeeded to the crown.

Charles IV.
1322.

CHARLES IV. would never be reconciled to his wife BLANCHE, who had been false to his bed, as has been mentioned already; but on his accession to the crown procured his marriage to be declared null by the Pope, for what cause it is not said; and thereupon married MARY the daughter of the late Emperor HENRY of Luxemburg, who living with him not much above a year, he married JANE the daughter of the Count of Evreux his uncle.

The Queen
of England
resides at
Paris with
Mortimer.

About this time a war broke out between France and England, but all things were settled upon the old foot by the peace which succeeded; to conclude which, ISABELLA Queen of England, who was a daughter of France, came over to Paris with her son Prince EDWARD. The King of England, after they had remained some time at the French Court, by the advice of the two SPENCERS, father and son, sent for them over into England. The Queen answered, the SPENCERS were her enemies, and she could not return in safety while they were at the head of his council. But she concealed the true reason, says my French author, namely, that she might have an opportunity of enjoying her gallant ROGER MORTIMER with the greater freedom.

Hereupon the English court apply'd to the King of France to send her and the Prince over; which King CHARLES seemed averse to at first; but, say the French historians, the SPENCERS distributed so much money among King CHARLES's ministers, that he at length insisted on her going, and was determined to send her over by force: but the Queen did not think fit to wait till things came to this extremity, and therefore set forwards on her journey to England, at least she took the road that led thither, till she found an opportunity of getting to Valenciennes to the Count of Hainault, who had agreed to take her into his protection. To engage him to assist her the more heartily, she married the Prince of Wales to his second daughter. Here she rais'd a considerable body of troops, and the Count, who was Earl of Holland as well as Hainault, providing a fleet of ships to transport them, she landed at Harwich in England, where the disaffected Lords having join'd her with their troops, she marched to London. The King and the SPENCERS retired before her till they came to Bristol, which the elder SPENCER pretended to defend, but was taken and hang'd without any form of law. The younger SPENCER being taken soon after, underwent the same fate; and the King, who also fell into their hands was depos'd by a parliament held in Ja-

nuary 1327, and afterwards murder'd in prison, CHAP. as is suppos'd; but I shall enlarge upon these things XXXIV. when I come to the description of England, and only give such an account of these transactions at present as I meet with in the histories of France. EDWARD III. having ascended the throne of England, the court of France demanded that he should come over and do his homage in person, for the lands he held on that side the water. He first only desired to defer it, as the French historians tell us, on account of his affairs being unsettled at home: but certain it is, he afterwards absolutely refused it, and set up a title to the crown of France, as will appear hereafter. We meet with nothing more remarkable in the reign of CHARLES IV. unless it be an attempt he made to be elected Emperor of Germany, in which he did not succeed. He died on the first of February in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign, anno 1327-8, leaving only one daughter by his first wife JANE, and his last big with child of a daughter, as it appear'd afterwards; whereupon PHILIP of Valois, the son of CHARLES of Valois, cousin-german to the late King, took upon him first the regency, and afterwards the title of King.

PHILIP VI. surnamed Valois, being of a collateral branch of the royal family, viz. first cousin to the late King, whereas EDWARD King of England was lineally descended from PHILLIP IV. King of France, by ISABELL his mother, daughter of the said PHILIP, and sister of the late King CHARLES, the King of England faintly urg'd his title to the crown of France; and 'tis probable he had never asserted it by arms, if he had not met with some foolish and unnecessary provocations from this haughty French monarch. PHILIP, at his accession, took that precaution to get the right of succession adjudg'd in him by the nobility of France, for which they were pleas'd to give the following reasons, 1. That King EDWARD could have no right to the crown, because his mother had none, by whom he claim'd. 2. Because the sons of the daughters of France had never inherited that crown: for it seems King EDWARD had insisted, that tho' by the salique law no female could inherit the crown of France, yet the son of a female, lineally descended from the King of France, might, and ought, where he was next of blood.

The first considerable action King PHILIP enter'd upon, was the humbling the Flemmings, who were never heartily affected to the French, and had compell'd their count to fly for refuge into France, chiefly for his attachment to that crown, and submitting to acknowledge himself a vassal of it; and in this expedition the French relate, that he obtain'd a signal victory over that people, and compell'd them to accept the Count for their Sovereign.

Philip VI.
of Valois,
1328.
Edward III.
of England
claims that
crown.

A war with
Flanders.

CHAP. XXXIV. The next year PHILIP summon'd the King of England to do homage in person for Guienne and his other territories in France; which King EDWARD thought fit to promise, but when it came to the point, refus'd to perform any thing more than a general homage. This with the state in which he came, out-shining the French court itself, that pretended to the sovereignty over him, occasion'd PHILIP to treat him with some degree of insolence; and tho' they parted friends in outward appearance, yet at this interview, it is generally held, they began to entertain that animosity towards each other which afterwards broke out into a most destructive war, that with some intermissions continued upwards of an hundred years, to the utter ruin almost of both nations. France was destroy'd from one end to the other by fire and sword, and England exhausted by taxes and standing armies to maintain their romantick conquests, which they were at last forc'd to abandon; inso-much that we never meet with such miserable complaints from the people as in these times, celebrated by some English historians as next to the golden age, on account of two or three victories they obtain'd over the French. But to be a little more particular in the history of this reign:

War between
France and
England,
1330.

The next year, anno 1330, hostilities began between the French and English in Guienne; which of them were the aggressors is much disputed by their respective historians: but this is not very material; for it is generally agreed, that on either side they only waited for some plausible pretence to declare war; which can never be difficult to find, or make, between two powers whose territories lie contiguous. However, a peace was again patch'd up by the mediation of friends, and the places that had been taken were restor'd. This accommodation might have been lasting, in the opinion of the French historians, if one ROBERT de Artois, of the blood-royal of France, who was disgusted on account of a suit of law given against him, had not left the kingdom in disgust, and incited King EDWARD to revive the war. To which may be added the encouragement he receiv'd from the Flemmings, from whose assistance the King of England propos'd great advantages. It was however eight or nine years after the treaty above-mention'd before the parties enter'd into actual war. In July, 1338, the King of England with a fleet of five hundred ships sail'd over to Flanders, from whence he went to Cologne, and had a conference with the Emperor of Germany his allie; after which he enter'd the French territories, and laid siege to Cambray. The French King thereupon march'd to the relief of the town, and it was expected every day that they would come to a general battle. The two Kings however contented themselves with looking at one another, and then retir'd without coming to blows.

VOL. II.

CHAP. XXXIV. The French King, 'tis said, did not care to hazard his crown upon the fortune of one day; and King EDWARD found himself much inferiour in numbers. One reason, it seems, of this conduct on the part of the King of England was, that his parliament were weary of the charge of the war, and refus'd to grant him money to carry on the siege. "The English parliament (in the words of the French historians) preferred the interest of the people before the glory of their Kings." But there was another inducement for the King of England to make a drawn game of it this campaign, and that was the backwardness of the Flemmings to join him. They had been oblig'd by the French to submit to their Count, and renew their oaths of allegiance to him; and many of them made a scruple of engaging against him on this account. King EDWARD therefore the following winter having made D'ARTEVILLE, the most popular man amongst them, his friend, assembled the heads of them, and expostulated with them upon their backwardness to join his troops: whereupon D'ARTEVILLE told him, if he would take upon him the stile of King of France, and quarter the arms of that kingdom with those of England, so that as their Lord paramount he might discharge them from their oaths to the Count their immediate Prince, they would unanimously declare for him. And tho' (say the French historians) the King of England knew very well that his pretensions to the crown of France were chimerical, and that he had authentically renounc'd them by the homage he had paid the King of France his lawful Sovereign for the duchy of Guienne and Ponthieu, and that for this reason the thing must appear extravagant to all Europe; yet he took the title and arms of the King of France, and receiv'd homage from the Flemmings as his vassals. He sign'd a treaty with them, by which he promis'd to recover Lisle, Doway, and other places in the hands of the French, and to reunite them to the county of Flanders: and when he embark'd for England, left his Queen at Ghent, and the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk at Ypres, to make incursions into the French territories during the winter.

King Edward III. takes the title and arms of France.

King EDWARD, at his return to England, acquainted the parliament with his alliances with the Flemmings, assuring them that France would now be an easy conquest; whereupon they were induced to give him all the supplies he asked. The French King, in revenge for this defection, made incursions into Flanders in the winter, destroying the open country with fire and sword. The French also borrowed a great fleet of the Genoese and Spaniards, with which they block'd up the mouth of the Scheld, and pretended to prevent the English joining the Flemmings: but King EDWARD commanding the royal navy of England in person the next year, fell upon the French

G g g g

near

Th French
fleet de-
feat d.

CHAP. XXXIV. near Sluice in Flanders; and both fleets having great land-armies on board, he order'd them to throw out their graplings, and fasten their ships to those of the enemies, whereby they stood as firmly in the engagement as if they had fought upon land; and after an obstinate battle, which lasted from morning till night, the English obtained a compleat victory, destroying no less than thirty thousand of the French, according to the English historians, and ten thousand according to the French: however, both agree that King PHILIP's fleet was entirely destroy'd; and the reason assign'd for the great slaughter that was made, is, that no quarter was given. This was the greatest sea-fight which had happen'd for many ages; tho' this may be called rather a river than sea-engagement, being fought chiefly on the river Scheld.

The French fleet defeat-
ed.

After this victory King EDWARD landed his forces, and joining the Flemmings and the rest of his allies, form'd an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, according to the French accounts, with which he laid siege to Tournay, a town at that time extremely well fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison; where the the French King suffering him to throw away the best of his troops for ten weeks, came at length to the relief of the place. But when the two armies were upon the point of joining battle, King PHILIP's sister, JANE de Valois, mother-in-law to the King of England, who had retired into a nunnery, and obtained the reputation of a saint, offered her mediation, and obtained a truce for a year between the two nations; which 'tis said the King of England only consented to, to satisfy his allies, who began to grow weary of the war: after which King EDWARD and his court return'd to England; and PHILIP, while he was on that side the water, found means to draw off both the Emperor and the Flemmings from his alliance. But to make him some amends, the Duke of Bretagne dying about the same time, the succession of that duchy was contested by CHARLES de Blois and JOHN Count of Mountfort; and the French court taking part with CHARLES, the Count of Mountfort called in the English to his assistance. But before the English succours could arrive in Bretagne, King PHILIP sent his eldest son, the Duke of Normandy, with a fine army to support the interest of CHARLES de Blois, who besieg'd JOHN de Montfort in Nantz, took the town and made him prisoner, after which he was confin'd in the Louvre at Paris.

A war in
Bretagne.

The Countess of Montfort, a lady of an heroic courage, nevertheless maintain'd the war against CHARLES de Blois, till re-inforcements arriv'd from England under the command of ROBERT D'ARTOIS above-mentioned, who laid siege to Vannes and took it; but the town was soon after surprized by the French; and the Count

D'ARTOIS being mortally wounded in the dispute, was carried over to England, where he died. Soon after the King of England arriv'd in Bretagne with a great army, and besieg'd several towns; the Duke of Normandy was sent with an equal force to oppose him, and great expectations there were of a battle: but the Pope's Nuncio found means to obtain a truce between the two nations again, and King EDWARD return'd to England, glad to have escaped so well, say the French historians; for his fleet had been dispers'd, and his provisions cut off, that his army must infallibly have perish'd, but for this timely negotiation.

About this time it was, (anno 1344,) that HUBERT, Count Dauphin of Vienne, transferred his dominions to PHILIP of France, the King's second son: but afterwards it was agreed they should be settled on CHARLES Duke of Normandy, the King's eldest son; ever since which time Dauphiné has belong'd to the crown of France, and it has been the title of the King's eldest son. The King also purchas'd the lordship of Montpellier of PHILIP King of Majorca, which was thereupon united to the crown.

Dauphiné
united to
the crown of
France.

The truce which had been made for a year was but ill observed, both in Bretagne and Guienne; but the French King taking upon him to execute several Breton and Norman gentlemen who were in the King of England's Interest, without assigning any reason for it, this occasioned the war to break out a-fresh. The King of England sent a considerable force into Guienne, under the command of the Earl of Derby, a gentleman celebrated for his conduct and generous spirit. He made himself master of several towns: but what has established his fame in history, is his justice and contempt of wealth, of both which they give an instance in the storming of Bergerac, where he gave every soldier the house he should seize, and all the treasure in it. One of them having made himself master of a house where the bankers had agreed to deposit their cash, and finding an immense sum, acquainted the General with it, not imagining so much wealth could be intended for any one private man: but the General told him, the greatness of the treasure should not alter the case, let it amount to what it would it was all his own; he had pass'd his word and honour, and he scorn'd to revoke it.

A disinter-
ested Gen-
ral.

King PHILIP to maintain the war laid a tax upon his subjects which was never known in France before, namely, that of salt. He obliged all people to come and buy it at his magazines at such a price as he was pleased to lay upon it; which made King EDWARD his rival say, he did well to support his title by the Salique law. He rais'd the value of money also, obliging his subjects to take it for more than it was coin'd, which brought him in a great deal of treasure, but

A tax first
laid on salt.

CHAP. but impoverish'd his country, and dispos'd his people for a rebellion, especially in Normandy. The Duke of Normandy being sent to oppose the Earl of Derby in Guienne, retook several places from the English. Whereupon the King of England assembled a great fleet and army to go to the assistance of his subjects on that side; but the wind proving contrary, a disaffected Norman Lord named GEOFFREY of Harcom, who was on board the King's ship, propos'd his invading Normandy, assuring him there were numbers of malecontents that would join him in that province: which being agreed to in a council of war, the descent was made near La Hogue, where he met with little opposition, King PHILIP expecting him in another part of the country. Upon the news of this invasion, the Duke of Normandy immediately march'd his forces out of Guienne, and joining with those King PHILIP had assembled, endeavour'd to stop the progress of the King of England; who in the mean time had made himself master of most of the towns in Normandy, and amongst the rest of Caen, a rich and populous city, the plunder whereof King EDWARD gave to his soldiers, reserving only one ship-load of the most valuable treasure and effects to be sent to England, which, says the French historian, was a bait for the English, and encouraged them to assist their triumphant Prince with all their might, in hopes of dividing the riches of that fine kingdom with their countrymen. He sent over also three hundred of the most wealthy citizens, who were to ransom their persons with their estates; together with the Constable of France, the Earl of Tancarville, and above threescore knights, that were taken in an engagement under the walls of Caen.

Soon after, King PHILIP, and his son the Duke of Normandy, with the whole power of France, that was assembled in defence of their country, appear'd in sight; of whose strength it seems the King of England was so apprehensive, that he thought of nothing but making his retreat by way of Flanders, where he had still a considerable party, which he hoped would join him. His difficulty was to pass the river Somme in view of so formidable an enemy; but by his frequent marches and countermarches having gain'd about a day's march of the French, and found out a ford that was practicable, he pass'd the river without much loss; and observing an advantageous spot of ground to encamp his army upon near the village of Cressi, he determin'd here to wait the approach of the French army, which overtook him the next day. King PHILIP finding his enemy so strongly posted, determin'd to defer the attack till his people had recover'd the fatigue of so long a march: however, the van of his army being engaged without his knowledge, according to the French, he found

himself under a necessity of supporting them, which brought on a general engagement, to the utter ruin of the French army. This defeat was occasion'd, as 'tis said, by the cowardise of the Genoese, who were in the front, and run away upon the first discharge, which disorder'd the main body. Some of the French historians are so severe upon the memory of King PHILIP, as to affirm that it happen'd for want of conduct, and that King EDWARD was evidently the more accomplish'd General; for it is agreed that the French were at least double the number of the English, and that they lost thirty thousand common men, besides a vast number of their nobility and knights, and fourscore banners or colours, carried by as many Lords Bannerets, were taken.

After this victory, which the Prince of Wales has generally the honour of, the King of England laid siege to Calais; and as he found it to be a place of great strength, and defended by a numerous garrison, he determin'd to starve the town. Accordingly he block'd it up by his fleet towards the sea, and surrounded it on the land-side with his soldiers huts, that look'd like another town, having streets and market-places, shops and taverns, and all manner of merchandizes brought hither from Flanders and England, as to some great mart. He continu'd in this situation about a year, when the town was oblig'd to surrender at discretion; whereupon King EDWARD remov'd all the old inhabitants, and peopled it with English. The French affairs went no better on the side of Guienne, where their enemies took one town after another, and quarter'd their troops in the fine countries upon the Loire. In Bretagne, CHARLES de Blois was taken prisoner and sent to England. The French in the mean time had spirited up the Scots, as usual, to attack the English borders in the absence of their King: but they were entirely defeated by the Queen of England's army, and their King brought prisoner to London. The only consolation the French King had, was the Flemmings changing sides and coming over to his interests: but as the English were now masters of Calais, they did not stand in so much need of them as formerly in their expeditions to France. And now King EDWARD was content to accept of the truce that had been long mediated, on condition that each party should continue in possession of what he was possess'd of. This truce was prolong'd at several times to the year 1350, when King PHILIP died, leaving two sons by his first wife, viz. JOHN Duke of Normandy, who succeeded him; and PHILIP Duke of Orleans and Count of Valois: and he left his second wife, BLANCHE of Navarre, big with child of a daughter.

The French had great expectations of King JOHN II. when he was advanc'd to the throne, being of a mature age, (about forty) educated in

Normandy
invaded by
the English.

The battle
of Cressi,
1346.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Calais be-
sieged and
taken, 1347.

1350.

CHAP. XXXIV. the mysteries of state, and having commanded the armies of France for a considerable time with success; and yet there is no reign wherein the kingdom suffer'd more by foreign enemies and intestine divisions. The King was crown'd at Rheims on the 26th of September, 1350, when he made several knights, and amongst the rest **CHARLES** his eldest son the first, who bore the title of Dauphin on account of his being heir apparent to the crown. The rejoicings for the coronation were scarce over, when **RAOUL** Count d'Eu, Constable of France, return'd from his imprisonment in England, having been taken at the storming of Caen. He was seiz'd by the King's order when he came to court, and beheaded without any trial, being in a conspiracy with the King of England against the state, as was afterwards given out.

About the same time there was a battle between the French and English in Guienne, wherein the latter were victorious; after which a truce was made between the two nations, which the French complain was but ill observed, especially in Bretagne, where, among other enterprizes, a duel was fought between thirty knights of Bretagne and as many of England, and the Bretons came off conquerors, which they boast of to this day. During this truce also the King of England surpriz'd Guines, having corrupted the governour: which, when the French complain'd of, they were answer'd that the surprizing of places was not prohibited by the truce, or they would not have attempted Calais; for **CHARNI**, governour of St. Omers, had attempted to seize that city, having first bought the governour; but the conspiracy was discover'd, and **CHARNI** with five or six hundred French knights made prisoners, besides a great many cut to pieces. The truce however was continued to the year 1355.

The King of Navarre puts himself under the protection of the English.

In the mean time the King of Navarre came to court, to whom the French chiefly ascribe the calamities which afterwards happen'd in the kingdom. He was the son of **PHILIP** Count of Evreux, a Prince of the blood, and of **JANE** of France, daughter of King **LEWIS** HUTIN. He had been educated at the French court, and was much admir'd there, as being a most accomplish'd young Prince. The avow'd design of his waiting on the King at this time, was to desire his daughter **JANE** in marriage, whom he obtain'd: but observing the perplexity the state was in on account of the conquests of the English, he took the opportunity of demanding the restitution of the counties of Champagne and Brie, and the duchy of Burgundy, of which his ancestors seem to have been unjustly depriv'd. The King however did not think fit to restore them, but on the contrary, gave some part of his territories in Normandy to his inveterate enemy **CHARLES** of

Spain, then constable of France; at which the King of Navarre was so exasperated, that he surpriz'd the Constable and murder'd him in his house; and expecting the King would resent the outrage, he put himself under the protection of the King of England. Such were the situation of King **JOHN**'s affairs however at this time, that he durst not publicly express his displeasure: but the King of Navarre offering to return to his duty on condition he might obtain his pardon, he thought fit to agree to it. This Prince still renew'd his conspiracies against the French court, keeping intelligence with the King of England, who was now come over to Calais upon the expiration of the truce, as the Prince of Wales was to Guienne; and it was expected every day that the King of Navarre would make an insurrection in Normandy, where he had large demesns, and join the English. In this critical juncture King **JOHN** order'd his son the Dauphin to invite the King of Navarre to an entertainment at the castle of Rouen, (for there was a particular intimacy between those Princes) and while they were at dinner surrounding the castle with a detachment of his army, he made the King of Navarre prisoner, and cut off the heads of four of his ministers who were at dinner with him. Whereupon **PHILIP**, brother to the King of Navarre, being at liberty, join'd the Duke of Lancaster, who was lately landed in Normandy, with a good body of troops. The English however were far from performing what was expected from them in Normandy this year, which we are told was occasion'd by the backwardness of the parliament to give supplies. The Prince of Wales on the other hand made very rapid conquests with a handful of men on the side of Guienne, laying Auvergne, Limousin and Berry under contribution, and advancing as far as Bourges; which King **JOHN** having advice of, and foreseeing it would be difficult for the young Prince to make his retreat, assembled his troops and march'd towards Berry with the utmost expedition. He came up with the Prince at Maupertuis, about two leagues from Poitiers, who finding his communication cut off from his own garrisons, chose an advantageous camp, and there resolv'd to attend the enemy. But having no provisions with him, and it being impossible almost for him to receive any, the French historians lament the rashness of their King in attacking him in a place almost inaccessible, and not endeavouring rather to starve the English, as he might have done in two or three days. The King's troops, according to their own writers, consisted of forty-eight thousand men, and the Prince of Wales's of twelve thousand; but then there was no way of coming at him but by one road, where four troopers could hardly march a-breast, and where the English archers, who

CHAP. XXXIV.

The battle of Poitiers.

CHAP. who had lin'd the hedges and enclosures, took
 XXXIV. them off as they advanc'd, till they lay in heaps
 at the entrance of their camp. And the French
 being thus put into confusion in the front, a body
 of English horse wheel'd about, and taking a cir-
 cumference, fell in upon the rear, which com-
 pleted their defeat. The King with his son PHILIP,
 and several thousand more, were taken pri-
 soners, and among the slain were no less than se-
 venteen hundred lords and gentlemen.

The French relate, that the Pope's legate endea-
 vour'd to accommodate matters before the battle
 begun: that the Prince of Wales was so sensible of
 his distress, that he offer'd to relinquish all the
 conquests he had made this campaign, if King JOHN
 would give him leave to retire to Bourdeaux: but
 the King insisting that the Prince and an hundred
 knights should surrender themselves prisoners at dis-
 cretion, he resolv'd to defend himself to the last
 extremity; and this resolution was crown'd with
 success, much beyond his hopes. However, his
 troops were so few, and his prisoners so many and
 of such quality, that he did not think fit to enter
 upon any further action, but return'd with them
 into Guienne, in order to secure them, with the
 rich plunder they were masters of; for they had
 not only pillaged a great many good towns, but
 rifled the French camp, which must yield them a
 considerable booty, the French King, the Dau-
 phin and his three brothers, with a numerous no-
 bility, being in the field.

The Dauphin with his two brothers having re-
 tir'd out of the battle in good time, came to Paris,
 where the states acknowledg'd the Dauphin lieute-
 nant of the kingdom during the King's absence.
 He was scarce twenty years of age at this time,
 and had a very perverse people to deal with, be-
 sides a victorious enemy, whom he might reason-
 ably have expected at the gates of Paris in a short
 time: but the English of that age seem much better
 qualified to gain than to improve victories; they
 entirely lost the advantages they might have made
 of the confusion and ill temper the French were in,
 and suffer'd them by agreeing to a needless truce,
 to recover from their consternation, and reunite
 the several jarring parties in the kingdom: the rea-
 son of which conduct is generally ascrib'd to the
 unseasonable good husbandry of the English par-
 liament, who refus'd to supply the King with mo-
 ney to maintain his conquests. But surely as he
 was master of so rich a country as France, it would
 have been no difficult matter to have subsisted his
 troops, and maintain'd them by the contributions
 he might have rais'd there. This, no doubt, was
 what the English parliament expected; they might
 justly be piqu'd, to see the demands of the court
 increase with their conquests, and the produce of
 so fine a country squander'd away upon favourites
 or faithless allies, as was in some degree the case

in a much later war with that nation. But to
 proceed: The Prince of Wales having brought
 the King of France and his son PHILIP prisoners
 to London, made his entry into that city upon a
 little black pad, while he had taken care to have
 the King mounted on a large fine horse with the
 richest furniture, appearing himself rather as an at-
 tendant on that monarch than his conqueror. This
 the French historians observe, was carrying his
 prisoner in triumph in a very different manner from
 that of the antient Romans, who drew their cap-
 tive Kings after them chain'd to their chariots. In
 this he shew'd a much more elegant taste of glory,
 and which will ever be admir'd by the judicious
 beyond the most splendid of the Roman triumphs.

The Dauphin in the mean time found a faction
 in Paris, which render'd him very uneasy: they
 insisted on his having a council of citizens about
 him, without whose direction they would suffer
 him to transact nothing. They took upon them
 to displace several ministers, and supply their rooms
 with their own creatures; to which the Dauphin
 was obliged to submit: all the satisfaction he had
 was to observe the nobility well inclin'd to his per-
 son, who were exasperated at the commons for the
 insults they daily receiv'd at Paris, and in most of
 the cities of the kingdom, after their return
 from the battle of Poitiers, the people upbraid-
 ing them with cowardise and deserting of their
 King. Paris, says my author, was now become
 a garrison town, the tradesmen having formed
 themselves into troops and regiments; the nobility
 and peasants in the country had entred into a kind
 of war, in which thousands were slaughter'd;
 armies of robbers were got together, who fell upon
 both parties without distinction, plundering all the
 open towns, and none durst stir out of the greater
 cities for fear of meeting them. In the mean time
 the common people continued their insults on the
 Dauphin at Paris; they let the King of Navarre
 out of prison, and placed him at their head, re-
 quiring the Dauphin to do him justice for the
 wrongs he had suffer'd, particularly to restore the
 places that had been taken from him in Normandy,
 and to repeal the attainder of those gentlemen
 who were taken prisoners with him at Rouen and
 had been executed; all which the Dauphin was
 oblig'd to grant. The Provost or Mayor of Paris,
 who was the head of the factious party, endea-
 vour'd to distinguish his people by ordering them
 to wear caps half red and half blue; but this soon
 ceas'd to be a distinction, for the rest of the people
 finding themselves in danger of being knock'd on
 the head for want of such caps, immediately fur-
 nish'd themselves with them. At length the Mayor
 carried his insolence so far, that he came to the pa-
 lace with several thousand arm'd men, to whom
 the Dauphin coming out and demanding what they
 wanted, he order'd some of his followers to seize
 upon

CHAP.
 XXXIV.
 The Prince
 of Wales's
 entry into
 London
 with his
 prisoner the
 French
 King.

France in a
 distracted
 state.

CHAP. upon two of the Marshals of France that attended
 XXXIV. the Dauphin, and murder them, which was executed before the Dauphin's face; and the Mayor made no other excuse for this outrage, but that he thought it for the publick good. Hereupon the rest of the courtiers fled, leaving the Dauphin alone. He ask'd the Mayor, whether they had any design upon his person. He said, no, my Lord; but that you may be safe, take my cap. The Prince took it, and gave him his own, which this fellow had the impudence to wear afterwards. And now he thought it a proper time to put his grand project in execution, which was to get the King of Navarre declar'd King of France; but tho' that Prince had ambition enough to aspire to the crown of France, and had a prior right to the King of England, if females were admitted into the succession, yet the fear of being abandon'd by King EDWARD, who was his greatest support, made him very cautious of taking the title upon him. However, according to the French historians, measures were concerted between him and the Mayor of Paris, to let in a body of the King of Navarre's troops on a certain night, and to murder or expel all the Dauphin's party in the city; but the thing happening to take air, and some popular men in the Dauphin's interest, giving the citizens to understand, that the city was upon the point of being betray'd to the English, things took a new turn; the Mayor was cut in pieces, and the town appear'd now entirely in the Dauphin's interest. The French writers do indeed suggest, that the party of the King of England and the King of Navarre was the same, and that notwithstanding the truce, the English were at the bottom of these attempts and conspiracies against the Dauphin; which, if true, may in some measure account for King EDWARD's consenting to a truce when he was victorious. He might hope to effect his designs by the King of Navarre's party and their civil dissensions, sooner than by an open war; tho' by the treaty he made with King JOHN afterwards, he does not seem to have any design upon the crown of France, but only to get the dominions which belong'd to England on that side the water restor'd.

The truce being expir'd, hostilities were renew'd, or rather continu'd, say the French writers; for they were the same troops which ravag'd France before under the name of the King of Navarre, that now plunder'd it under the King of England's colours: but they were suspended for a while, by the coming over of the Archbishop of Sens, the Earl of Tancarville, and other Lords, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Poitiers, with a treaty of peace concluded between the two Kings; wherein it was agreed, that Normandy, Poitou, Anjou, and all the dominions which formerly belong'd to England, together

with Calais, the counties of Bologne, Guines, Ponthieu and Montrevil should be yielded up to England, to be held independently, without paying any homage or acknowledgment to the crown of France; and that the Duke of Bretagne should hold his duchy of the King of England, and do homage to him for it; and lastly, that four millions of crowns (some make them livres) should be paid for the ransom of the French King and the Lords that were prisoners with him: in consideration whereof the King of England renounc'd all right to the crown of France. But this, say the French, was putting King EDWARD in possession of that crown he pretended to renounce: it was investing that part of France which was left to the King on all sides, and putting the King of England in a condition of taking it whenever he should alledge there was an infraction of the treaty. The Dauphin and the States therefore declared, they would never submit to it. Whereupon King EDWARD rais'd a great army and came over into France, destroying the open country with fire and sword to the very gates of Paris, where the Dauphin had shut himself up with a numerous garrison, but did not pretend to make any opposition in the field. At length heaven, in the language of the French writers, was pleased to put an end to this destructive war by a miracle; they tell us, that as the King of England lay encamp'd with his army near Chartres, a storm of rain and hail, attended by thunder and lightning, such as had never been known in the memory of man, fell upon the camp, and put the King and his army in the greatest consternation; insomuch, that the King in that instant vow'd to give peace to France. Accordingly he immediately sent to the deputies of the States to come and treat with him, and was contented to relinquish Normandy, Touraine, Anjou and Maine, which he had insisted on in the treaty of London. He agreed also to moderate the King's ransom to three millions of crowns. The French King was to be releas'd forthwith, and forty hostages; among whom, LEWIS Duke of Anjou, and JOHN Count of Poitiers, the King's sons, were to be sent in his room, for securing the execution of the treaty, in which the King of Navarre was included. The King of England being returned to Calais, met King JOHN there; and both of them having confirmed the treaty by their oaths, the King of France was left at liberty to return to Paris, after having deliver'd up the principal hostages.

LEWIS Duke of Anjou, the King's second son, not being guarded very strictly in England, made his escape over into France; which his father look'd upon as so dishonourable an action, that he determined to return to London, and surrender himself prisoner again, if he could not settle the terms of the treaty: which, when the Dauphin

The faction at Paris propose to proclaim the King of Navarre King of France.

Rejected by the States of France, and the war renew'd.

A treaty concludes with the States.

A treaty of peace between the two Kings.

CHAP. and his Ministers represented the ill consequences of, he answer'd, that if good faith was banished from the rest of the world, it always ought to be found among Princes: and that as he obtain'd his liberty from the King of England only upon condition of executing the late treaty, he would procure the performance of it whatever it cost him. Some malicious people indeed insinuate, that all these fine pretences were only to cover his passion for a lady he had left in England, which deserves but little credit. He went to London about Christmas 1363, where he was taken ill, and died on the eighth of April following, at the palace of the Savoy, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

King JOHN left four sons, viz. 1. CHARLES, who succeeded him. 2. LEWIS, Duke of Anjou. 3. JOHN, Duke of Berry. And, 4. PHILIP, Duke of Burgundy. His Daughters were, 1. JANE, married to CHARLES I. King of Navarre. 2. MARY, married to the Duke of Bar. 3. ISABELLA, married to JOHN GALEAS, Duke of Milan. And, 4. MARGARET, who chose the life of a nun.

It is observ'd of CHARLES V, surnamed the Wise, that he never took the field in person, or marched at the head of his armies, as his predecessors had done; which the French historians look upon as one signal instance of his wisdom: and 'tis very true, that the kingdom suffer'd extremely by the imprisonment of his father, which had been prevented if he had committed the conduct of the army to his Generals. But it may be as prudent for a Prince to lead his troops into the field, and expose his person at one time, as it may be to keep out of danger at another. There can be no general rule therefore laid down in these cases; and Princes at last will act according to their respective complexions and inclinations; nor will they ever want people to applaud their wisdom, whether they are daring or timorous.

The first enterprize that was undertaken in this reign, was the driving the King of Navarre out of the several towns he possessed near the Seine, which interrupted the communication between Paris and Rouen, and this occasion'd a battle between the French King's troops and those of the King of Navarre in Normandy, in which the latter were defeated. On the other hand, the English who assisted the Duke of Montfort in Bretagne, obtain'd a compleat victory over CHARLES de Blois, his rival, who was supported by the French. CHARLES was kill'd in the field of battle; and MONTFORT was acknowledg'd Duke of Bretagne even by the King of France. Soon after a peace was made between France and Navarre; and there only remain'd those bodies call'd the Companies, which gave any disturbance to the kingdom. These were compos'd of deserters from

the several armies, or such as had been disbanded, join'd with robbers and vagrants, amounting in the whole to thirty thousand men, commanded by experienc'd officers, insomuch that it was not easy to suppress them: but there happening a civil war in Castile, the King prevailed with them to accept an invitation, which one of the parties gave them to enter into the Spanish service, and by that means clear'd the kingdom of them. And here it will be necessary to give some account of the wars in Castile, because both the French and the English at length became parties in them. The French account is briefly this:

PETER, King of Castile, usually called the Cruel, from the many barbarities he committed, imprison'd his wife BLANCHE, sister to the Queen of France, and finding there was a general conspiracy of his subjects against him, who were supported by the French King, he proceeded to poison her; and it was upon this occasion that the Companies above-mention'd were sent into Castile, to serve under HENRY, the bastard brother of PETER the Cruel, who was at the head of the malecontents in that kingdom. Upon the approach of these troops, PETER's subjects universally abandon'd him, and proclaimed his brother HENRY King; whereupon PETER fled to the Prince of Wales, who was then at Bourdeaux, and implor'd his assistance against his rebellious subjects; which the Prince promised him. And as the Companies who had been instrumental in deposing PETER, consisted most of them of English or Gascons the subjects of England, he prevail'd on them to quit the service of HENRY the Bastard, and list themselves under his colours. The Prince also having received a great reinforcement from England about the same time, which were brought him by his brother the Duke of Lancaster, he march'd over the Pyrenees into Spain with a gallant army, where he found the enemy however far more numerous, consisting of French, Arragcnian and Castilian troops, who were confederated together to oppose PETER, and maintain HENRY his bastard-brother, on the throne. After some skirmishes, in which the Castilians were successful, the two armies came to a general battle on the third of April 1367; and the Prince of Wales having obtain'd a compleat victory, restor'd the depos'd King PETER; who, if we may credit the French historians, satiated his blood-thirsty humour, by the death and torments he inflicted on the great Lords, and the rest of his subjects, who had contributed to depose him. But however that matter be, certain it is, there was some misunderstanding between the Prince of Wales and King PETER; and the Prince withdrawing his troops soon after, there happened another insurrection in favour of his brother HENRY, wherein PETER was kill'd, and

K. John
dies at Lon-
don.

Charles V.
1364.

A war with
the King of
Navarre.

With the
Duke of Bri-
any.

France
and by the
and
others.

CHAP.
XXXIV.

A war in
Spain.

CHAP. and HENRY advanc'd to the crown again; and XXXIV. what was an inconceivable disadvantage to Eng-
 land, the Prince of Wales contracted a distemper in this expedition, which he never recover'd. His army also, great part of it, was destroy'd by the heat of the climate, which gave the French an opportunity of insulting the English territories in France; a thing they never durst attempt till this misfortune happen'd. But the wise King CHARLES, as the French historians call him, before he thought fit to declare war against England, took care to form such alliances, as might enable him to act with success against that potent nation; and particularly he secur'd the Earl of Flanders in his interests, who having one only daughter, the heiress of his dominions, he procured her to be married to his brother PHILIP, Duke of Burgundy, and thereby prevented her being given to EDMUND, Earl of Cambridge, son to the King of England; which proved of great advantage to CHARLES V, but brought a multitude of misfortunes on his successors, as will appear in the course of this history. But the great art or wisdom of CHARLES V, it seems, consisted in setting the neighbouring Princes together by the ears, and fomenting discontents among their subjects. We find him creating disputes between the Spaniards and the English; and at the same time inciting the subjects of Guienne to revolt against their Sovereign, under pretence of a capitation-tax, that the Prince of Wales had impos'd, to discharge the arrears due to his army. He was also so wise as to defer his attempts against the English till the Prince of Wales was in a declining state of health, and old King EDWARD had left the administration of his affairs to a concubine in the years of his dotage. In these circumstances, he had the courage to summon the Prince of Wales before him as his supreme Lord; and for his pretended contumacy in not appearing, to declare the English territories on that side of the water forfeited to the crown of France, and immediately seized upon such places as were in a defenceless condition: but King Edward transporting an army to Calais, under the command of General KNOLLS, they destroy'd France with fire and sword to the very gates of Paris, and afterwards marched towards Guienne, ravaging that part of the country as they had done the other; the wise King of France shutting himself up in his capital all the while, and never attempting to oppose their march; for which their historians applaud his conduct, and the more, for that he was successful in beating up the English quarters the following winter. But what prov'd of the most fatal consequence to the English in this war, was, the destruction of their fleet on the coast of Guienne by the Spaniards, who were in a confederacy with the French, in the year 1372; whereupon Rochelle,

A war between France and England.

Poitiers, and most of the towns belonging to the English, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne, surrender'd to the enemy. A second fleet also, which sail'd from England with a great body of land-forces on board, was dispersed and driven back by a storm; so that had the wise King CHARLES been possessed of a grain of courage, he had now a fair opportunity of driving the English from the continent. But notwithstanding all these advantages, we find an army commanded by the Duke of Lancaster, marching the next year, 1373, from Calais to Guienne, that is, from one end of France to the other, plundering the country at their pleasure; and the French still applaud the wisdom of their Monarch in not fighting them, comforting themselves, that the English lost a great many men by sickness in this expedition; as if the loss of part of the English army were a sufficient equivalent for the destruction of a fine country of that extent. In the year 1374, a truce was concluded between the two nations, by the mediation of the Pope's Legate. Soon after which the Prince of Wales died, who had been long a terror to France; and the King of England himself did not live above two years after his son; whereupon RICHARD II, son of the Prince of Wales, and grandson of King EDWARD, succeeded to that crown, who being an infant, the French King took advantage of his minority, and made himself master of no less than an hundred and thirty fortresses belonging to the English in France, if we may credit the French writers, who a very little before tell us, that the English were not possessed of five places in that kingdom; both which accounts can never be true, unless the places the French had taken were restor'd to the English by the last truce. They boast also mightily of plundering the Isle of Wight, and several towns upon the English coast, about the time of King EDWARD's death, being assisted by the Spanish fleet; but they were not so hardy, it seems, as to attempt to keep the possession of any one place they surprized on this side the water, but fled to their ships as soon as the ordinary militia of the country appear'd.

A truce made.

The Prince of Wales and the King of England.

The King of Navarre, 'tis said, about this time, employ'd his agents to take off the French King by poison, as he had attempted once before in the beginning of his reign, and two persons were executed for it. Whether there was any such design or not, is not easy to determine at this distance of time; but certain it is, that the French made this a pretence for putting very hard conditions upon the King of Navarre.

The next thing King CHARLES attempted, was the uniting Britany to the crown of France, which he look'd upon as no difficult matter, most of the nobility and gentry of that duchy being already in his interest, and many of them in his service;

The reduction of Bretagne attempted in vain.

CHAP. XXXIV. vice ; nor did he want a plausible pretence for this proceeding, that Duke being declar'd a rebel and an enemy to the kingdom. He cited him therefore before the Court of Peers ; and on his not appearing, declared that duchy to be forfeited. But the Lords of Bretagne apprehending, that they should be depriv'd of all their privileges by such an union, immediately left the King's service, and enter'd into an association to stand by their Duke, and receiving a reinforcement of troops from England, drove the French out of their country, and so put an end to the project of an union for this time. Soon after King CHARLES died, viz. on the sixteenth of September 1380, being the forty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. He left behind him two sons, namely CHARLES, who succeeded him ; and LEWIS, Duke of Orleans ; and one daughter named CATHERINE.

Charles VI. 1380. The late King CHARLES V, did not constitute a Regent of the kingdom during the minority of his son CHARLES VI, who was about eleven years old when his father died, but recommended him to the care of his three uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy, and the Duke of Bourbon ; who seem'd to act at first with great unanimity, calling to their assistance the prime nobility, without whose advice nothing of moment was enter'd upon. But the Duke of Anjou looking upon himself to be entitled to the regency, as he was the eldest of the three brothers, it was resolv'd to advance the King's majority, and perform the solemnity of his coronation in a few months, and to permit the Duke of Anjou to enjoy the title of Regent in the mean time ; after which, it was agreed the kingdom should be governed in the King's name by the counsel and advice of the Lords his uncles. This scheme the Duke of Anjou would never have come into, if the rest had not suffer'd him to ingross most of the late King's treasure and jewels. But it was observ'd of this Prince, that tho' he had a great deal of ambition, avarice had still the ascendant of him : as short as his Regency was, he oppress'd the people with taxes to that degree, that it occasion'd an insurrection. They were a little pacified however when they saw the Princes making preparations for the coronation of his Majesty, when the Duke of Anjou's administration was to be at an end ; but finding the same taxes continued afterwards as before, the people rose again, plundered the houses of the collectors of the taxes, and committed other outrages, not only in Paris, but all over the kingdom. Nor were the distractions less in the court itself, for the Dukes of Anjou and Burgundy constantly oppos'd each other ; and the Duke of Berry, who was a weak indolent Prince, was however discontented at his having scarce any share in the administration. The Duke of Bur-

gundy, tho' he was the youngest of the three brothers, yet as he was a Prince of a superiour genius, and possessed of large territories in his own right, and heir apparent to Flanders, made much the most shining figure in the French court ; and the Duke of Bourbon adher'd to him. To satisfy the Duke of Berry, they gave him the government of Languedoc ; and the Duke of Anjou, who was adopted by JOAN Queen of Naples, and declar'd her successor, going to take possession of that kingdom (in which expedition he lost his life) the administration remained solely in the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, who having quieted the disaffected at home, and made peace with the Duke of Britany, march'd to the assistance of his father-in-law the Earl of Flanders, against whom the Flemings had revolted. He defeated them in a decisive battle, and restored the Earl to his government, returning with the young King in a triumphant manner to Paris ; where he disarm'd the inhabitants, caused all the chains of their streets to be taken away, and executed many of those who had been the authors of the late tumults. This city and Rouen also were oblig'd to pay very great sums for their former insolent behaviour, and submit to pay those taxes they had procur'd to be suspended by the late insurrections. In the mean time the war was faintly carried on between the French and English, both courts being inclined to pacifick measures. The schism that was in the church at this time, seems to have been the principal occasion of that war. England and most of the powers of Europe, had acknowledged URBAN for Pope, while the French alone adher'd to CLEMENT, who had been elected by the Cardinals at Avignon. Whereupon URBAN the Italian Pope, sent a bull into England to SPENCER Bishop of Norwich, directing him to publish a crusado against the French or Clementines. The Bishop having rais'd twenty or thirty thousand men, transported them to Flanders, which was then dependant on France, and made himself master of several towns : but the Bishop not being supported in this expedition by the King or Nobility, the French soon retook the Flemish towns ; and the Bishop was oblig'd to return to England, where he fell under the displeasure of the court, and had his temporalities sequester'd.

The following year the Earl of Flanders died ; by whose death the Duke of Burgundy, who had married his only daughter MARGARET, became possessed of that fine country.

The French King being in the seventeenth year of his age, his uncles married him to the Princess ISABELLA, daughter of the Duke of Bavaria. After which, it was propos'd in the French court to invade England, and great preparations were made for it ; but the King of England having

CHAP. XXXIV.

The D. of Burgundy prevails.

1381. Reduces the rebellious Flemings.

1383. Two Popes at once.

One publishes a crusado against the other.

1384.

1385.

Preparations for the invasion of England.

H h h h

CHAP. XXXIV. procur'd another revolt in the Netherlands, the troops that were designed for that enterprize, were employ'd in reducing the Flemmings; only fifteen hundred of the French join'd the Scots, and made an incursion into England. They were soon repulsed, and Edinburgh it self burnt and plunder'd by the English in return.

The King of Navarre having been dispossessed of the towns and territories he held in France, and not being able to recover them by open force, about this time formed a design of poisoning the King and the most considerable Lords about the court; and, according to the French writers, the agent he employ'd was actually taken in the King's kitchen with the poison upon him: whereupon a process was form'd against the King of Navarre, as a vassal to the crown of France for the county of Evreux, and by sentence of the Peers he was adjudg'd guilty of high treason: but that Prince kept close in Navarre, and did not come within their reach; and only the agent he employ'd suffered for it.

It is observ'd by the French historians, that the Kings of England and France were much in the same condition at this time, both of them young, and in a manner under the direction of their uncles, who took the administration of the government into their own hands. The Duke of Lancaster was almost absolute in England, as the Duke of Burgundy was in France, and both the one and the other had their private interests in view; but in this the King of France had the advantage, that however his uncles might contend for the ministry, none of them aspir'd to the crown, as the Duke of Lancaster and his brothers evidently did in England.

1386. In the year 1386, the French again made preparations to invade England, as the most effectual way to oblige the English to abandon the countries they were possessed of in France. But the Duke of Berry, who found he was consulted in this enterprize only for form sake, determin'd to make it miscarry, and did not bring the troops he was to raise to the general rendezvous till September. Had the French made a descent in England at this time, they had all the reason in the world to hope for success; for that court was not only divided into factions, but the Duke of Lancaster had carried the flower of their forces into Portugal, in order to assert his title to the crown of Castile, having married the daughter and heiress of PETER the Cruel; but the heats of that country having destroy'd the best part of his army, he was oblig'd to abandon that enterprize.

1387. The French renew'd their design upon England a third time in the year 1387, and because that kingdom was actually engaged in a civil war, fourteen thousand men were thought sufficient for this expedition, who were to have been commanded

by DE CLISSON the Constable; but just as they were ready to embark in Britany, the Duke of Britany caus'd the Constable to be seized and detained prisoner, either because he suspected him of some design upon his duchy, or to make good his engagements with the court of England, under whose protection Britany usually was, and must have been united to the crown of France long before this, if the English had not from time to time prevented it. The French King was highly provoked with the Duke of Bretagne for seizing the Constable, the first officer of the crown, and possibly would have made him sensible of it, if the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry had not interpos'd, who prevail'd with the King to pass by the affront on his setting the Constable at liberty. His Majesty being now weary of the tuition of his uncles, declar'd he would take the reins of government into his own hands; whereupon the Duke of Burgundy retir'd to his dominions, and the Duke of Berry to his government of Languedoc; but the Duke of Bourbon, of whom the King had a more favourable opinion, he kept near him. All the rest of the great officers were changed.

The new ministry, to ingratiate themselves with the people, struck off abundance of pensions which the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry had procured for their creatures, and eas'd the people in their taxes. About the same time, LEWIS, the eldest son of the Duke of Anjou, rais'd an army and reduced the kingdom of Naples, which he look'd upon as his inheritance, tho' at present it was possess'd by LADISLAUS the son of CHARLES DURAS, his father's competitor. He was not long after however driven out of Naples again, and forced to content himself with the county of Provence, which was part of the territories left his father by Queen JOAN. The Duke of Bourbon either not approving the present administration, or weary of a court-life, desired leave of the King to raise a body of troops, and assist the Genoese in an expedition they were entering upon against Tunis, near which city the Christians landed, and obtain'd a victory over the Turks; but were forc'd to raise the siege of Carthage they had undertaken, and re-imbark their troops, the King of Tunis consenting first to release the Christian captives, and pay them part of the charges of the enterprize.

While the Duke of Bourbon was engag'd in this undertaking against Tunis, there happened an accident at Paris, that very much alarmed the court. The Constable CLISSON, who was in a manner Prime Minister, was attack'd in the streets in the night-time by one CRAON, a person of figure, whom he had displaced, and twenty other armed men, who wounded him, and left him for dead, tho' he had the good fortune to recover. CRAON made his escape with his followers into Britany,

1388.
The King takes the government into his own hands.

1389.
D. of Anjou's expedition against Naples.

1390.

1391.
An attempt to assassinate the Constable.

CHAP. P. Britany, and that Duke refused to deliver him up XXXIV. when the King sent to demand him; which made it suspected, that he was not altogether a stranger to the attempt upon the Constable. And the King being dissatisfied with the Duke upon many other accounts, and particularly for not delivering up the places in Britany to the Constable which belong'd to him, (for the Constable was a native of Britany) his Majesty rais'd an army, and begun his march against the Duke, summoning the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy to attend him, which they obey'd very willingly. But while the King was about to revenge himself on the Duke of Britany, his Majesty was taken with a most unaccountable frenzy, which occasioned infinite miseries to France. An eye-witness who was then in the army relates, ' That on the first of August, 1392, ' they observ'd a disorder in his Majesty's gesture ' and discourse; that sometimes he appeared quite ' stupify'd, and at others let fall extravagant expressions, and then would be compos'd again, ' and converse as at other times. This continued ' by fits for four days. On the fifth, he gave ' orders for drawing up his troops, as if he design'd to take a review of them; and placing ' himself at the head of them compleatly arm'd, ' he led them to an hospital a little distance from ' the town of Mans. While he was there, a beggar of a very mean aspect having broke thro' the croud, rush'd into his presence, and cried aloud, My Prince, where is it you are going? ' They are about to betray you, and give you up ' into your enemies hands. Whereupon the King ' started back in a fright. In that very instant, ' a soldier who was near him dropt his sword from ' his scabbard, and taking it up, the sight of a ' naked sword, with what he had heard before, ' gave such a turn to his mind, that he became ' perfectly distracted; and apprehending there ' was a design upon his life, drew his sword and ' killed the soldier that had just taken up his, and ' three others, one of whom was a gentleman of ' quality. As he continued fighting with every ' thing that stood before him, at last his sword ' broke, and they carried him back to Mans, ' where he fell down in a kind of lethargy, almost ' motionless, insomuch that some thought him ' dead. The third day after he came to himself, ' and was acquainted with what had happen'd; ' whereupon he begg'd pardon for the mischief ' he had done, was confess'd, and made a vow to ' visit the churches of our Lady of Chartres and ' St. DENNIS.'

This misfortune occasioned the laying aside the expedition to Britany; and on his return to Paris, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry made their court to the King with that address, that he placed them again at the head of affairs; whereupon the Constable was disgraced, and an entire change

made in the ministry. The Duke of Orleans CHAP. however, the King's brother, constantly oppos'd XXXIV. the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, on account of their refusing to let him have any share in the administration.

Not long after another accident happen'd, which was near proving as fatal to his Majesty as the former. At the marriage of a lady of the Queen's household in January 1393, there being a ball and masquerade after supper, the King entered the hall disguised like a satyr, with four young Lords of the court in the same dress. The better to represent these silvan Deities, their habits were made close to their bodies, and the hair, or materials which were to resemble it, was stuck on with rosin. The Duke of Orleans not foreseeing the consequence, wantonly set fire to one of these masks; whereupon the rosin was immediately in a flame, and the whole habit took fire; and as the chains prevented their being separated, the fire took hold of them all. They cry'd out most dismally, but no body durst come near to help them: the Duchess of Berry only had the presence of mind to pull off her gown and wrap the King up in it, whereby she extinguished the flame and saved his life; the other four were burnt to death. It was expected, that this would have occasioned a return of the King's distemper again, but he was not seized with his frenzy till summer following, when it having continued on him several months, he appeared perfectly well again: people were however perpetually apprehensive of a relapse. In his lucid intervals, his Majesty was generally employ'd in endeavouring to put an end to the schism which had so long continued in the church, as indeed were most of the Princes in Europe, who proposed, that both the Italian Pope and the French Pope should resign, and submit to a new election. But these angry old gentlemen, instead of conforming to this reasonable proposal, excommunicated each other for several successions, and made themselves the jest of all mankind, till the temporal Princes call'd a general council, which depos'd them both, and set up a third person: but this happen'd some time after.

In the year 1396 a treaty of peace was set on foot between France and England, and the two Kings had an interview near Calais, when a marriage was concluded between RICHARD King of England and ISABELLA the daughter of CHARLES VI of France, a Princess of about seven years of age. At this treaty the French writers relate, that the King of England restor'd Brest to the Duke of Britany, and Cherbourg to the King of Navarre. About the same time the Genoese put themselves under the protection of France, and receiv'd a French governour; though it was not many years after that they dismiss'd him, and expell'd all the French out of their territories.

1393.
The K. in danger of being burnt at a masquerade.

1394.
The schism continues in the church.

1396.
Peace between France and England.

CHAP. The young nobility of France having now no
XXXIV. enemy to employ their arms against at home,
 were invited by **SIGISMOND** King of Hungary,
 son of the Emperor **CHARLES IV**, to come to his
 assistance against **BAJAZET**, Emperor of the Turks;
 whereupon **PHILIP** of Artois, Count of Eu, Con-
 stable of France, the Admiral, and two thousand
 noblemen and gentlemen more with their servants
 and dependants, making a very considerable body,
 and commanded by the Count de Nevers, eldest
 son of the Duke of Burgundy, march'd to join the
 King of Hungary. Soon after their arrival there
 happen'd a general battle between the Christians
 and Turks, wherein the French behav'd them-
 selves very gallantly at first, but pursuing the fly-
 ing enemy too far, and breaking their order, they
 were surrounded by a body of **BAJAZET**'s army
 which had not yet engaged, and most of them cut
 to pieces, among whom was the Constable. The
 Count of Nevers their General, with some few of
 the principal nobility, were made prisoners, and
 forc'd to pay very extravagant ransoms for their li-
 berty. The Emperor afterwards obtain'd fresh
 supplies of France and England and other powers;
 but all had been too little to save him, if in that
 very instant the celebrated **TAMERLANE** had
 not invaded the territories of **BAJAZET** with an
 innumerable army, defeated him and made him
 prisoner, whereby Constantinople was for this time
 deliver'd from the terrour of the Turks. But there
 was another Prince that the King of France would
 more gladly have assisted, if he could have done it
 with that expedition the case requir'd; and that
 was **RICHARD** King of England his son-in-law,
 who having seiz'd the inheritance of **HENRY** Earl
 of Derby upon the death of his father the Duke of
 Lancaster, and banish'd him into France, the dis-
 affected English invited the Earl into England a-
 gain, advanc'd him to the throne within ten days
 after his arrival, and soon after imprison'd the de-
 pos'd King **RICHARD** in the tower of London,
 where 'tis usually said he was put to death after a
 renunciation of the crown had been extorted from
 him in parliament.

This revolution was like to have produc'd a
 war between France and England. The French
 attack'd the English territories in Guienne and
 Gascony, gave the Dauphin the title of Duke of
 Guienne, which belong'd to the King of Eng-
 land, and treated **HENRY** Earl of Derby as a
 usurper. On the other hand, King **HENRY**
 sent a reinforcement into Gascony to oppose the
 French, detain'd the Princess **ISABEL**, who
 had been contracted to King **RICHARD**, and
 appear'd to be in a condition to defend himself
 against his enemies on all sides: but being more
 concern'd to establish himself at home than to
 engage in foreign wars, he agreed at length to
 send back the Princess **ISABEL**, and to renew

the truce between the two kingdoms for six and
 twenty years. France, according to their histo-
 rians, would have made greater advantage of these
 distractions in England, if the King's distemper
 had not so frequently return'd upon him. He
 relaps'd, say they, seven times in the year 1399,
 and all sorts of remedies, both natural and super-
 natural, were made use of to cure him. [What
 they mean by supernatural remedies I must con-
 fess I am at a loss to discover, unless they were
 charms and witchcraft, for the common people
 generally supposed he was bewitch'd] While the
 King was thus indisposed, the government was
 lodged in the Dukes of Berry and Burgundy,
 but with this difference, that the Duke of Bur-
 gundy, tho' the younger, being superiour in point
 of capacity as well as in wealth and territories,
 took upon himself much the greatest share in the
 regency. The Duke of Orleans, as hath been
 observed already, was disgusted to see his uncles
 in the possession of that power which he appre-
 hended belonged to him as the King's brother.
 Formerly indeed he was excluded on account of
 his youth, but being now near thirty years of age,
 that pretence was at an end; and from hence
 arose that violent antipathy between the Dukes of
 Orleans and Burgundy, which descended to their
 posterity, and set that kingdom in a flame. The
 misunderstanding between the Duchesses of Or-
 leans and Burgundy was at least equal to that of
 their husbands. The Duchess of Burgundy took
 place of the Duchess of Orleans, as her husband
 was the King's uncle, according to the custom of
 those times. The Duchess of Burgundy also had
 the advantage in point of birth, as Countess of
 Flanders. On the other hand, the Duchess of
 Orleans was superiour in beauty, and had most
 of the King's favour, which could never be
 forgiven. Thus were these Princes at the great-
 est distance that can be conceiv'd; whatever
 the one advanc'd, the other oppos'd with all his
 might.

The Duke of Burgundy being obliged to take
 a journey into his own territories to solemnize
 the marriage of his second son, the Duke of Or-
 leans laid hold of this opportunity to represent to
 the King the injustice that was done him in pre-
 ferring his two uncles before him in the govern-
 ment of the state; and being seconded by his
 Duchess, whom the King tenderly loved, he ob-
 tain'd an ordinance for declaring him lieutenant-
 general and governour of the kingdom, while the
 King's distemper would not permit him to attend
 the administration of affairs in person. The Duke
 of Burgundy however on his return resum'd his
 office, revoked the ordinance, and was restored
 to the post the Duke of Orleans had possess'd him-
 self of in his absence. The Duke of Burgundy
 dying soon after, the administration became vested
 in

An expedi-
 tion against
 the Turks.

1401.

Richard II
 of England
 depos'd.

CHAP. XXXI

The Duke
 of Orleans
 and Bur-
 gundy op-
 pose each
 other.

1403.

1404.

CHAP. in the Duke of Orleans and the Queen, who at this
 XXXIV. time agreed perfectly well; but JOHN the son of
 the late Duke of Burgundy having taken possession
 of the large provinces which descended to him, and
 coming to court afterwards, appeared to be ani-
 mated with the same resentment against the Duke
 of Orleans as his father had been, and made it his
 business to form parties against him: and finding
 him too well established in the King's favour to be
 easily removed, he retired again into his own ter-
 ritories, where he raised a body of six or seven
 thousand men, at the head of whom he march'd
 towards Paris under pretence of doing homage to
 his Majesty for the provinces he held of him.
 The Queen and the Duke of Orleans receiving
 advice of his approach in this hostile manner, re-
 tired to Melun in order to raise forces to oppose
 him. The Duke of Burgundy at his arrival, in
 order to gain the favour of the Parisians, pre-
 vail'd with the King to restore them their arms,
 which had been taken from them on the late
 insurrections, and that the chains might be again
 replaced in the streets for their defence, which ren-
 der'd him extremely popular; and being in pos-
 session of the King and Dauphin, and the latter
 contracted to his daughter, he seem'd now to
 have a great advantage of his competitor. He
 invited the Queen and the Duke however to re-
 turn to Paris, and to assist in the administration:
 but the Duke of Orleans absolutely refus'd to
 share the administration with him at first, and
 took upon himself the title of lieutenant-general
 and governour of the kingdom under his Ma-
 jesty. By the mediation of friends however the
 two Dukes were at last reconciled in appearance,
 and the Queen and Duke of Orleans return'd to
 Paris. After which the Dukes of Burgundy and
 Orleans agreed to march with their respective troops
 against the territories of the English. The Duke
 of Orleans was to attack Guienne, while Bur-
 gundy besieged Calais: but both enterprizes mis-
 carry'd, and they return'd to court much cha-
 green'd, and their old animosities were revived:
 they took every occasion to disoblige each other,
 and frequently without any regard to discretion or
 good manners, till at length the Duke of Bur-
 gundy was work'd up to that degree of rage, that
 nothing less than the life of his competitor would
 satisfy him.

1407. The Duke of Burgundy procures the Duke of Orleans to be assassinated.
 The Duke of Orleans going to pay a visit to
 the Queen one evening, a page of the King's,
 who held a correspondence with the Duke of Bur-
 gundy, came to him and told him his Majesty re-
 quired his presence upon an affair of moment.
 His Royal Highness immediately mounted, attend-
 ed only by two gentlemen and three pages who
 carried torches before him, (tho' since his quarrel
 with the Duke of Burgundy he had never stirred
 abroad till then without a guard): he had not

rode the length of a street before he found himself
 surrounded by eighteen assassins, with a Norman
 gentleman at their head, whom he had lately dis-
 charged from an employment he held about the
 King: 'twas he who gave him the first blow,
 and cut off his hand with an ax which he had
 laid upon the saddle. His Royal Highness cry'd
 out, I am the Duke of Orleans. 'Tis he whom we
 want, said the assassins; when the same hand gave
 him a second blow on the forehead and dismounted
 him, and with a third he cleft his skull; after
 which, the murderers made their escape.

None of the assassins being discovered, the au-
 thor of this outrage was concealed for two or
 three days, when the Duke of Burgundy acknow-
 ledged to the Duke of Berry he was concerned
 in the fact; and retired to his own dominions
 that he might put himself into a condition to jus-
 tify it. Accordingly he soon after returned to
 Paris with an armed force, where he was received
 by the people, to whom he was very dear, with
 the highest acclamations of joy. Having demand-
 ed audience of the King, who was not in a con-
 dition to deny it, he ordered one of his creatures
 to charge the deceased Duke with tyranny, and a
 multitude of other crimes, affirming that the
 whole kingdom was indebted to him for deliver-
 ing them from a man of the Duke of Orleans's
 temper. But the discontent of the court appear'd
 by the retreat of the Queen and the Dauphin to
 Melun again, who were soon followed by the
 Dukes of Berry and Britany; leaving the King
 in the Duke of Burgundy's power, who extorted
 a justification of the fact from him, and put his own
 creatures into all the considerable places about his
 Majesty. This was so resented by the rest of the
 Princes of the blood, that the Duke of Berry, and
 the young Duke of Orleans, with the Dukes of Bri-
 tany and Bourbon, and the Counts of Alençon,
 Clermont and Armagnac, enter'd into a confederacy
 against him, and wrote a letter to the King, wherein
 they lamented the servitude in which his Majesty
 and the Dauphin were detain'd by the Duke of
 Burgundy; and begged of him that he would not
 take it amiss if they used force to deliver him.
 They wrote circular letters to the prelates and
 nobility, as also to the great towns in the king-
 dom, to engage them in the same design. The
 Duke of Burgundy however had several advan-
 tages of his enemies, being master of the King's
 person and the Dauphin's, and all his orders sent
 abroad in their names and under their seals:
 whereas his adversaries wanting the colour of au-
 thority, were looked upon as a rebellious faction.
 The war was vigorously carried on by both parties
 for some years; and the Duke of Burgundy was at
 one time so hard prest, that he was forced to
 call in two thousand of the English to his assistance,
 which gave great offence to the French nobility.

How-

CHAP. XXXIV. However, in the course of the war the Dukes of Berry and Orleans having the disadvantage, made proposals also to the King of England, offering to deliver up to him Normandy and all the countries he claim'd in France, on condition he would send them a reinforcement of troops. But the wisest among the French on both sides considering that the introducing an English army into their bowels would probably be attended with the ruin of their country, a peace was on a sudden clapt up between the contending parties; and the English, who were already landed in Normandy, were paid the charges they had been at in this expedition, and prevailed on to return home. The next year the civil wars in France were revived, the Duke of Burgundy made himself master of the King's person again, and executed several of the adherents of the Duke of Orleans: but his Royal Highness getting into the administration in his turn, compelled the Duke of Burgundy to leave Paris, and retire to his Flemish territories. At this time the Duke of York came over to France from HENRY V King of England, to demand the Princess CATHERINE, daughter of the French King, in marriage; but nothing was concluded on that subject. However, the truce was renew'd for some months between the two nations.

1412. 1413. 1414. The Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, upon the retreat of the Duke of Burgundy, procur'd him to be declar'd an enemy to his country; whereupon the civil war was carried on with more fierceness than ever, towns taken and retaken, the country ravag'd and plunder'd on all sides, till at length the Flemings declaring for France against the Duke; and his brother the Duke of Nevers deserting him, he found himself under a necessity of treating with his enemies. The Duke of Orleans, who had still the murder of his father fresh in his memory, was for pushing things to the last extremity; but another embassy arriving from England, and demanding the restitution of Normandy, and the Dauphin apprehending that the Duke of Burgundy would throw himself into the hands of the English if he was driven to despair, thought fit to close with the offers the Duke made, that they might be in a condition with their united forces to oppose the invasion they were threaten'd with by the King of England; and a peace was accordingly concluded and sworn to by the contending parties with the greatest solemnity on the 14th of May, 1415.

1415. Henry V of England invades France. King HENRY, notwithstanding this reconciliation, proceeded in his enterprize against France, and having assembled a fleet of fifteen hundred sail of ships, on which he embark'd six thousand men at arms, and four and twenty thousand archers, (for muskets were not yet brought into common use) he landed near Harfleur in the mouth of the Seine about the middle of August, and laying

CHAP. XXXIV. siege to that town, which was bravely defended, the place did not capitulate till about six weeks after he sat down before it: and now the season was so far advanc'd, it being the latter end of September, and so many of his men were fallen sick, that he did not think it proper to enter upon any further action this campaign, but determin'd to march his army cross Picardy, and take winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Calais. The English must certainly have a very mean opinion of the French troops at this time, or they would not have attempted such a march thro' an enemy's country in the face of an army of three or four-score thousand men, when according to their own historians King HENRY had not above fifteen or twenty thousand at most; especially when that Prince might have transported his army by sea to Calais, if he had apprehended any hazard in marching by land. The French it seems did give him some disturbance in passing the river Somme, but he found a ford at last where he got over with very little bloodshed. And now, when he had conquer'd the greatest difficulty, the French writers tell us he was so discourag'd on a sudden, that he offer'd their Generals to deliver up Harfleur, and pay the charges of the war, if they would permit him to march to Calais. But if he ever had made such an offer, it is much more rational to suppose he should have done it before he pass'd the river. But let that be as it will, it is evident the French did not accept the offer if he made it; and having got between the English army and Calais, King HENRY found himself under a necessity of fighting. They permitted him however to make choice of a very advantageous spot of ground to draw up his army upon, where each wing was flank'd with a wood, and the French could not extend their front beyond that of the English, who had planted sharp stakes before them much in the nature of the modern Chevaux de Frize, I presume, which defended them against the attack of the French horse. Their writers seem to insinuate, that their Generals were not appriz'd of this barrier of stakes, (though they tell us the English made use of them in almost every engagement). Certain it is, this precaution of the English contributed very much to the victory they afterwards obtain'd; for the squadrons of horse which were order'd to charge and break the archers, falling upon the stakes, and being at the same time overwhelm'd with a shower of arrows from those bowmen, (who according to the French were a body that had not their equal in the world in this kind of fight) the horse immediately fled, broke through the lines that were drawn up in the rear, and put them into confusion. Another occasion of their defeat, as the French relate, is to be ascrib'd to the heavy armour of their men at arms; for it seems it was the custom of that time for the horse to dismount and fight on foot,

The battle of Agincourt, 1415.

CHAP. foot, and except the first two thousand that charg'd
 XXXIV. the archers, all the rest of the French horse were
 dismounted; and the ground being at that time
 very wet and miry, the English, who had no ar-
 mour on, and consequently were much lighter,
 when they had deliver'd their arrows, and came to
 attack the French gend'armes with their axes and
 clubs, had a great advantage of them. The King
 of England observing the enemies confusion, or-
 der'd a body of horse he had in reserve to wheel
 about and attack them in the rear, which occa-
 sion'd a general rout, several bodies that were en-
 tire quitting the field without striking a stroke.
 The French writers from whence I take this re-
 lation say, that there was very little blood shed on
 the side of the English, and no persons of distinc-
 tion kill'd unless the Duke of York the King's un-
 cle, and the Earl of Suffolk: but on the side of
 France there were ten thousand men kill'd in the
 field of battle, of whom eight thousand were gen-
 tlemen, and fourteen thousand made prisoners. A-
 mong the slain where the Count of Nevers and the
 Duke of Brabant, two of the Duke of Burgundy's
 brothers; the Duke of Alençon, and the Constable
 the Count d'Albret, and three other French Prin-
 ces, as they call them: and among the prisoners
 the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the Counts of
 Eu, Vendome and Richmont, and the Marechal
 de Boucicaut. It is related of the Duke of A-
 lençon, that seeing all was lost, he determin'd to die
 gloriously, and with a troop of young gentlemen
 who attended him, broke through the English ar-
 chers and the horse that were about King HENRY,
 and struck the Duke of York off his horse at one
 blow, and afterwards kill'd him; and the King
 stooping down to assist his uncle, the Duke of A-
 lençon cleft the crown that was wrought in his
 Majesty's helmet in form of a crest, and if A-
 lençon had not been kill'd in that very instant, his Ma-
 jesty had run a great hazard of his life. But to
 proceed: After the battle King HENRY continu'd
 his march to Calais without interruption, and the
 French King, who was then at Rouen, having
 put the remainder of his army into the garrison-
 towns, retir'd to Paris, appointing the Count d'Ar-
 magnac, uncle to the Duke of Orleans, and the
 greatest enemy the Duke of Burgundy had, Con-
 stable of France, and Governour of Paris; soon
 after which, Lewis the Dauphin fell sick of a
 dysentery, and died the 18th of December, be-
 ing succeeded by his brother JOHN, Duke of Tou-
 raine.

416. The Emperor SIGISMOND coming over into
 England in 1416, and mediating a peace between
 the two nations, there was no considerable action
 happen'd in France that year. The two factions
 therefore being delivered at present from the ter-
 rour of the English arms, renew'd the civil war.
 The present Dauphin being in the Duke of Bur-

gundy's interest, he propos'd great advantages CHAP.
 from it: but this Prince also dying, his brother XXXIV.
 CHARLES became Dauphin, who was about se-
 venteen years of age, and entirely govern'd by 1417.
 the Count d'Armagnac. The Count being in-
 formed that the Queen had heap'd up a conside-
 rable treasure, and a vast quantity of jewels, put
 the Dauphin upon procuring an order from the
 King to seize them for the service of the war,
 which was immediately put in execution. This
 exasperated the Queen to the last degree, who
 retiring to Vincennes, the Count and the Dau-
 phin accus'd her of criminal conversation with
 one of her household, and proceeded to execute
 the Lord they had charged with this piece of gal-
 lantry. As they were sensible that the Queen
 would infallibly retaliate this usage if ever it was
 in her power, they set a guard upon her, and
 made her in a manner their prisoner. Where-
 upon she applied herself to the Duke of Burgundy,
 proposing a reconciliation with him, and to unite
 their interests against the Dauphin and the Or-
 leans faction, who were generally called Armag-
 nacs, from the Count of Armagnac, who was go-
 vernour of Paris, and the soul of that party. The
 Duke received this intimation from the Queen
 with joy, and marching immediately with a select
 body of troops to Tours, where her Majesty was
 confined, he brought her off before the Constable
 Armagnac had any notice of the design. The
 Queen now took upon her the title of Regent by
 virtue of a former edict, and in confederacy with
 the Duke of Burgundy carried on the war against
 the Armagnac faction with more vigour than ever;
 of which the King of England having advice,
 made a second descent in Normandy in the year
 1417, where he made himself master of Caen,
 Cherbourg, and several other towns. In the mean
 time the Duke of Burgundy surpriz'd Paris, and
 put to death the Count d'Armagnac, and most of
 the heads of that party; but the Dauphin with
 some of his followers had the good fortune to escape
 to Bourges. And now the Queen and Duke hav-
 ing the King and the capital city in their power,
 seem'd to act by royal authority, while the Dau-
 phin and his friends constituted a distinct court,
 possess'd themselves of Berry and part of Languedoc,
 and became pretty formidable in that part of
 the kingdom.

The Queen
 and the
 Duke of
 Burgundy
 unite against
 the Orleans
 faction.

The Dau-
 phin keeps
 a distinct
 court.

The King of England proceeded in his con- 1418.
 quests in Normandy, reducing Rouen the capital, The King of
 and indeed almost every other town in that duchy, England
 in the year 1418. The English carried on the conquests
 war in a much more prudent manner than they
 had done in the reign of EDWARD III, who made
 large conquests indeed, and over-run France sever-
 al times from one end to the other, but did not
 make himself master of the strong towns and for-
 tresses as he went along; so that he usually lost
 in

CHAP. in the latter end of a campaign, or the follow-
XXXIV. ing winter, all he had gain'd in the summer.

HENRY the Fifth seems to have been better vers'd in the art of war, securing his conquests as he advanc'd: and had he lived a little longer, or not left an infant upon his throne, 'tis highly probable the English had remain'd Sovereigns of France to this day. Tho' perhaps we need not much lament the loss; for as the lesser kingdom is usually dependant on the larger, we might probably have become a province to the nation we conquered; or have been in the condition Scotland is in respect to this kingdom, who have had the honour of giving us a King indeed, but have now neither King or Parliament amongst them. The progress of the English arms so alarm'd both the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy, that notwithstanding that implacable animosity they seem'd to entertain for each other, they thought fit to stifle their resentments for the present, and clap up a truce, and the Dauphin consented to an interview with the Duke, in order to provide for their common defence. But

1419.

The Duke of Burgundy murder'd at an interview with the Dauphin.

the dependants of the late Duke of Orleans suggesting to the Dauphin that the kingdom would never long remain united unless the Duke of Burgundy was taken off, a second interview was treacherously appointed, at which the Duke of Burgundy was cut in pieces by the Dauphin's attendants, the first blow being given by a servant of the late Duke of Orleans, whom the Duke of Burgundy had caused to be assassinated in the streets of Paris about twelve years before. And tho' some people look'd upon this proceeding as a piece of justice on that account, yet most men were struck with astonishment and indignation at the Dauphin's treachery. He pretended indeed in his apologies and memorials on this subject, that it was a pure accident, and was occasion'd by some insult of the Duke's at that conference; which did not obtain much credit. But however that was, none express'd a greater resentment at the fact than the Queen, tho' the Dauphin was her only son then living: and indeed she was sufficiently exasperated against him before, for seizing her treasure, imprisoning her, and charging her with being false to the King's bed. These were such provocations as scarce any lady would have borne: and tho' the French writers are very severe upon her character on account of the opposition she made to the Dauphin, it must be acknowledged he had first thrown off all regard for her as a mother, before she abandon'd his interests. She no sooner heard of the Duke's death, but she dispatch'd a courier to his son PHILIP, to assure him that the King, herself and the city of Paris, would all join with him to revenge the murder: and the King of England being now master of great part of France, she propos'd to him the marriage of her daughter the Prin-

cess CATHERINE, and that he should succeed to the crown upon the demise of the present King, to the exclusion of the Dauphin, and in the mean time be declar'd regent of the kingdom; which proposal the King of England readily came into, and the treaty was sign'd at Troyes in Champagne upon the 21st of May, 1419, being ratified afterwards by the parliament of Paris. In pursuance of this treaty the Princess CATHERINE was twelve days afterwards married to King HENRY, and the Dauphin declar'd a publick enemy. He was also summon'd to the marble table to answer for the murder of the Duke of Burgundy, and on his not appearing, convicted of contumacy, and banish'd the kingdom for ever. But he continu'd still in the province of Berry, waiting for a favourable opportunity to restore his affairs.

CHAP. XXXIV. Treaty of Troyes, where the King of England is declared Regent and Successor to the crown of France.

The English having taken Melun, the two Kings, with the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy, came to Paris the first Sunday in Advent, and the Duke of Clarence, the King of England's brother, was made governour of the city. From that time, the French writers observe, the courts of the two Kings made a very different appearance. The court of the King of England was splendid and magnificent, and croud'd with a numerous retinue, whilst that of the King of France was deserted; which gave occasion to many of the French to lament the fate of their country in private, say their historians. And what still gave them greater uneasiness was, that King HENRY made the people he had conquered contribute to the establishment of his government; for having assembled the States, he required a subsidy of them, which they were not in a condition to refuse, but granted without one dissenting voice, expressing at least a seeming readiness in granting that which they knew was in the conqueror's power to levy in an instant by a military force; and which, if it had been deny'd, might have furnish'd him with a pretence of demanding a great deal more. But this prudent Prince chose to let every thing run in the same channel, and to make as few alterations as possible, that he might reconcile that people to his government. He might reasonably expect that what was given by the States would be levy'd with less murmuring than what he should raise by a despotick power. We can't but observe at this day, that this Prince was equally vers'd in the arts of war and peace. We see how he made his advances gradually in the enemy's country, and secur'd what he made himself master of as he went along; and that afterwards he made the conquer'd country in a great measure maintain it self, that he might not be too burthensome to his English subjects. Nor do we find him guilty of any acts of tyranny and oppression when he was at the height of his glory, and in a manner master of both kingdoms. But to proceed in our history:

The King of England's publick entry into Paris.

The States of France grant King Henry a subsidy.

CHAP. history: The King of England returning home in
 XXXIV. order to re-inforce his army, (for it was too soon
 to put much confidence in his new subjects) six
 or seven thousand Scots came over into France in
 the mean time to the Dauphin's assistance, and
 joining with his troops near Beauge in Anjou, de-
 feated a considerable body of the English com-
 manded by the Duke of Clarence the King's brother,
 who was kill'd in the field of battle, and several
 others of the English nobility were kill'd or
 taken prisoners, which gave some life to the Dau-
 phin's affairs, and occasion'd several places to de-
 clare for him. And indeed next to the untimely
 death of King HENRY, which happen'd not long
 after, the Dauphin was oblig'd to the Scots for his
 re-establishment. The diversion they made in
 England, and the re-inforcements they sent him
 from time to time when his fortunes were at the
 lowest ebb, kept his head above water, and ena-
 bled him to wait for a favourable juncture to re-
 store his affairs.

1421.
 The English
 defeated at
 Beauge, and
 the Duke of
 Clarence
 kill'd.

The Dauphin was encourag'd by his late suc-
 cess to lay siege to Chartres; but the King of Eng-
 land returning into France soon after with a great
 re-inforcement, he was glad to quit the siege, and
 retire to Bourges the capital of Berry, which be-
 ing the only province he was entirely master of,
 occasioned his being call'd by the English in derision
 the King of Berry. King HENRY in the mean
 time laid siege to Meaux, the capital of the coun-
 try of Brie, and a place of great strength, which
 held out a siege of seven or eight months, when they
 were forced to surrender at discretion. The King
 ordered the head of VANRUS the governour to be
 cut off, and his body hanged upon a tree near the
 town, called VANRUS's Tree, from the numbers of
 English he had hang'd upon it; for he was an
 implacable enemy to that nation.

1422.

King Henry
 dies.
 Duke of
 Gloucester
 regent of
 England.

The Queen of England, who had the year be-
 fore been delivered of a son at Windsor, coming
 over to France with another reinforcement of
 troops, rejoicings were made at Paris for the birth
 of that Prince, equal to those that had been made
 at London on the same occasion. But the King
 of England being soon after taken dangerously ill
 as he was upon the march to find out the Dau-
 phin, all their mirth was damp'd. He expired
 on the last of August 1422, declaring his brother
 HUMPHREY, Duke of Gloucester, regent of
 England during the minority of his son. He ad-
 vised his council to offer the regency of France
 to the Duke of Burgundy, and on his refusal he
 nominated his other brother the Duke of Bedford
 to take upon him the regency of that kingdom.
 The Duke of Burgundy receiving advice of the
 King of England's illness, immediately set for-
 ward to visit him, but found him dead on his
 arrival; and having consulted with the English
 council, agreed with them that the Duke of Bed-

Duke of
 Bedford re-
 gent of
 France.

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ford should undertake the regency. The old CHAP.
 King of France did not long survive King HENRY, XXXIV.
 for he died at Paris on the twenty-first of Octo-
 ber following. There was no Prince of the blood,
 the French historians observe, to assist at his in-
 terment, some of them having been killed at the
 battle of Agincourt, others prisoners in England,
 and the rest absent, they suppose, as not approv-
 ing the present administration; or because they
 would not seem to authorize by their presence the
 proclaiming HENRY VI as King of France. The
 Duke of Bedford therefore only attended the ob-
 sequies of the French King in mourning; and
 the corps was no sooner interr'd, than a herald
 having exhorted the people to pray for the soul of
 CHARLES the Sixth, added, Long live HENRY
 of Lancaster, King of France and England. The
 decess'd King had had six sons and as many daugh-
 ters, and of all his sons only CHARLES the Dauphin
 surviv'd him, who is from this time stiled King
 of France by the French historians; tho' HENRY
 VI was actually proclaim'd King of France at
 Paris, and in possession of the greatest part of that
 kingdom for a considerable time afterwards.

King of
 France dies.

Henry VI
 proclaimed
 King of
 France.

In conformity to the French historians, I be-
 gin the reign of CHARLES the Seventh here, 1422.
 tho' to me HENRY VI appears to be King of
 France at this time, *de jure* as well as *de facto*;
 for the crown of France devolv'd upon him by
 virtue of the treaty of Troyes, which was after-
 wards confirm'd by the assembly of the Estates:
 and if treaties made between sovereign Princes, or
 acts of settlement made by the legislature of any
 kingdom are of any force to bind the succession,
 I can't see what pretence the French have to ex-
 clude HENRY VI from the number of their Kings,
 especially when he was actually crown'd and re-
 cogniz'd there: we may as well strike him out
 of the catalogue of the Kings of England, be-
 cause he was afterwards deprived of that part of his
 dominions also. Though perhaps we have been
 as much in the other extreme in stiling our Mo-
 narchs Kings of France ever since, when we have
 by innumerable treaties, virtually at least, ac-
 knowledged the French King's title to that king-
 dom. But to proceed:

The Dauphin upon advice of his father's death,
 caused himself to be proclaimed King of France,
 and soon after crown'd at Poitiers, which gave
 some encouragement to his party, and brought
 some to declare for him who had hitherto stood
 neuter. On the other hand, the Duke of Bed-
 ford the regent, to strengthen the hands of the
 English, renew'd the alliances between them and
 the Dukes of Burgundy and Britany. The pro-
 vinces all the while were divided into different
 parties and interests, and scarce a day pass'd with-
 out a skirmish: but the most considerable action
 happened near the town of Crevant in Burgundy,
 where

Charles
 causes him-
 self to be
 proclaimed
 and crown'd
 King of
 France.

1423.
 Battle of
 Crevant.

I i i

CHAP. where the Dauphinois having been join'd by a
 XXXIV. body of Scots, were entirely defeated; and the Dau-
 phin's troops having the worst in many other en-
 counters this year, he found himself under a neces-
 sity of retiring to the southward of the Loire. Here
 he solicited his friends in Spain and Italy to send
 some troops to his assistance. From Spain he re-
 ceived a small detachment, and the Duke of Milan
 furnished him with a thousand foot, and about
 six hundred horse; but his principal supplies ar-
 rived from Scotland, amounting to five or six
 thousand Scots, under the command of Earl DOU-
 GLAS. The Duke of Bedford, on the other side,
 having received fresh recruits from England, and
 being joined by the Duke of Burgundy's forces,
 took several considerable towns from the Dauphinois,
 and being set down before Yory on the confines
 of Normandy, the Earl of Buchan a Scot whom
 the Dauphin had honour'd with the title of Con-
 stable of France, came to its relief, which occa-
 sion'd a general battle, wherein the Dauphin's
 party was defeated, four or five thousand men
 killed, among whom was the Constable Earl
 DOUGLAS, and several other persons of distinc-
 tion; which victory was attended with the sur-
 render of Mans, Mayenne, and many other con-
 siderable places, to the English. And now it was
 expected every day that the Duke of Bedford
 would pass the Loire and reduce the rest of
 France to the obedience of King HENRY; but
 it must be acknowledged that the Dauphin had
 abundance of good fortune on his side, if he had
 neither money, troops or courage, for in this very
 instant, when, in all probability, he would have
 been obliged to abandon the kingdom, an unfore-
 seen quarrel happened between the English and
 Burgundians, which gave his friends time to re-
 cover from their consternation, and provide for
 their defence; otherwise, in the opinion of MEZE-
 RAY, one of their most celebrated historians, the
 English had made an entire conquest of France.

1424.
 The French
 routed at
 Yory.

A quarrel
 between the
 English and
 Burgundians
 prevents the
 entire con-
 quest of
 France.

The occasion of this misunderstanding between
 the English and Burgundians, was an unfortunate
 amour of the Duke of Gloucester's, regent of Eng-
 land, with JAQUELINE Countess of Hainault
 and Holland; she was already married to the Duke
 of Brabant, a Prince remarkably weak both in
 body and mind, and being no longer able to en-
 dure him, she pretended the marriage was null,
 and sent to Rome for his Holiness's opinion upon it,
 and in the mean time made an offer of her person
 to the Duke of Gloucester, who, as she was heiress
 of several fine countries, immediately married her,
 without waiting for the resolution of the Pontiff.
 He proceeded soon after to transport a considerable
 force to Calais, in order to take possession of Hai-
 nault his wife's inheritance; but the Duke of Bur-
 gundy sending a body of troops to the assistance of
 his cousin the Duke of Brabant, he met with a

vigorous resistance. And what rendered this oc-
 currence the more unfortunate to the English af-
 fairs, was, that the troops both on the side of the
 Duke of Gloucester and Burgundy were design'd
 to reinforce the Duke of Bedford if this adventure
 had not happen'd, and he was oblig'd to remain
 perfectly inactive for a year or two for want of
 those forces. However, the Pope's determination
 arriving, that the Duke of Gloucester's marriage
 with the Countess of Hainault was null, he desisted
 from his pretensions, and married the Lady ELEA-
 NOR, daughter of the Lord COBHAM, who, ac-
 cording to common fame, had long been his mistress.
 And thus the occasion of the quarrel being re-
 mov'd, the Duke of Burgundy was reconcil'd to
 the English, and sent his troops again to join the
 Duke of Bedford. During this long interval of
 inaction, the Dauphin had not only very much in-
 creas'd his party, but form'd some advantageous
 alliances, especially with the Duke of Britany,
 whom he had drawn off from the English. The
 Duke of Bedford however, marching into Britany,
 soon compell'd their Duke to quit the Dauphin's
 party, and sign the treaty of Troyes, whereby the
 King of England was declar'd successor to the late
 King of France. And now the Duke of Bedford^{1427.}
 determin'd to put the design in execution he had
 so long suspended on account of the misunder-
 standings between the courts of England and Bur-
 gundy, namely, to pass the Loire, and make him-
 self master of the countries to the southward of it;
 and in order to this, he detach'd a part of his army
 to invest, or rather block up the city of Orleans,
 for it was of too large an extent to be entirely sur-
 rounded by such a handful of men as this army con-
 sisted of; and it is surprizing to think that the
 English, who scarce ever exceeded five and twenty
 thousand men in the field, should be able to un-
 dertake a siege of that consequence, and keep such
 a large populous kingdom in awe at the same time.
 The person the Duke of Bedford pitch'd upon to carry
 on this siege was THOMAS MONTACUTE, Earl of
 Salisbury, esteem'd one of the most accomplish'd
 Generals in the English service; he sat down before
 the town on the side of Sologne on the twelfth of
 October 1427. Thus the place was invested but
 on one side, and the Dauphin left at liberty to
 throw in supplies of men and provision, as he did
 from time to time during the siege. The English^{1428.}
 however storm'd a great bastion at the foot of the
 bridge, and a small castle call'd the Torelles, and
 carried them, and had great hopes of succeeding
 in the enterprize, till their General the Earl of
 Salisbury was unfortunately kill'd by a musket-shot
 as he was viewing the breach in order to make a
 general assault. Their courage was however re-
 viv'd by the approach of the Duke of Burgundy's
 troops in the month of December 1428; they took
 post on that side of the town towards la Beausse,
 but

CHAP. but still not having forces enough entirely to en-
 XXXIV. compass the city, they built forts and redoubts at
 certain distances round the town, not so near how-
 ever but there were yet some intervals, by which
 relief might be put into the place; and this oc-
 casion'd several smart actions between the besiegers
 and the Dauphinois, as provision was sending to
 the city or the camp; the most remarkable of which
 happen'd on the 12th of February, 1429, between
 the Count de Clermont and the celebrated Sir
 JOHN FALSTAFF; the latter was conveying
 a supply from Paris to the English camp, and be-
 ing attack'd by the French, defeated them. This
 was called the battle of Herrings, there being
 great quantities of them among the provisions.

1429.
 The battle
 of Herrings.

Notwithstanding the frequent opportunities the
 Dauphin had of throwing supplies of men and
 provisions into the town, the siege was carried on
 with such vigour, that it was evident it must sur-
 render in a short time: whereupon the besieged
 cunningly offered to put the city into the hands
 of the Duke of Burgundy; to which the Duke of
 Bedford answered, he hoped they did not think
 to make a tool of him; that he should beat the
 bush, and leave others to catch the birds: intima-
 ting, that as the English had been chiefly instru-
 mental in carrying on the siege, it was not fit the
 Burgundians should run away with all the advan-
 tage; for it must be remembered that the Duke
 of Burgundy's troops did not join the English be-
 fore Orleans till half a year after they were set
 down before it. But however rational the answer
 was which the regent gave on this occasion, the
 besieged gained their point by it, creating such a
 difference between the English and the Duke of
 Burgundy, that he immediately withdrew his troops
 from before the place.

The Duke
 of Burgundy
 deserts the
 English at
 the siege.

The English still carried on their attacks; but
 as most part of the town was now open to the
 Dauphinois, it could not be a very difficult matter
 to bring them relief, especially when the army of
 the besiegers did not consist of ten thousand men,
 and the garrison was at least as numerous: but
 the French were at this time so dispirited, that
 notwithstanding the disadvantages the besiegers la-
 boured under, their soldiers could hardly be pre-
 vailed with to march to the relief of the place.
 The Dauphin and his Generals therefore finding
 they had apparently a great superiority in the field
 in point of numbers, and the country unanimously
 in their interest, consider'd that if they could find
 any expedient to animate their men, their affairs
 must soon put on a new face: having met with a
 young maid therefore of a masculine courage on the
 confines of Lorraine, they brought her to the Dau-
 phin's court, pretending that she was sent from
 heaven to deliver Orleans from the English.
 They had taught her the exercise of arms, and
 instructed her in all manner of military operations

The Maid
 of Orleans.

before she was brought upon the stage, so that she
 knew how to behave at the head of a company
 or squadron as well as most of the officers of the
 army; and this was all to pass for inspiration.
 The gracefulness of her person and address, and
 the uncommonness of finding one of that soft sex
 so daring and well skill'd in martial affairs, suffi-
 ciently prejudic'd the vulgar in her favour. There
 was no great difficulty in bringing them to believe
 she was rais'd up by heaven for their deliverance;
 and in this persuasion they crouded to march under
 her colours to the relief of Orleans, by which the
 Generals of the Dauphinois gain'd their point:
 for nothing but an unaccountable dread of the
 enemy could have prevented their throwing sup-
 plies into Orleans as often as they pleas'd, if we
 consider the small number of the English before it,
 and the great extent of the place. The Dauphin
 therefore having assembled an army of fourteen or
 fifteen thousand men, commanded by his most ce-
 lebrated Generals, with the Maid of Orleans (as the
 impostor was afterwards call'd) at their head, sent
 them to re-inforce the besieged, and found but little
 difficulty in entering the town on that side which
 was open to them. This was cry'd up as one of
 the most daring enterprizes that ever was under-
 taken, and the success look'd upon even as mira-
 culous by all the Dauphin's party through the king-
 dom. And now the garrison consisting of about
 three times the number of the besiegers, they ven-
 tur'd to attack the forts and redoubts which the
 English had built about the place, some of which
 they carried. This was ascrib'd to the conduct of
 the holy Maid, and the people thereby induc'd to
 believe, that they should always be victorious while
 this heroick virgin remain'd at their head. Cer-
 tain it is, the English finding the garrison so very
 numerous, and being deserted by the Burgundians,
 had now no hopes of taking the place: they rais'd
 the siege therefore, and march'd off in good order
 with about eight or nine thousand men, being all
 the forces they had there. And though their num-
 ber was so very small, the courage of the French
 was not yet so much rais'd as to venture to give
 them any disturbance in their retreat. The Dau-
 phin's Generals would by no means however have
 this conduct to be thought the effect of their fears,
 but pretended it was the express order of heaven
 by the mouth of the Maid of Orleans, that
 they should not pursue the enemy. The truth is,
 they found their affairs upon the mending hand,
 and they had no mind to attack a body of nine
 thousand veteran troops, and put the fate of their
 country upon the issue of a battle, when a little
 time and patience would probably produce the same
 effects they could hope for by a victory.

The siege of
 Orleans
 rais'd, May
 28.

The raising the siege of Orleans was attended
 with the surrender of several places to the French,
 and the Duke of Alençon not long after surpriz'd

The battle
 of Patay.

CHAP.
XXXIV.

part of the English army at Patay, where they kill'd about fifteen hundred of them, and took the Lords TALBOT and SEALE prisoners; and tho' the rest of the detachment made a regular retreat, it was esteem'd a great victory, and ascrib'd also to the conduct of the Maid of Orleans. This defeat was imputed to the negligence or cowardice of FALSTAFF, though it appears from our histories that he had formerly behav'd himself like a man of honour. He was not only sufficiently lampoon'd however upon this occasion, as appears by some ballads still in being, but degraded from the order of the Garter, which he had been formerly admitted to upon his good success in some former expeditions. Though the defeat of Patay was not very considerable in it self, yet it was of great consequence to the French; it shew'd them that the English they so much dreaded were but men like themselves, and encourag'd many people to come over to the Dauphin's party who had taken oaths of allegiance to the English. They pretended they were absolved from their oaths by heaven it self, who had sent the Maid of Orleans to assert the right of their natural Sovereign: such excellent use we find may be made of an impostor artfully manag'd. This train of success so exalted the Dauphin, that he left his fastnesses beyond the Loire, and ventur'd to march cross the country as far as Rheims, and having surpriz'd that city, caus'd himself to be crown'd there a second time, which gave still greater credit to their heroine, who they pretend had foretold that he should shortly be crown'd at Rheims, when there appear'd scarce any possibility of its being effected. But however that be, it is not to be conceiv'd what a turn this coronation in the city where his ancestors had been consecrated gave to King CHARLES's affairs: many great cities immediately submitted to him, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the regent prevented the revolt of Paris it self.

K. Charles
crown'd at
Rheims.

The Maid
of Orleans
burnt.

The King
of England
crown'd at
Paris.
1431.

But after all these successes, which had been ascrib'd to the divine aid brought them by the Maid of Orleans, she was taken prisoner in the year 1430, and burnt for an impostor in the city of Rouen, at the time King HENRY arriv'd there in his way to Paris, whither he was going to his coronation; the regent apprehending that the performing this ceremony in the capital city of the kingdom might prove advantageous to his cause. The King of England, as the French stile him, made a very magnificent entry into Paris on the second of December 1431, being consecrated and crowned on the seventeenth of the same month by the Cardinal of Winchester; this was performed rather according to the ceremonial of England, than the customs of France, say the French writers; from whence I presume they would infer some defect in the ceremony. He return'd to Rouen the day after Christmas, the regent apprehending

he would be more secure there than in CHAP. Paris, which was almost surrounded by the enemy; XXXIV. but he seems to have been in equal danger in that city, the castle of Rouen being surpriz'd at the very time the King was there, tho' it was retaken by the English indeed the next moment, and the city secur'd, which happen'd, as the French relate, through some misunderstandings among their Generals, otherwise they had made King HENRY prisoner, and put a final end to the war. This Prince was crowned King of France when he was about nine years of age.

As the Duke of Bedford had married the Duke of Burgundy's sister, this Princess had found means to reconcile her brother and her husband, and the war was again carried on against the French with tolerable success; but the Duchess of Bedford happening to die in the year 1433, and the Duke marrying a person that the Duke of Burgundy did not approve of, the latter was pleased to resent it, or rather took this opportunity of expressing that aversion to him and the English cause, which he had entertain'd some time before: however, he propos'd a congress to all the parties concerned in the war, in order to adjust their several differences, and Arras was appointed for the place of conference. The plenipotentiaries of England and France soon discovered that it was not possible to come to any agreement, both their masters insisting on their title to the crown of France; whereupon the English ministers withdrew, and left the French and the Burgundians to treat by themselves: where the Duke of Burgundy obtain'd whatever he ask'd, for the French were determin'd to gain him over to their party at any price, and granted him such terms, as, in the words of the French historians, nothing but the necessity of their affairs could justify; it was, say they, a very shameful peace, but a very useful one: among other things, it was stipulated, that King CHARLES should disavow the murder of JOHN the present Duke's father, that he should beg of him to forget the injury, and be reconciled to him, and that all persons should be brought to justice who were concerned in the murder; that the King should erect a church where the murder was committed, the presentation to which should be in the Duke and his successors.

Treaty at
Arras between
France and
Burgundy.

That the King should grant the county of Burgundy, as well as the duchy, with many considerable cities specified in the articles, to him and his heirs; that he should transfer over to him all the towns and fortresses on both sides the Somme in Picardy, the county of Ponthieu, Dourlan, Bologne, &c. and that the Duke should not be oblig'd to do fealty, homage or service to the King for any of the countries or places he possess'd. Which were such conditions, as scarce ever any vassal obtain'd from his Sovereign before.

King

CHAP. XXXIV. King CHARLES having strengthen'd himself by this alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, many of the French Lords were induced to desert the English service, and make their court to him: the Duke of Bedford however continued the war, and took St. Denis, and several other considerable towns, as the French on their side did others from the English; and so equal were their forces at this time, that there appear'd very little hopes of putting a period to the distractions of the kingdom, till the death of the Regent, which happened on the fifteenth of December, 1435, to whose conduct, according to the French, the English were indebted for the greatest part of their conquests, and standing their ground so long, when they received scarce any supplies from England. He was succeeded in the government of France by RICHARD Duke of York.

Duke of Bedford Regent of France dies, 1435.

Paris surpriz'd by the French, 1436.

The English, to shew their resentment for the Duke of Burgundy's deserting them, plundered his country, and took several of his towns, whereby they render'd him their most inveterate enemy, which certainly was an error in politicks, when he was willing to have stood neuter. In the condition the English were at this time from their divisions at home, and so large a country abroad to defend with a handful of men, they had no occasion to have made themselves new enemies. The year after the Duke of Bedford's death, the Parisians enter'd into a conspiracy against the English, and let the Constable of France into that city with a detachment of King CHARLES's army; the Governour WILLOUGHBY had just time enough to retire into the Bastile with his garrison, and upon articles of capitulation, was permitted to retire to Rouen with his garrison, arms and baggage: and thus the capital of the kingdom was lost without striking a stroke. And it is to be wonder'd how the English so long maintain'd themselves in such a vast populous city, with a garrison which seldom ever exceeded two thousand men, and at this time not twelve hundred. The Duke of Burgundy at the same time laid siege to Calais, but did not meet with the like success, he was forced to rise from before it; and the Duke of Gloucester soon after transporting thither ten thousand men, return'd his visit, burning and destroying his country of Artois with fire and sword. Pontoyse and several other places also were taken from the French this year, and the war seem'd yet to be vigorously carried on, on all sides. The weight of it however fell chiefly on the Duke of Burgundy, the English being determin'd to make him sensible of the dishonourable and imprudent part he had acted. And indeed, during all the time he had been in alliance with England, his Flemish territories never suffer'd so much as they did at present. But it was the happiness of France, their historians ob-

serve, that he was much more provok'd at these ravages than inclin'd to change sides by them. Nor were the French much displeas'd when they heard of his misfortunes: for however they might have put on a fair outside to bring him over to their party, his haughty behaviour and over-bearing manner at the treaty of Arras, with the hard conditions he had extorted from the French King, were not forgotten. Besides, since the reduction of Paris, and the revolt of the nobility from the English, the Duke was become less necessary than formerly. And now King CHARLES thought it a proper time to make his publick entry into the capital city of Paris, which he performed with the utmost splendour on the twelfth of November 1437, having been driven from it near twenty years, during most of which time it had been in the possession of the English. It is natural to suppose the French were mightily rejoiced on this occasion; for how mild or equitable soever the English administration might have been, the people will ever be fonder of a native than a foreigner; and there is a great deal of reason for it: foreigners will have foreign favourites, and oblige them at the cost of the natives, whatever stipulations are made to prevent it; but here the government had been avowedly in the hands of the English Nobility and Generals, and the French totally excluded from it. It is no wonder if after this therefore there were great rejoicings, when they saw a Prince of their own nation making his publick entry into his capital city: we should have believed as much if their historians had not left it upon record. But their joy was very short-liv'd it seems: the King had not been here many weeks, before Paris and France in general suffer'd as much by plague and famine as they had before by the war, converting it into a perfect desert. The King was obliged to leave the city on the third of December, and the very soldiers abandoned it; so that the English might have return'd and possess'd themselves of it again, if they had not dreaded the pestilence more than the enemy. What added to the misery of the country was, that the nobility who had left the English service, and had now nothing to subsist on, under pretence of making incursions on their own estates which were in the power of the English, plunder'd friends and foes alike, and maintain'd themselves by these kind of robberies, which it was not in the power of King CHARLES to prevent, having no other means of subsisting these gentlemen, who had in a literal sense left all to follow him, and were frequently of service to him by the incursions they made into the enemies quarters.

France afflicted with plague and famine.

There being great disputes at this time between the council that was held at Basil and Pope Eugenius IV, King CHARLES in some things adher'd to his Holiness, and in others seem'd to be govern'd by the Pope.

1438. Disputes between the council of Basil and the Pope.

CHAP. XXXIV. King Charles's publick entry into Paris, 1437.

CHAP. governed by the Council, receiving neither of
 XXXIV. their regulations absolutely, but with such addi-
 tional modifications form'd by the French clergy, as the usages of the Gallican church it was said requir'd; and from these determinations of the Ecclesiasticks in France was compos'd what has since obtain'd the name of the Pragmatick Sanction; whereby it was declar'd, That the Council was superiour to the Pope; the ancient form of ordaining Bishops was revived; and many things retrench'd, from whence the Holy See formerly reaped great advantage: with which the Pope was extremely offended, but could not procure the decree to be abolish'd till the reign of FRANCIS I, who, with the consent of LEO X, established the Concordat in its room.

The Pragmatick Sanction.

1440. A conspiracy against King Charles.
 The French court was at this time pretty much divided; and the disaffected Lords, the chief of whom were the Dukes of Bourbon and Alençon, and the Counts of Vendome, Dunois and La Trimouille, had insinuated themselves so far into the Dauphin (King CHARLES's son) that he agreed to appear at their head. He was now about eighteen years of age, weary of being under the tuition of a governour, and of leading a private inactive life, and consequently the easier wrought upon. At a time appointed between them, they surprized his governour, took him out of his hands, and marched with the Prince to Blois before the King had any notice of their design: but the King pursued them so briskly, that within a few months they were obliged to submit to mercy, which they obtained by the mediation of the Duke of Burgundy. The King afterwards changed all the officers of the Dauphin's household, and put those about him he could rely on.

About this time CHARLES Duke of Orleans, who had remained prisoner in England ever since the battle of Agincourt, being five and twenty years, obtain'd his liberty on agreeing to pay a ransom of three hundred thousand crowns; of which he rais'd one himself, and the Duke of Burgundy advanc'd the other two for him; these two families being now perfectly reconciled, whose former differences had in a great measure occasioned the civil wars of France.

1441. The King, who was so very cautious of hazarding his person in his juvenile years, determined now, according to the French historians, to lead his army in person, and soon found the happy effects of it. The first enterprize he undertook was the siege of Creil, and afterwards ventur'd on that of Pontoyse, an important post near the confluence of the Seine and the Oyse, and well defended by the English; in both which however he was successful. The following winter, he was exercis'd again with the discontents of several of the Princes of the blood, who thought themselves too little concerned in the administration; particularly the Dukes of

Orleans, Alençon and Bourbon; and he had some CHAP. intelligence of their caballing with the Dukes of XXXIV. Burgundy and Britany: but they did not break out into actual rebellion; the King found means to pacify them without having recourse to arms. The Duke of Orleans he invited to court, and return'd him great part of the money his ransom had cost him, knowing that the uneasiness of his circumstances was the principal reason of his discontent. The Duke of Burgundy also, whose dissatisfaction arose principally from the neglect that had been shewn the Duke of Orleans, had no further quarrel with the court: and these two Princes being thus taken off, the other Lords thought it most prudent to be quiet and reconcile themselves to his Majesty.

The King being at liberty from civil dissensions, carried the war into Guienne and Gascony, where he took several places from the English; but while he was at this distance, the French lost some towns in Normandy: and thus the war continued with various success between the two nations till the year 1443, when a truce was concluded between them, which being renew'd from time to time, was continued till the year 1448. King CHARLES therefore having now no occasion for his troops, sent them to SIGISMUND, Duke of Austria, to be employed against the Switzers; in which service, 'tis said, they gain'd a great deal of honour.

The truce being at an end in the year 1448, the war with the English was renewed; and before the end of the year 1449, the French recovered Rouen, and all the towns in Normandy and North France, except Calais; for the court of England was at this time distracted with civil dissensions, and perfectly abandon'd their late conquests. The French historians, some of them, applaud the courage and conduct of their Monarch upon this occasion, who led his troops in person; but there needed very little courage or conduct to reduce a country which had no regular forces to defend it, and the natives entirely in their interest. The last place the English lost in Normandy was Cherbourg, which surrender'd on the twelfth of August 1450; and tho' it was then a port of great consequence, which the English might have supply'd every day by sea with forces and provisions, they never attempted to relieve it. And the French annually observed a thanksgiving at Rouen for the reduction of Normandy on the twelfth of August very lately, if they do not still.

The latter end of the year King CHARLES marched his army towards Guienne and Gascony, where he took Bergerac, and several other towns from the English; but the season not permitting him to keep the field any longer, he put his army into winter quarters. The following year, 1451, the English having no army in the field, Bourdeaux

1443.

1448.
The English
beat out of
Normandy.
1449.

22 August,
1450.

The English
lose Guienne
and Gascony.

1451.

CHAP. XXXIV. deaux surrender'd, with many other towns, and the rest made but a feeble defence; so that he was master of the whole country within less than six months. General TALBOT arriving in Guienne with a fleet of fourscore sail, and four thousand land-forces on board, the following year, 1452, Bourdeaux, and most part of the country of Guienne, submitted to the English again; but Earl TALBOT being unfortunately killed, with his son the Lord Lisle, in an engagement near Castillon, on the seventeenth of July, 1453, Bourdeaux, and the rest of Guienne were again reduced to the obedience of the French before the end of the campaign.

In the mean time the Dauphin, who was very uneasy at the restraints put upon him by his father, and having no body about him he could confide in, desired leave of the King to visit his principality of Dauphiné, which the King did not at all approve of; but however permitted him to go, upon condition he would return within four months. The Prince no sooner found himself at liberty, than he took a resolution never to put himself in the King's power again. He had conceived a most inveterate hatred against all those who were concerned in the administration, as he apprehended them to have occasion'd his Majesty's coldness towards him; but the most specious pretence he had for residing at a distance from court, was the King's ill usage of his mother, his father always keeping wenches in the very palace where she resided: but she that had the greatest influence on him, was one AGNES SORREL, a celebrated wit, who for that reason was the principal object of his aversion.

The Prince having remain'd in Dauphiné several years, and refus'd all his Majesty's invitations to come to court, the King was determin'd to take a journey thither, and bring him away with him by force; but the Dauphin had intelligence of it, and fled with some few of his friends to Flanders to the Duke of Burgundy, who took great pains to reconcile him to the King, to no purpose: the Prince chose to reside at Genep on the frontiers of Hainault, rather than return to court. The Duke of Alençon also became a male-content again about this time; and 'tis said, made an offer to the English court to introduce their forces into Normandy: but he was betray'd by his Almoner, who instead of carrying his dispatches into England, presented them to the French King; and the Duke being apprehended, was convicted of high treason in conspiring against the government, sentenced to be degraded from his Peerage, to have his head cut off, and his estate confiscated; but the King pardon'd him his life, confining him prisoner to the castle of Loches. The same year PETER LE BRESSE, Seneschal of Normandy, was ordered to make a descent on the coast of Eng-

land with four thousand men, which he perform'd near Sandwich, and having plundered the town, he returned to France; though we are told the intention of King CHARLES in this enterprize, was to make himself master of some considerable town in England, which he might exchange for Calais.

The Genoese again put themselves under the protection of the French in the year 1459; but revolted soon after, and established a form of government of their own: however, this has given the French occasion frequently to revive their claim to that city.

Notwithstanding this King had been so fortunate to see his kingdom from a most distracted condition restored to perfect tranquility, the Dauphin's disobedience render'd him extremely unhappy: it was the continual subject of his thoughts, and disturb'd his rest every night. He was once upon the point of disinheriting him, and declaring his younger son CHARLES heir to the crown. Amidst these uneasy reflections, a favourite of the King's, in whom he very much confided, acquainted him with a rumour that went about of certain persons being dealt with to poison his Majesty: whereupon he immediately fell into a deep melancholy, refusing to take any nourishment, lest it should be poison'd. In this humour he remained seven or eight days, till his physicians represented to him that this unaccountable caution would as certainly dispatch him, as a dose of poison. Whereupon he was prevailed on to eat; but his stomach and bowels were now so disordered by his long fasting, that nothing would pass thro' him. He fell ill of a fever, of which he died the twenty-second of July, 1461, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the thirty-ninth of his reign, according to the French account; tho' the English can look upon him to be no better than a usurper, the crown being settled upon HENRY King of England, by CHARLES VI, and the Three Estates. But what are acts of settlement any longer than there is power to support them?

LEWIS XI being at Genep, when he received advice of his father's death, went immediately to Rheims, and was crowned. After which, he turned out almost every one of his father's ministers, and introduced a new set of men into the administration, cunning crafty Statesmen, like himself, say the French historians. Having made his brother CHARLES Duke of Berry, his next step was to lessen the power of the other Princes of the blood and great vassals of the crown, particularly that of the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, whom he had observed in the last reign frequently to have given laws to their Sovereign.

HENRY VI King of England, being driven from his throne about this time, MARGARET of Anjou his Queen, applied her self to LEWIS for assistance; but she could obtain only a loan of

twenty

CHAP. twenty thousand crowns, for which she undertook XXXIV. that King HENRY should surrender Calais into his hands, if he was restor'd; but EDWARD IV, who afterwards ascended the throne of England, prevented the execution of this bargain. The French King also sent troops to the assistance of the King of Arragon against Castile, upon the same view that he supply'd the Queen of England; namely, upon condition that he would mortgage part of his territories to him; by which means he got possession of Roussillon and Cerdagne for 300000 crowns. At his return from this war, he redeem'd the towns in Picardy, which had been given to the Duke of Burgundy, and proceeded in his design of reducing the power of the Grantees and Vassals; to effect which, he sent an officer and fifty bold fellows into Holland to surprize Count CHAROLOIS, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, from whom he apprehended the greatest opposition: but the Count received intelligence of his design, and made the party prisoners. This treacherous attempt of the French King rendered him very odious both at home and abroad, and increased the confederacy that was already forming against him by the Nobility and discarded Ministers. The conspirators, of whom the principal were the Dukes of Britany and Bourbon, prevail'd with the Duke of Berry, the King's brother, to appear at their head. This Prince was about seventeen or eighteen years of age, and engaged in the design, in hopes of getting a more considerable appenage or territory assigned him than he had at present.

He endeavours to reduce the power of the Nobility.

A conspiracy of the Princes of the blood against him.

1465.

The disaffected Lords having recourse to arms in every part of the kingdom, the King made the best provision against them he could, and marched in person against the Dukes of Bourbon and Nevers, and the Count of Armagnac, with 80000 men, so suddenly, that they were forced to quit the field, and shut themselves up in the town of Riom; and had not the King been call'd from thence by the march of Count CHAROLOIS towards Paris, they must have submitted to his mercy; but his affairs obliging him to return to Paris, he allow'd the Lords to march out with the garrison and their baggage, on condition they should not bear arms against him again, and should use their endeavours to persuade the rest of the malecontents to return to their duty. Count CHAROLOIS in the mean time being come before Paris, the King hasten'd back to prevent the revolt of his capital, and gave him battle at Montelery; the advantage being rather on the Count's side, the King retired into Paris; where understanding that the Lords had since join'd their forces with the Count, notwithstanding their promise not to bear arms against him, and having little hopes now of prevailing by force, he propos'd a personal conference with the chiefs of the malecontents, in hopes of gain-

ing his point that way. He trusted himself even CHAP. in the Burgundian camp to treat with them. Their XXXIV. principal demand was, that the King should grant the duchy of Normandy to the Duke of Berry; imagining, that if they could carry this article, it would secure all the rest, because the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Britany would always be a match for their Sovereign. The King saw their drift, but considering that if he could once prevail with them to lay down their arms, it would not be a difficult matter to divide them, as it afterwards happened; he consented to every thing they ask'd, and the treaty was sign'd at Conflans, on the 15th of October 1465. Count CHAROLOIS hereupon retir'd into his own country, and most of the French Lords into Normandy with that Duke, not daring to trust themselves in the King's power. They all made their court to the young Duke of Normandy, and every one expected to have the direction of his affairs, which occasioned a quarrel among them, and gave the King an opportunity of drawing over the Duke of Bourbon to his interest; by whose assistance he easily possessed himself of Normandy again, and the young Prince fled into Britany, dreading nothing more than falling into his brother's hands. During these transactions, the Duke of Burgundy died; and Count CHAROLOIS his son succeeded him, who being engaged in a war with the Liegeois, the King took an occasion while he was on that side, to fall upon his friend the Duke of Britany, and compell'd him to renounce all alliances with the enemies of France. After this he desir'd a personal conference with the Duke of Burgundy; and tho' he knew him to be his most implacable enemy, trusted himself again in his territories, which rashness he had like to have had sufficient cause to repent; for it seems the Duke, upon discovering some of the King's practices against him while he was at Peronne, was in suspense, whether he should not seize his Majesty's person, and was with difficulty dissuaded from it by one of his Ministers, who acquainted the King with the design; and it is amazing, that LEWIS XI, who was naturally jealous and suspicious of every body, should more than once put himself into the hands of a person, whom he knew both hated and fear'd him. However, after he had suffer'd a great deal in apprehension, and concluded a treaty with the Duke, whereby he again yielded the duchy of Normandy to his brother the Prince, he had the good fortune to be dismissed by the Duke of Burgundy, and returned safe to Paris. Not long after, he prevail'd with his brother to accept of the duchy of Guienne, instead of Normandy, which disconcerted all the Duke of Burgundy's measures; for they could not now give each other any assistance, if the King should for the future put hard terms upon them, Guienne being one of the most distant

1467.

1469.

CHAP. distant provinces in France from the Duke of
 XXXIV. Burgundy's territories. Thus the King had made
 a considerable progress in disuniting the Princes
 who were in a confederacy against him; what he
 most fear'd was, that EDWARD the fourth, who
 had been advanc'd to the crown of England, and
 was his enemy, on account of the assistance he
 had given his competitor HENRY VI, should assist
 the Dukes of Burgundy and Britany, if he at-
 tempted to reduce them. But the Earl of War-
 wick having depos'd King EDWARD, and restor'd
 HENRY VI to his throne again, freed him from
 these apprehensions for a time. HENRY VI how-
 ever was a second time depos'd, and EDWARD the
 fourth got possession of the crown of England, by the
 assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, which brought
 the King into the same perplexity he was before. He
 had intelligence, that this Prince, with the Dukes of
 Burgundy and Britany, were actually entered into
 a confederacy against him, and raising forces to in-
 vade him; but, happily for LEWIS, the Duke of
 Burgundy spent his time in reducing some towns
 upon the Rhine, instead of joining his allies, who
 could not prevail on him to defer that enterprize.
 In the mean time the King entered into a league
 with the Swiss and Germans, and set them upon
 the Duke of Burgundy, and while he was employ-
 ed on that side, attack'd his territories in the
 Low Countries, beat his troops in two set battles,
 and took several towns from him. But the King
 of England landing at Calais with a fine army, to
 join the Duke of Burgundy, the French King had
 all the reason in the world to apprehend that he
 should soon be depriv'd of his new conquests, and
 perhaps attack'd in his turn: and this would in-
 fallibly have been the case, if the Duke of Bur-
 gundy had kept his word with King EDWARD, and
 had had an army ready to have invaded the French
 territories; but his troops had been so harass'd in
 his German Expedition, that they were still in
 their winter quarters, and in no condition to take
 the field. The Duke endeavoured to bring the
 King of England into temper, by discovering a
 correspondence he held with the Constable of
 France, who had promis'd to deliver up the town
 of St. Quintin to him upon the confederate army's
 appearing before it; and upon this advice, the
 King of England ordered a detachment of his
 forces to march that way and summon the place;
 but the town refused them admittance. The
 Constable, who was playing a treacherous part be-
 tween the French King and the Duke of Burgun-
 dy, did not yet think it a proper time to declare
 himself; which so exasperated the King of Eng-
 land, that he could not stifle his resentment, and
 parted from the Duke in a great passion; of which
 the French King having intelligence from the
 spies he kept in the English court, he sent to sound
 his Majesty's inclinations as to a peace; and find-

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ing him not averse to it, a treaty was set on foot, CHAP.
 wherein it was agreed, that the French King XXXIV.
 should not support the English malecontents, nor
 the King of England those of France: And in
 order to a stricter union between the two crowns,
 CHARLES, the Dauphin of France, should marry
 the Princess ELIZABETH, the King of England's
 eldest daughter. After the signing of this treaty,
 the two Kings had an interview at Pequigny,
 where the French King perfectly purchased the
 English court; not a Minister but had a pension
 from him, and even the King himself accepted an
 annuity of fifty thousand crowns per annum, which
 ever after made him look with indifference upon the
 encroachments the French King made on the Duke
 of Burgundy's territories in the Low Countries.
 Soon after King EDWARD's return to England, a
 truce was concluded between France and the Duke
 of Burgundy; and now it was expected, that the
 French King would have entirely crush'd the
 Duke of Britany; but the court of England, not-
 withstanding the sums that were dispersed among
 them, would not so far sacrifice the interest of their
 country as to abandon this useful allie, who could
 at any time introduce their forces into the heart
 of France in case of a rupture with that kingdom,
 and had generally furnished them with a safe re-
 treat in all their wars. They insisted therefore at
 the celebrated interview above-mentioned, that
 the Duke of Britany should not be molested on
 any account whatever. And indeed while they
 preserved a friendship with that Duke, the alli-
 ance with the Low Countries was not so necessary
 as it became afterwards, when Britany became
 united to the French crown.

The Duke of Burgundy, who is represented as a
 Prince of an ambitious restless temper, after the
 truce with France, attack'd the duchy of Lorraine,
 and made himself master of Nancy the capital, and
 the whole country; and elated with this success,
 determined to revenge himself on the Swiss, who
 had assisted the Germans against him: but the
 Swiss being supported underhand by the French
 King, gave the Duke two remarkable defeats.
 Not long after Lorraine revolted from him, where-
 upon he laid siege to Nancy a second time, when
 the Duke of Lorraine and the Swiss fell upon him
 again, entirely defeated his army, and he himself
 was found dead in the field of battle: whereupon
 the French King immediately seiz'd upon his
 towns in Picardy, and endeavour'd to procure an
 insurrection among the Flemings in his favour:
 nor cou'd the Princess MARY, daughter and heiress
 of the late Duke, have prevented a revolt proba-
 bly, if she had not married MAXIMILIAN Arch-
 duke of Austria, and son to the Emperor, where-
 by the Low Countries and the Country of Bur-
 gundy were preserved from falling under the domi-
 nion of France. The English court was at this

K k k

time

A Peace con-
 cluded be-
 tween France
 and Eng-
 land.

The French
 purchase
 the English
 Ministry.

The D. of
 Burgundy
 killed.

1477.
 The Arch-
 duke marries
 Mary of
 Burgundy
 his heiress.

Quick revo-
 lutions in
 England.

The K. of
 England in-
 vades
 France.

1475.

CHA P. time so corrupted with French money, that they
 XXXIV. made no attempt to prevent it, though England
 would have been first affected by so large a coun-
 try's being added to France, which lay just over-
 against it, and abounded in shipping and the most
 useful manufactures. During the continuance of
 the war between the Archduke and the French,
 the latter first entertained several regiments of
 Swiss, and found them so useful, that they have
 ever since retain'd a body of them in their service.
 1479. These two powers being pretty equally match'd,
 and the French King declining in his health, a
 truce was concluded between them. In the mean
 1482. time the Archduchess died at Bruges of a fall from
 her horse, leaving behind her a son named PHILIP,
 and a daughter named MARGARET. The French
 King made such an interest with the States of
 Flanders upon this occasion, that he prevented the
 Archduke's being declar'd guardian to his son
 PHILIP, and contracted with the States for the
 marriage of the Dauphin with his daughter MAR-
 GARET, carrying the young Princess, who was
 scarce two years old, into France to be educated
 as Dauphiness, against her father's consent: at
 which the King of England was pretty much al-
 armed, who till then had depended on the Dau-
 phin's being married to his daughter ELIZA-
 BETH, in pursuance of the treaty of Pequigny,
 anno 1475. This had been his Majesty's princi-
 pal inducement for making that peace, and aban-
 doning his old ally the Duke of Burgundy; and,
 according to the French historians, he was so
 touched with the perfidiousness of King LEWIS,
 whom he had suffer'd to make such a progress in
 the Low Countries, upon a prospect of this mar-
 riage, that the disappointment contributed to his
 last illness, of which he died. The French King
 did not survive him a year, of whom their writ-
 ters give this character: That he was by nature
 neither beneficent nor liberal, though he seem'd
 to be so when his affairs required it. He spar'd
 no costs to purchase an interest in the councils of
 the neighbouring Princes, or to debauch their
 chief Ministers; to gain the Governours of towns,
 corrupt Ambassadors, and embarrass his enemies.
 To take an estimate of him from his outward be-
 haviour, he was a very religious prince: he went
 to confession once a week, took frequent pilgrim-
 ages, paid a great veneration to the relicks of
 Saints, and bestow'd many gifts on churches. But
 this did not make him a strict observer of his pro-
 mises and oaths, or less deceitful and vindictive;
 tho' he does not seem to have acted so much the
 hypocrite in religion, as to have entertained a no-
 tion that those external performances would atone
 for the defects of true piety, which made him
 scrupulous sometimes in trifles, while he perpe-
 trated the greatest villanies without remorse. He
 accomplished his design of making himself abso-

King of Eng-
 land dies.
 K. Lewis
 dies.

lute master of his nobility, which he had always CHA
 aim'd at, but was not very nice in the means of XXXIV
 effecting it, and wanting the hearts of his subjects,
 was never perfectly easy. He left one son named
 CHARLES.

CHARLES the Eighth at his accession was about Charles
 fourteen years of age, and consequently had passed VIII.
 his minority according to the irrevocable ordinance, 1482.
 as it is call'd, of CHARLES V; but as the un-
 derstanding of Princes is not superiour to that of o-
 ther people of these years, and the late King had
 taken particular care that his son should not be
 vers'd in politicks, or let into the mysteries of
 state, lest he should be practis'd upon by design-
 ing courtiers, this Prince, of all others, could not
 be suppos'd at such an age to bear the weight of
 government in his own person; and therefore
 LEWIS XI, had before his death appointed one
 on whom he might rely for the management of
 his affairs, and exercise the supreme authority in
 his son's name; and this was Madam de Beau-
 jieu, the wife of PETER de Bourbon of Beaujieu,
 the late King's eldest daughter, and sister to his
 present Majesty, a lady every way qualified for
 such a trust. He designed however, that her
 husband Monsieur de Beaujieu should assist her in
 the administration, tho' he did not name him,
 because there were some Princes of the blood nearer
 to the crown, that might dispute this post with
 him, who could not make the same objection to
 the Princess the King's sister.

But notwithstanding all the prudent foresight of
 LEWIS XI, he was no sooner dead, but there a-
 rose two powerful competitors, who disputed the
 supreme direction of affairs with Madam de Beau-
 jieu, namely, LEWIS Duke of Orleans, the pre-
 sumptive heir of the crown, and JOHN Duke of
 Bourbon, eldest brother of Monsieur Beaujieu,
 whose mature age, and the services he had done
 the kingdom, rendred his pretensions plausible;
 but Madam de Beaujieu offering to refer the mat-
 ter to the determination of the States, which the
 rest could not with any colour oppose, and having
 the administration in her hands, in the mean time
 so established her interest, that the pretensions of
 the Duke of Orleans were scarce considered; and
 she had bought off the Duke of Bourbon, by pro-
 mising him the post of Constable, which she knew
 he was ambitious of.

The Duke of Orleans, piqu'd at his disappoint-
 ment, enter'd into a confederacy with the Duke
 of Britany, and several of the French Nobility, a-
 gainst the court; but Madam de Beaujieu was so
 expeditious in assembling an army, and marching
 against them, before the confederates could join
 their troops, that the Duke of Orleans submitted,
 and agreed to lay down his arms, upon condition
 he might obtain the King's pardon, which was
 granted him. But I should have remember'd,
 that

The Dukes
 of Orleans
 and Britany
 become
 malcon-
 tents.

CHAP. XXXIV. that while the Duke of Orleans was at the court of the Duke of Britany, forming this confederacy against Madam de Beaujieu, he saw there the Princess ANNE, eldest daughter and heiress of that Duke, to whom he made his addresses as a lover, in which he was rival'd by several of the greatest Princes in Europe; and this was the foundation of several great events, as will appear in the ensuing history.

The D. of Britany of-
fice to assist
the Earl of
Richmond,
republic N.
Richard III.
1484.

HENRY Earl of Richmond, the heir of the house of Lancaster, being at this time a prisoner in the court of the Duke of Britany, and the Duke expecting every day to feel the resentment of the French court for his assisting the Duke of Orleans, offered to give the Earl his liberty, and furnish him with ships and forces to mount the throne of England, upon condition that he would assist Britany against the attempts of the French, when he should see himself master of that kingdom; and this he apprehended would be easily effected, as King RICHARD, who had murder'd his two nephews, and been guilty of many other barbarities to make his way to the crown, had rendred himself universally detested by his subjects. The Earl of Richmond, who had been confined near fifteen years, was not backward we may be sure to exchange his prison for a crown, and made no scruple of promising to support the Britons against their enemies if he succeeded. The Duke of Britany therefore having provided him fifteen large ships, and put five thousand men on board, the Earl set sail with them for England; but the fleet being soon after dispersed by a storm, he was forc'd to return to Diep, which indeed was his preservation: for King RICHARD having discovered the conspiracy, had fallen upon the Earl's adherents, and defeated them, and it is highly probable, the Earl would have fallen into his hands, if the storm had not prevented the descent. The Earl at his return to Britany found that court strangely alter'd; for the old Duke being taken ill, and for some time delirious, King RICHARD had by bribing LAUDOIS his prime Minister, won him over to his interest, and obtain'd a promise from him to deliver the Earl of Richmond into his hands, of which he had scarce an hour's notice before he was to have been seiz'd; he fled immediately to the French court, desiring their protection: here he met with fair words and promises, but that court did not seem very forward in promoting his enterprize upon England. The French historians indeed relate, that they furnished him with a fleet of ships, and four thousand of their best troops; but notwithstanding there were several Noblemen and Gentlemen in this expedition, I don't find that the Earl of Richmond's whole force amounted to two thousand men, when he made his second attempt upon England. He set sail from Havre de Grace the first of August 1485,

and arrived at Milford-Haven in Wales, a few days after, where he was join'd by the gentlemen of the country; and their numbers increasing every day, he march'd to Leicester, and gave battle to King RICHARD on the two and twentieth of August. The King being defeated and kill'd in the engagement, the Earl of Richmond was immediately proclaimed King of England by the army, by the name of HENRY VII: on which great event I shall enlarge in the description of England.

In the mean time the Duke of Orleans not being pleased with the administration in France, retir'd again into Britany, where the Ministry had made an alliance with the Archduke of Austria, now King of the Romans, who, since the decease of his late wife MARY of Burgundy, made his addresses also to the Princess of Britany. The French court being determin'd to pursue the Duke of Orleans, march'd with an army towards the frontiers of Britany; whereupon the King of the Romans attack'd France from the Low Countries, and oblig'd them to desist from that enterprize for the present.

The French renew'd their design against Britany in the year 1487, and at the same time attack'd the territories of the King of the Romans in the Netherlands, and having corrupted the subjects of these Princes, and fomented an insurrection against them in their very bowels, were very confident of success in both these enterprizes; nor were their expectations disappointed, for they surpriz'd Terouen and St. Omers in the Low Countries, and defeated the forces of the King of the Romans. In Britany they obtained a decisive victory, and took the Duke of Orleans prisoner; after which they put what terms they pleased upon the old Duke of Britany, they oblig'd him to dismiss all such foreigners as had come to his assistance, to deliver up several of his strong towns into their hands, and promise not to marry his daughter and heiress to any person without the consent of the French court. This treaty was made the twenty-eighth of August, and about ten days after the Duke of Britany died. In the mean time the States of Flanders confederated together against the King of the Romans, and made him prisoner at Bruges, which occasion'd a War between Flanders and the other provinces, so that the French had nothing to apprehend on that side. The King of the Romans was indeed restor'd to his liberty again after four months imprisonment, one of the conditions whereof was, that he should use his utmost endeavours to make peace with France. But the Emperor, father to the King of the Romans, soon after marching to his assistance, MAXIMILIAN was about to take a severe revenge of the rebellious Flemings, who thereupon call'd in the French, and found him employment for some time.

1486.

1487.

1488.

Maximilian
K. of the
Romans im-
prison'd by
his subjects.

CHAP. XXXIV. But to return to Britany: The French court pretended that this duchy was devolv'd on the crown of France for want of heirs male, and thereupon order'd their troops to make themselves masters of as many towns as they could. The King of England apprehending the ill consequences of suffering this country to be united to the crown of France, sent six thousand men to the assistance of the Duchefs, who obliged the French to abandon several towns they had possess'd themselves of, and prevented their reducing Britany this campaign. However, the English receiving no pay, and the Breton nobility disagreeing among themselves, most of the English return'd home. The French King had now a fair opportunity of subduing this province; but considering he was never likely to enjoy it quietly, if the Princess ANNE should happen to marry any Prince of figure in Europe, he determined to marry her himself, notwithstanding he was already contracted to MARGARET of Austria daughter to the King of the Romans. While the King was deliberating on this project, the Princess ANNE and the King of the Romans came to an agreement, and were married by proxy, at which the French were very much alarm'd; for as the King of the Romans was master of the Low Countries, if he had been so of Britany he would always have had it in his power to give the French a great deal of disturbance: King CHARLES therefore not regarding his contract with MARY of Austria, or the espousals of the King of the Romans with the Princess, sent a deputation to her with proposals of marriage, and having bribed every one of her council to persuade her to it, he promis'd himself success; but the Princess, young as she was, discovered a great deal of spirit and resentment on this occasion: she had conceiv'd an opinion of the King of the Romans, and had a perfect aversion to the French King and his whole nation, for the calamities they had brought upon her father and her country. Upon the first proposal of the match therefore she broke out into the most passionate exclamations against them: she reflected on the alliances she had made with the Kings of England and Spain, who had engaged to support her: but insisted with the greatest warmth on her marriage with MAXIMILIAN in the face of the church, and declared she could never do a thing so shocking to her conscience; and had her allies been as near with their reinforcements as her enemy was, there is no doubt but she would have persisted in her resolution: but the King of France, who had already assembled his troops, and was not far from the confines of her country with a powerful army, attending the success of this negotiation, being acquainted with the resolution of the Princess, and at the same time

advis'd by her treacherous council to hasten his march before any succours could arrive to her assistance, he invested the city of Rennes, where the Princess was, before she had any notice of his march, and so terrified her with his preparations to storm the city, that she submitted to the advice of her council, who persuaded her that she had no other means left to preserve her country: they represented also, that as the former marriage was not consummated, a dispensation might easily be obtain'd from the Pope, which in those days was thought sufficient to satisfy the most scrupulous conscience. Thus this villainous ministry betray'd their sovereign into the hands of a man whom all others she detested: and the marriage was solemnized and consummated the 13th of December 1491, even before any application was made to the Holy See for a dispensation; it was apprehended soon enough to procure that at any time before issue was born: I don't find the French King's precontract with MARY of Austria was much regarded neither, though she had borne the title of Dauphiness for several years; that Princess was upon this occasion sent back to her father to complete the affront: which sufficiently manifests how little the most solemn oaths and contracts of Princes are to be depended on. This very King CHARLES, by a treaty between the Kings of France and England, was first to have married the Princess ELIZABETH, daughter to EDWARD IV, which was broke through without any manner of excuse, that he might espouse MARY of Austria; and now this Princess is discarded in order to ravish the Princess of Britany: I can call it no better than a rape, where one comes with an armed power and forces a lady to his bed. By the same means he obliged her to marry him, he compell'd her to sign an instrument to which he gave the name of a treaty of marriage, where, in consideration of the honour he did the Princess in taking her to his wife, she resigns all her right in the duchy of Britany to the King and his successors, notwithstanding it should happen that she died without issue before him: and in case he died before her, she was obliged to marry the succeeding King, or next Prince of the blood; but if she had no issue by his present Majesty, it was granted in her favour that she should possess her duchy of Britany during life. As to the success of this forced marriage, it is observ'd, that tho' the King had three children by her, viz. a Dauphin and two Princesses, they all died in the cradle, and after a very short reign the kingdom descended to a collateral branch of the royal family; and had the children surviv'd, their legitimacy might very well have been question'd on more accounts than one.

The King of the Romans was provoked beyond all

The French seize Britany.

Oppos'd by the English.

The Princess marries the King of the Romans, 1489.

1490.

1491.

The French King forces the Princess of Britany to marry him, tho' she was married before.

1491.
all

CHAP. all bounds when he heard of the match, and
 XXXIV. spoke of it in such terms as it deserved: and not
 content with drawing up memorials and declara-
 tions against it, he form'd an alliance with the
 Kings of Spain and England, in order to revenge
 so insupportable an affront. The two Kings read-
 ily came into his measures, and the parliament
 of England were so sensible that the union of
 Britany to the French crown would be of dan-
 gerous consequence to them, that they made no
 scruple of granting his Majesty the supplies he
 asked. The King thereupon immediately assem-
 bled a gallant army of twenty-five thousand men,
 and transported them to Calais; but when he ar-
 rived there the King of the Romans forces were
 not raised, and the Spaniards he found were as
 much unprepared as the Germans; whereupon
 the French King making proposals of peace to him,
 and backing them with such a bribe as was not
 easily to be resisted, especially by a Prince of
 HENRY the Seventh's covetous disposition, name-
 ly, seven hundred and forty-five thousand crowns,
 an immense sum in those days, he consented to a
 peace and return'd to England, by which, and the
 money that was given him to carry on the war
 by the parliament of England, and some other ra-
 pacious projects, he heaped together a prodigious
 treasure, insomuch that he was esteem'd one of
 the richest Princes that ever sat on the English
 throne.

The King
 of England
 invades
 France.

A peace
 concluded.

1493.

An expedi-
 tion of the
 French a-
 gainst Na-
 ples.

The King of the Romans, we may believe,
 storm'd sufficiently upon this occasion, nor were
 the English parliament perfectly satisfied, to see
 the taxes they had rais'd for the war put in the
 King's pocket, without having effected any thing;
 but they were answer'd, that the King had done
 very prudently, and sav'd them a great deal of
 treasure, by putting so sudden an end to the war,
 and therefore they had no reason to complain. The
 French King and the King of the Romans soon
 after clapt up a peace, whereby the French re-
 nounc'd the Earldoms of Artois, Burgundy and
 Charolois, which were to have been the portion
 of MARGARET of Austria if the King had mar-
 ried her: the French King also gave up his right
 in Roussillon and Cerdagne to the Spaniard; where-
 by he procur'd a peace with that Prince; and all
 these concessions he was induc'd to make, that he
 might be at liberty to pursue his favourite project
 upon the Kingdom of Naples. Some writers are
 of opinion he had a design to have subdued all I-
 taly. He had indeed a specious pretence to the
 kingdom of Naples, as he was heir to the Duke
 of Anjou, whom JOAN Queen of that kingdom
 had adopted, tho' scarce any of the family had
 been in possession of it for any time. The French
 also laid claim to Genoa, and some other terri-
 tories in Italy, and could they once have establish'd
 themselves in Naples, possibly would not have

wanted pretences to have seiz'd the rest; which the CHAP.
 Italian Princes could not but foresee, and for that XXXIV.
 reason were generally in a confederacy against
 France. But LEWIS, surnamed MORUS, or the
 Black Duke of Milan, who had the regency of that
 duchy during the minority of his nephew JOHN
 GALEAS, the true heir, and had found an oppor-
 tunity of making himself master of it to the ex-
 clusion of his ward, apprehending he might be de-
 pos'd by FERDINAND King of Naples, whose gran-
 daughter had married JOHN GALEAS, incited the
 French King to assert his title to Naples, promi-
 sing he would favour his pretensions, upon condi-
 tion that France would maintain him in the duchy
 of Milan. The Pope also, upon some assurances
 given him that the French King would advance
 his family, and grant him a territory in the king-
 dom of Naples, was induc'd to come into their
 measures.

FERDINAND King of Naples, 'tis said, was so 1494.
 terrified at this formidable confederacy against him,
 that he fell ill, and died upon it, and was succeeded
 by his son ALPHONSUS, a Prince hated by the
 Neapolitans, and fear'd by the neighbouring powers,
 as his father had been. In the mean time the
 French King order'd the rendezvous of his forces
 to be at Lyons, from whence he march'd through
 Piedmont, and arriv'd at Asti on the ninth of Sep-
 tember, where he fell ill of the small pox; but be-
 ing out of danger in a week's time, he sent am-
 bassadors to the several States of Italy, to declare
 that he had no design upon their liberties, his only
 view was to procure the restitution of the king-
 dom of Naples, which belong'd to him; and af-
 terwards to march against the Turks for the gene-
 ral advantage of Christendom. The King after-
 wards continued his march thro' the territories of
 Milan, where he was attended by LEWIS the
 usurper, with great professions of friendship and
 esteem, tho' the French understood he was endea-
 vouring at the same time to embarrass their af-
 fairs, and even entering into a confederacy with
 the rest of the Italian Princes to ruin their army;
 whereupon the King held a council of war, to
 deliberate whether he should advance any further,
 and it being carried for proceeding in the enter-
 prize, he continued his march to the frontiers of
 Tuscany, where that Duke came to meet him,
 and delivered up to him Seresana, Seresanello, and
 Pietra Santa, which defended the passes into his
 country, to the surprize of the rest of the Italian
 Princes; for by this means he gave the French
 an opportunity of seizing his territories, when
 great part of their army must have perish'd if he
 had opposed them in that barren country, the
 French having brought scarce any provisions along
 with them. This submission of the Florentines
 removed the greatest difficulties in the expedition.
 The French King continued his march, and made

CHAP. XXXIV. a kind of a triumphant entry into Lucca and Pisa, in the last of which places he left a garrison, and advanc'd to the city of Florence, where the inhabitants unwillingly rais'd him 50000 ducats. He came with his army soon after into the neighbourhood of Rome, to the great terrour of the Pope, who notwithstanding he had invited the French King into Italy, had since alter'd his mind, and enter'd into a conspiracy to destroy his army, which the King was not unacquainted with: he durst not however oppose his coming to Rome; whereupon the King made his entry into that city on the 31st of December 1494, by torch-light, at the head of his troops, whom he ordered to seize upon all the important posts about the town. The Pope at first shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo; but upon his Majesty's summoning him, and bringing his artillery before it, his Holiness consented to a treaty, wherein he agreed, that the French should remain in possession of Viterbo, Teracina, Civita Vecchia and Spoleto, which the King had made himself master of in his march. Afterwards the Pope return'd to his palace of the Vatican, where the King made him a visit. It was observed, that his Holiness was very lavish of his honours towards this Prince, of whom he stood in the utmost dread, and even gave orders that justice should be administred in his name while he staid in Rome; in all outward appearance there was a perfect reconciliation between them, and that the King might not suspect his sincerity, he order'd his son the Cardinal of Valence to attend him in the expedition. His Majesty having staid about a month in Rome, advanc'd with his army towards Naples, hearing every day of the revolt of some town or other in that kingdom, ALPHONSUS being universally hated for his tyranny, of which that Prince was so sensible, that he surrendered his crown to his son FERDINAND, as the most effectual way to preserve it in his family, and afterwards fled to Sicily. But FERDINAND, was not able to stop the progress of the French, his army abandon'd him; Capua, and even the city of Naples surrendered without striking a stroke, every town in the kingdom submitted except Brundisium and Gallipoli; whereupon FERDINAND retir'd to the island of Ischia, with his family and some troops that remain'd faithful to him, in hopes of maintaining himself there, till he should meet with a favourable opportunity of returning to his throne, for he knew that the Emperor and the Italian States had enter'd into a confederacy against the French King; and this Prince seems appriz'd of it by the haste he made from thence: he began his march towards France the twentieth of May 1495, with an army of nine or ten thousand men; the rest he left with the Count of Montpensier to secure his conquests. When he came to Rome, the Pope had retir'd to Perugia, and would not see

The French King enters Rome.

1495.

him; and his son, whom he had left with the King as an hostage, had made his escape. Here his Majesty receiv'd intelligence, that his enemies had drawn their forces together, and would render his retreat very difficult, as he afterwards found it; for they fell upon him at Tortona, and had infallibly defeated him, if part of their army which had routed his left wing, had not fallen upon the baggage, and thereby given him an opportunity of rallying his troops, and continuing his march, which he did with the utmost hazard, and came to Lyons the seventh of November. The French King had no sooner left the kingdom of Naples, but FERDINAND assisted by GONSALVO, a celebrated Spanish General, return'd thither, and attack'd Reggio, which surrendered to them, with several other towns; they afterwards met with a defeat, but being re-inforc'd, and making a second attempt, the whole country in a short time return'd to the obedience of King FERDINAND, most of the French perishing either by sickness or the sword. Such, says a French historian, was the success of CHARLES the Eighth's enterprize upon Naples: an enterprize undertaken with much imprudence, continu'd with wonderful success, and at length shamefully abandon'd with the loss of a great number of brave men. This was the last remarkable event in his reign. He died suddenly on the seventh of April 1498, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign, leaving no issue, tho' he had several children who died in their cradles. He was succeeded by LEWIS Duke of Orleans.

LEWIS XII begun his reign at a mature age, being in his thirty-seventh year; and as he was naturally a Prince of an excellent temper and genius, improv'd by experience, render'd his people extremely happy. He continu'd all the officers of state in their posts, some of whom had dealt very roughly with him in the preceding reign; but he endeavour'd to forget all the ill usage he had receiv'd when he came to the crown: And that the people as well as the court might taste of the lenity of his administration, he remitted first a tenth, and afterwards a third of the usual taxes. He also regulated the courts of justice, and endeavour'd to redress the extortions that were committed under the colour of law. But among so many commendable actions, there was one which carried but a very indifferent aspect, and that was his marriage with the late Queen, the heiress of Britany; to effect which he was forc'd first to divorce the Princess JANE the daughter of King LEWIS XI, who had liv'd with him as his wife for twenty years. He pretended indeed that her father had oblig'd him to marry her when he was but fifteen years of age, and that he then privately made a protest in form, and declar'd he would never touch her, tho' outwardly to avoid that King's displeasure he treated her as a wife. But had not the Queen he

Lewis XII.

1499.

after-

CHA P. afterwards married been heiress of Britany, with
 XXXIV. which he must have parted if she had married else-
 where, possibly he had never thought of a divorce
 from the Princess JANE; unless the disagreeable-
 ness of her person might be some inducement, for
 she was very deform'd and infirm; tho' this one
 would have thought should have occasion'd it sooner,
 if at all. He had indeed the approbation of the
 Pope for all this, which was thought sufficient in
 those days to sanctify the most flagrant crimes; and
 as it was in his Majesty's power at this time to ob-
 lige his Holiness in some temporal concerns, he soon
 procur'd the matter to be dispatch'd at the court of
 Rome. Pope ALEXANDER VI, was now about
 to make the fortunes of his son the famous CÆSAR
 BORGIA, who quitted a Cardinal's cap in order to
 be a temporal Prince; his Holiness hoping to effect
 his design chiefly by the assistance of the French
 King, made CÆSAR the bearer of the bull for the
 divorce, and in pursuance of a treaty concluded
 between them, the King then gave him the duchy
 of Valentinois, a pension of twenty thousand livres
 per ann. with a post in the army. He also agreed
 to procure him CHARLOTTE the sister of the Queen
 of Navarre for a wife, and to put him into possession of
 several towns in Italy; for the Pope and the French
 were in a confederacy against the Duke of Milan,
 and the King was just upon the point of entering
 Italy with his army to attack that duchy, while
 the Venetians penetrated it on the other side.

The French
 invade Mi-
 lan.

The Duke of Milan had assembled an army of
 eighteen or twenty thousand men to oppose the
 French and Venetians; but having no allies, and
 being betray'd by his officers and generals, the
 whole duchy was lost within twenty days, except
 the castle of Milan, and he himself forc'd to retire
 into Germany: the castle also surrender'd within
 a few days, whereupon the French King made a
 triumphant entry into that city on the sixteenth of
 October 1499; after which he gave CÆSAR BOR-
 GIA the command of four thousand Swiss and three
 hundred launces, in order to recover those towns
 he had stipulated to put him in possession of: and
 having conferr'd the government of the Milanese
 on TRIVALCA, a person of a haughty violent
 spirit, he return'd to France. The new gover-
 nour behav'd himself with that tyranny and indis-
 cretion, suffering his soldiers to insult the natives
 and abuse their women, that they soon became ripe
 for a revolt; of which their old Duke LEWIS
 MORUS having advice, assembled eight or ten
 thousand Swiss, and coming before the city, easily
 made himself master of it by the assistance of the
 disaffected within; the garrison retiring into the
 castle: most of the towns in the duchy follow'd
 the example of the capital.

The French King receiving advice of the revolt
 of the Milanese, assembled a great army and re-
 pass'd the Alps; but what was of more service to

him than his forces, was a treaty he made with CHA P.
 the Swiss, who for a sum of money betray'd the XXXIV.
 Duke LEWIS MORUS into his hands, and he was
 carried prisoner into France, where he died about
 ten years after. His two sons fled into Germany
 to the Emperor; whereupon the Milanese once
 more came under the power of the French. I don't
 find any title they had to this duchy, but their
 writers seem to justify the enterprize on account
 of the disturbance the Duke gave them in their
 retreat from Naples, adding that he was a usur-
 per, and had poison'd his nephew to obtain the so-
 vereignty, and therefore did not deserve a better
 fate.

This conquest being effected, the King had a
 design to reduce Naples; but the Emperor being of-
 fended at his seizing of Milan, which was a fee of
 the Empire, and deposing the Prince who had
 been legally invested in that duchy, and on this ac-
 count inviting the Princes of the Empire into a
 confederacy against France, the King did not
 think it prudent to march his army so far from
 home. Besides, FERDINAND King of Spain
 made him an offer to divide the kingdom of Na-
 ples with him, and depose the present Prince FRE-
 DERICK, who was descended from a base branch
 of the house of Arragon, and therefore, as they
 were pleas'd to infer, could have no legal title.
 And it was accordingly agreed, that FERDINAND
 King of Spain should have Apulia and Calabria,
 as it lay most convenient for him in the neighbour-
 hood of Sicily which belong'd to him; and that
 the French King should have the north part of
 Naples, containing the Abruzzo and Naples Pro-
 per. The Pope also came into this treaty in hopes
 of augmenting the territories of his son CÆSAR
 BORGIA, now Duke of Valentinois.

1500.
 The French
 and Span-
 iards divide
 Naples be-
 tween them.

The King of Naples in the mean time publish'd
 manifesto upon manifesto, asserting his right to
 that kingdom; but having neither forces or allies
 to support him, the Kings of France and Spain,
 each of them, sent an army, and took possession
 of the country, dividing it between them accor-
 ding to the above-said treaty, and the Pope grant-
 ed them the investiture of their respective shares.
 King FREDERICK having shut himself up in the
 castle del Ovo in Naples, soon found himself
 obliged to capitulate, and was permitted by the
 French General to retire to the island of Ilichia;
 some time after he obtain'd leave to come to
 France, and transferred all his right to the king-
 dom of Naples to King LEWIS, who thereupon
 granted him the duchy of Anjou, and thirty thou-
 sand ducats per annum, which he enjoy'd till he
 died.

The settling the limits in the kingdom of Na-
 ples between the Kings of France and Spain, oc-
 casion'd a war between them, which lasted about
 two years, when the Duke of Nemours, the
 French 1502.

A war be-
 tween the
 Kings of
 France and
 Spain on the
 division of
 Naples.

CHAP. French General, was entirely defeated and kill'd
XXXIV. in the field of battle, whereupon the whole country

1503.

1504.
A confederacy against
the Venetians.

1508.

submitted to the Spaniards. The French writers relate, that their troops were successful till their King suffer'd himself to be amus'd by a treaty, which occasion'd his not sending timely reinforcements, while the King of Spain continued to send supplies from time to time, and thereby gain'd such a superiority that there was no making head against him; whereupon the French were driven out of the country, and most of them perish'd before they reach'd France, (which has been their fate more than once in their attempts upon Naples). The same year the French were defeated in two enterprizes against Spain on the side of the Pyrenees; but a truce was at length concluded between the two nations for three years, which gave the King of France, and his allies the Pope and King of the Romans, an opportunity of falling upon the Venetians, whom these Princes were determin'd to destroy. The French King was highly provoked with them for their treacherous underhand dealings, whereby they cross'd his designs in the Neapolitan war. The Pope was exasperated against them for seizing some of the towns he laid claim to in Romania; and the King of the Romans had much the same cause of complaint against them. The Duke of Ferrara, the Marquis of Mantua, the Republic of Florence, and the King of Hungary, also came into the confederacy against them, every one of these States having pretensions to some town or territory the Venetians had possess'd themselves of, in so much that it was evident if every one of the parties in the confederacy were to be satisfied in their respective demands, Venice would not have a foot of land left upon the continent. The design of the allies was indeed intirely to demolish their State: they were animated more by a spirit of revenge against that proud republick, for pretending to be the umpire of the affairs of Europe, and to hold the balance amongst them, than by the hopes of obtaining satisfaction on their antiquated claims. And had the execution of the treaty been as speedy as it was intended, the Venetians had infallibly been ruin'd: but the delays made by the King of the Romans, and a dangerous fit of illness which seiz'd the French King, gave the Venetians an opportunity of applying to the Pope, and drawing him off from this formidable alliance; whereupon all the other parties laid aside the design for the present. This confederacy against the Venetians was however reviv'd again in the year 1508, and the King of Spain also came into it, on account of some towns in Apulia which they had possess'd themselves of during the Neapolitan war, and refus'd to deliver up. The Venetians offer'd the Pope a town or two, in order to appease him, and made their

application to the Emperor to divert him from the CHAI
war; but all the parties to the league were im-XXXII
movable, and remain'd determin'd to destroy the
Republick; whereupon they rais'd an army, gar-
rison'd their towns, and made all necessary pre-
parations for their defence. The King of France
took the field against them first, and having pass'd
the Alps, sent a herald to declare war against
them. The Pope at the same time publish'd a
thundering bull against the Republick, requiring
them to restore the towns and territories they had
usurp'd from the Holy See on pain of an interdict
and eternal damnation; which the Venetians an-
swer'd by a manifesto.

In the mean time the French army advanc'd, 1509,
and came to an engagement with the forces of
the Republick on the fourteenth of May 1509,
and defeated them; and within less than three
weeks after the French King made himself master
of Cremona, Bresse, Bergamo, Crema, and of all
the other towns and castles he pretended belong'd to
him as part of the duchy of Milan, and had been
dismember'd from it. At the same time the Duke
of Ferrara, who commanded the Pope's forces,
enter'd Romania, and took Ravenna and Faenza,
the most considerable towns he had demanded of
them. He seiz'd also upon the territory denomi-
nated the Polessin de Rovigo, which he alledg'd
the Venetians had dismember'd from his duchy of
Ferrara. The Duke of Brunswick, the Emperor's
General, also retook Trieste and several other
towns from them; and the Marquis of Mantua
others, which put the Republick into the utmost
consternation. They apply'd themselves hereupon
to the Emperor, the Pope and the King of Spain,
offering to submit to any terms if they would
break with the French: and they were so success-
ful in their negotiations with the King of Spain,
that he offer'd to make peace with them on con-
dition they would restore the towns in Apulia,
which they did. The Pope they found alarm'd
at the great progress of the French arms in Italy,
and prevail'd with him to desert his confederates 1510,
and join in an alliance with the Swiss and their
State to drive the French out of Italy. The King
of England also acceded to this treaty, and was
to attack France on the side of Picardy by way
of diversion. The King of France on the other
hand enter'd into a more strict alliance with the
Emperor, and by the assistance of five Cardinals
devoted to their interest who fled from Rome,
they called a general council at Pisa to enquire
into the means by which the Pope acquired the
Pontificate, and threaten'd to depose him and set
up another in his room, which gave his Holiness
no small uneasiness. The French King also at-
tack'd and took the city of Bologna from the Pope,
and defeated his forces; and as the French writ-
ters affirm, was in a condition at this time to have
made

CHAP. made himself master of Rome itself, and even of all
 XXXIV. Italy, if he would have attempted it: but he ob-
 served, that the greater were his conquests, and
 the further he advanced in this country, the more
 enemies he created. The Spaniards were afraid of
 Naples; and neither England or the Emperor
 could with good policy see the French add Italy
 to their monarchy. The Pope therefore know-
 ing he should be very well supported, was so far
 from submitting to the French, that he called a
 general council at St. John de Lateran's in Rome,
 in opposition to that of Pisa, in order to render
 all their decrees ineffectual; and proceeded to
 anathematize the Cardinals and Prelates that com-
 pos'd it. He laid the town of Pisa also under an
 interdict for harbouring them, whereupon a tu-
 mult was rais'd by the citizens, and they were
 forced to remove to Milan.

In the mean time the Swiss attack'd the French
 in the Milanese on one side, while the Pope and
 the Spaniards made head against them on the other.
 The King's forces nevertheless were successful still
 against the Pope, the Spaniards, the Venetians and
 the Swiss, till England declar'd war against France,
 and then the French found themselves under a ne-
 cessity of withdrawing most of their forces out of
 Italy, whereby they lost Milan and all their con-
 quests on that side the Alps in almost as short a
 time as they made them. The King of England
 demanded Normandy and all the territories in
 France which formerly belong'd to the English;
 and having the Emperor for his allie, the French
 King thought it more advisable to abandon his fo-
 reign conquests than hazard the loss of his own
 kingdom. Upon the retreat of the French, MAXI-
 MILIAN SFORZA, son of the late Duke, had
 the duchy of Milan restor'd him by the Venetians
 and the Swiss. The republick of Genoa again re-
 volted from the French, and all the Princes in
 Italy enjoy'd their respective territories again, only
 there were some disputes which still remain'd be-
 tween the Pope, the Emperor and Venetians. A-
 bout the same time the Spaniards made a conquest
 of the kingdom of Navarre, though that Prince
 was supported by France. The French King still
 look'd with a covetous eye upon the duchy of
 Milan, and observing that the Venetians were in
 ill terms with the Pope and the Emperor, en-
 ter'd into an alliance with that republick against
 them; and sending some troops over the Alps that
 join'd the Venetians, he recover'd great part of the
 Milanese again. The Swiss and Spaniards how-
 ever soon after obtain'd an entire victory over the
 French army, and compell'd them once more to fly
 the country, while their miserable allies the Ve-
 netians were beaten almost out of the continent,
 retaining no other towns there but Padua and
 Trevisa.

The French ascribe all their ill success in this
 Vol. II.

Italian war to the invasion of their country by the
 English and Imperialists on the side of Flanders, of
 which I am next to give an account; only for the
 satisfaction of those who may be inquisitive to know
 what became of the council of Pisa, I must first
 take notice that this council having been adjourn'd
 from Pisa to Milan, was upon the late revolution
 in the Milanese adjourn'd to the city of Lyons in
 France; whereupon the Pope laid that kingdom
 under an interdict, and especially Lyons where it
 was held. While the King in vain endeavour'd
 to establish the council, and persuade other Princes
 to join with him upon that occasion, the Emperor
 declar'd that he adher'd to the council of Lateran,
 and revok'd every thing he had done in favour of
 the other, condemning all the resolutions of the
 Gallican church on that subject. And though this
 Pope died in February 1512-13, and was succeed-
 ed by LEO the Tenth, a prelate of a much more
 peaceable disposition, the interest of the French at
 Rome was not at all improv'd, and they were at
 length oblig'd to drop the council of Pisa.

The war between France and England was car-
 ried on as well by sea as land: their fleets engaged
 twice, but there happen'd nothing decisive at sea.
 The most considerable action was near St. Malo's
 in Britany, where the two Admirals grappling to-
 gether, took fire and were blown up, whereby a mul-
 titude of men were lost; for the French Admiral al-
 one, 'tis said, had 1200 men on board. The first
 attempt the English made by land was in Guienne in
 the year 1512, whither the English sent a good body
 of troops to join the Spaniards; but the latter instead
 of uniting their forces with the English for the re-
 covery of that duchy, as had been stipulated, took
 the opportunity of this diversion to seize upon the
 kingdom of Navarre, as has been related above;
 whereupon the English return'd home. The fol-
 lowing year 1513, HENRY the Eighth, King of
 England, embark'd with an army of five and
 twenty or thirty thousand men, and landed at
 Calais, from whence he march'd and laid siege
 to Terouen in Flanders, being join'd by the Em-
 peror MAXIMILIAN with a body of forces almost
 equal to the English. The French made an at-
 tempt to raise the siege, and were handsomely
 beaten: and as their gens d'arms did not behave
 very bravely, but made less use of their lances
 than their spurs, this engagement obtained the
 name of the battle of Spurs. The French say
 this was but a detachment of their army that
 came to the relief of Terouen, and that they did
 not make their utmost efforts to raise the siege,
 because they were obliged to send part of their
 troops into Burgundy to make head against the
 Swiss and Imperialists, who had enter'd their coun-
 try on that side. But whatever their reasons were
 for not venturing a general battle, Terouen sur-
 render'd after a siege of nine weeks; after which
 the

CHAP.
 XXXIV.
 1513.
 The end of
 the council
 of Pisa.

War be-
 tween France
 and England.

CHAP. the confederates laid siege to Tournay, and took
 XXXIV. it, and this put an end to the campaign. JAMES
 the Fourth of Scotland, according to the custom
 of that nation, invaded England while King
 HENRY was engag'd in the French war, but had
 the misfortune to be defeated and kill'd at Flod-
 don-field. The French King after such a train
 of ill success, endeavour'd to obtain a peace with
 England, which he effected by marrying the Prin-
 cess MARY, the sister of King HENRY the Eighth,
 and paying that Prince a million of crowns to-
 wards the charges of the war. Some English po-
 liticians were not pleas'd with this treaty, appre-
 hending that King HENRY had such a superiority
 of troops, and such powerful allies, that he might
 have made himself master of Normandy, and even
 of all France: while others held, that admitting
 the conquest of France could have been effected,
 it must have cost England a great deal of blood
 and treasure; for which the English could have
 expected nothing in return, but to have been made
 a province to the larger kingdom; and had they re-
 tain'd Normandy, or any other part of France,
 this would only have engag'd them in perpetual
 wars, to maintain which the nation must have
 been burthen'd with taxes. Nor is this the only
 reason why a subject of England should be averse
 to foreign conquests, there is still another more
 substantial than the former, and that is the en-
 dangering his liberty and property; for foreign
 territories must be maintain'd by standing forces,
 which an arbitrary Prince may bring over at plea-
 sure, and with them levy what money he pleases
 upon his subjects at home. Nothing is more evi-
 dent than that as money will raise soldiers, so sol-
 diers will raise money if they want it, provided
 they are quarter'd in a country where it is to
 be had: and for this reason some people are a-
 gainst our having so much as a single town on the
 other side the water, because it will ever furnish
 the Prince, with a specious pretence to raise an ar-
 my to defend it, when he is pleas'd to say it is in
 danger.

Peace be-
 tween
 France and
 England.

But to reflect a little further on the wisdom of
 our ancestors. The reason of their entering into
 this war was to reduce the exorbitant power of
 France, then as well as now a very powerful king-
 dom; and as soon as they had compell'd her to re-
 linquish all her new acquisitions, and reduc'd her
 to her former bounds, they had gain'd their point:
 they had no intention to destroy the French nation,
 or bring it to such a state that it might not be in
 a condition to check the ambition of the Emperor:
 this had been over-doing it, and only pulling down
 one exorbitant power to create another. And the
 same wisdom seem'd to reign in the English coun-
 cils at the peace of Utrecht: they found the French
 sufficiently humbled, and had put the Imperialists
 in possession of several fine countries that were

taken from them. But they thought it highly ad-
 visable to stop here, and not aggrandize the Em-
 peror to that degree as to render him as terrible
 in Europe as the French had been. And yet had
 we a set of politicians amongst us, that nothing
 would satisfy but a total extirpation of the French.
 They had not foresight enough to discern, that in
 a very few years we might want their assistance
 to balance the power of the Emperor, tho' they
 have since been sufficiently convinced of their
 mistake.

But to return to the French King LEWIS XII.
 He surviv'd the peace and his marriage but a very
 little while: and those people who will suffer no
 event to pass without assigning the cause of it,
 assure us that his death was occasion'd by his too
 great complaisance for the young Queen, who
 was one of the finest Princesses in Europe, and
 whose demands 'tis suppos'd the old King was per-
 fectly unable to satisfy. But leaving these gentle-
 men to their conjectures, certain it is he was taken
 ill of a fever attended with a dysentery, of which
 he died on the first of January 1514-15, in the
 fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth
 of his reign, having never had any legitimate issue,
 whereupon the crown devolv'd on his second cou-
 sin FRANCIS, Count of Angouleme and Duke of
 Valois.

FRANCIS Count of Angouleme and Duke of Francis,
 Valois, nephew of the late King, succeeded to
 the crown in January 1514-15, in the 21st year
 of his age.

Immediately after his accession he renew'd the
 alliances which his predecessor had made with the
 King of England and the Venetians. By the treaty
 with the latter they were obliged to assist him
 the conquest of the Milanese, and France engag'd
 to recover the towns the Republick had lost in
 Italy. On the other hand, he found the Pope,
 the King of Spain, and the Swiss, in a confederacy
 against him for the defence of the Milanese, and
 MAXIMILIAN SFORZA the new Duke. He de-
 termin'd however to pass the Alps, and attempt
 the recovery of that duchy once again, and was
 encourag'd in this enterprize by the Genoese, who
 at this time put themselves under the protection of
 France.

The Swiss having notice of his design, possess'd
 themselves of all the usual passes of the Alps;
 but the King discovered another, a very difficult
 one, by the valley of Barcelonetta, thro' which
 the French armies had never before penetrated
 into Italy; and making a feint with part of the
 army, as if he intended to march the common road,
 he sent a strong detachment of his forces and
 seiz'd that on the side of Barcelonetta without
 any opposition; whereupon the Swiss withdrew
 their troops from the Alps, and retir'd into the
 Milanese, whither the French follow'd them.

CHAP
 XXXIV

The King's
 design on the
 Milanese.

The Swiss
 oppose his
 passage in
 vain.

The King
 enters the
 Milanese,
 The 1515.

CHAP. XXXIV. The Pope and the Spaniard finding the King had actually enter'd Italy, began to think of treating with him, and never sent their forces to join the Swiss, as had been agreed, which occasion'd their defeat at Marignan, not far from Milan, after they had maintain'd the fight bravely for two days, and lost ten or twelve thousand of their men: the French also were so severely handled that they did not think fit to pursue them. Upon the loss of this battle, most of the towns in the Milanese, with the capital city itself, open'd their gates to the conqueror: whereupon the Duke MAXIMILIAN SFORZA, who had retired into the castle of Milan with a good garrison, capitulated, and agreed to surrender his duchy to the French King, upon condition he should allow him a pension of sixty thousand ducats per annum; and thus the French became entire masters of the Milanese within less than a month after the battle of Marignan. Their allies the Venetians in the mean time recover'd most of the towns they had lost in the last war. The Pope hereupon enter'd into a treaty with the King, by which he yielded Parma and Placentia to him: and his Majesty on the other hand promis'd to assist the Pope in the recovery of the duchy of Urbino, and consented to abolish the pragmattick sanction, and to establish the concordat in the room of it; whereby it was agreed that the King should have the nomination of bishops and abbots in France, but that the Pope should retain certain profits out of the principal ecclesiastical benefices.

His Majesty while he continu'd at Milan endeavour'd to bring the Swiss to temper, and was so successful as to renew the antient alliances with eight of the cantons. As to the rest of the powers on that side the Alps, they all came and congratulated him on the success of his expedition, though many of them dreaded nothing more than to see the French establish'd in Italy. His Majesty having constituted the Duke of Bourbon Lieutenant-general of the Milanese, return'd home, and arriv'd at Lyons in the beginning of February 1515-16. The French historians relate, that he was under great apprehensions at this time of being invaded by the King of England, whose prime minister Cardinal WOOLSEY was piqu'd at his denying him the bishoprick of Tournay; but the rest of the English Council being against a war with France, that enterprize was laid aside for the present. WOOLSEY however gratified his spleen, by inciting the Emperor to fall upon the French in Italy. This Prince recover'd several places in the Milanese; but when the Generals were upon the point of coming to an engagement, the Swiss on both sides, of whom the greatest part of each army was compos'd, refus'd to fight. One reason they gave was, that they had stipulated by their respective treaties with these powers, that they would

not serve against their own countrymen: but the principal was, that they were not paid, either by the French or Germans, and therefore took the liberty of returning home; from whence came that common saying, no Money no Swiss: after which the Emperor thought fit to retire into the Trentin, and abandon his conquests, while the Swiss plunder'd all the country in their return, according to custom, and paid themselves. The French King about this time furnish'd the Pope with a body of cavalry, with which he reduc'd the duchy of Urbino, taking it from the true proprietor Duke FRANCIS MURY, and transferring it to LAWRENCE DE MEDICIS, his Holiness's nephew, in pursuance of the late treaty between the Pope and his Majesty.

The following year produc'd a peace between France, Spain, the Emperor and Venetians, whereby Verona was restor'd to the last. And now that republick saw themselves in the possession of all the places that had been taken from them by the confederacy of Cambray.

The King of France having brib'd Cardinal WOOLSEY, the prime minister of England, easily found means to purchase Tournay afterwards of the King of England for six hundred thousand crowns, and a peace was thereupon concluded between the two nations; to cement which, the Dauphin, who was under two years old, was married to the Princess MARY, the eldest daughter of HENRY the Eighth, and under four years of age; but this match, like most others that are made so very early, came to nothing. WOOLSEY, the French historians assure us, had agreed also to deliver up Calais to the French; but the King of Spain having notice of it, out-bid the King of France, and having drawn off the Cardinal from his interest, ever after play'd him upon France with great advantage.

About this time the Kings of France and Spain became competitors for the Empire upon the death of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, which happen'd on the nineteenth of January 1518-19. CHARLES King of Spain prov'd the fortunate man: the German Princes, 'tis said, were apprehensive that if they had chosen FRANCIS, he would have endeavour'd to reduce them to the same condition the vassal Princes of that kingdom had been reduc'd, and that they should lose the Sovereignty they enjoy'd in their respective principalities. It is natural also to suppose, that CHARLES, who had resided in the Emperor's grandfather's court during his minority, and was personally known to the Electors, should have a better interest among them than a foreign Prince, whom they had always look'd upon as the greatest enemy to their country.

This union of the Empire and Spain under one head gave the French King some uneasiness. He

CHAP. XXXIV.
And obtains a victory over the Swiss.

The D. of Milan surrenders his duchy to the French.

Treaty between the Pope and France concerning the nomination of Bishops, &c.

War between the Emperor and France.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1516.
Peace between France and most of the powers of Europe.

Tournay restor'd to France.

Charles V chosen Emperor.

1520.

CHAP. found his dominions almost furrounded by the XXXIV. territories of his rival, and consider'd how he might form an alliance sufficient to oppose him: and first, he procur'd an interview with the King of England near Calais, as the French relate, and represented to him the danger they were both in of CHARLES's rendering himself universal monarch; and 'tis said he procur'd a promise from the King of England to assist him if he should be attack'd. However true this relation may be in the main, certain it is the French writers are mistaken in one circumstance, namely, as to the Kings of England and France having had an interview before the Emperor's conference with the King of England; for the Emperor passing by sea from Spain to the Low Countries, was entertain'd by HENRY the Eighth at Dover, before he went to Calais to meet the French King. The historians of both nations however agree, that the Emperor and King FRANCIS were very lavish of their presents and promises to WOOLSEY, whose ambition for the Popedom they were well acquainted with: It is even said, that the French King assur'd him of fourteen voices in the conclave at the next election; but that the Emperor demonstrating to the Cardinal that he could procure him a greater number, he immediatly deserted the French interest, and went over to the Imperialists. Thus the fate of kingdoms is frequently determin'd by designing ministers; Princes made to prevaricate and break their contracts to their eternal dishonour, and sometimes utter ruin, only to advance the particular views of the treacherous adviser; and this perhaps because the Sovereign will not give himself time to consider his own or his people's interests, but takes things upon trust without examination. And what wonder is it in such cases if the Minister has the adoration of the croud, while the Prince is condemn'd, and perhaps scarce thought of, even while he lives and bears the royal title? He may be stiled God's Vicegerent on earth, but unless he imitates the Deity in all his imitable perfections, his truth, his justice, and concern for the welfare of mankind, particularly his own subjects, the people will infallibly withdraw their veneration and dependance on him: nor is it fit a Prince should enjoy the splendour of a crown while he refuses to bear any of the weight of it. But to return to our history: The Emperor, 'tis said, obtain'd a promise of the King of England that he would not assist France, but offer his mediation in case any differences arose, and take up arms against either of the parties who should refuse his arbitration.

A war between France and the Emperor.

While the Emperor was absent from Spain, there happen'd a rebellion in that kingdom, which the French King look'd upon as a favourable opportunity to attack his territories on that side; therefore he first assisted the depos'd King of Na-

varre to recover his country, and afterwards penetrated into Castile: but the regency of Spain XXXIV. having assembled their troops, defeated the French, and recover'd Navarre again the same campaign it was lost. Another attempt the French King made against the territories of the Empire on the side of Luxemburg; not openly, but by giving LE MARK, Lord of Sedan, liberty to raise forces in France, with which he attack'd the Emperor's towns, upon pretence of some injustice that Prince had done him. The French King indeed disavow'd what the Lord of Sedan had done; nor did he raise an army to support him. However, the Emperor being satisfied his Majesty was at the bottom of it, after he had ravag'd the territories of that Lord, and raz'd his fortified towns to the ground, he enter'd the dominions of France, and took Tournay and some other places; while the French on their side made themselves masters of Bouchain, Landrecy, and some other small towns: and thus a war was commenc'd between these two powers, which lasted many years, the King of England in vain offering his mediation.

The war was about the same time begun in Italy, where the Pope, the Emperor, the Duke of Tuscany and other Princes, had enter'd into a confederacy to drive the French out of that country, and constitute FRANCIS SFORZA, the brother of MAXIMILIAN, Duke of Milan. The French, who had behav'd themselves very insolently, made this no difficult matter to effect: the inhabitants of the Milanese were all ready to join them. The death of Pope LEO X however put some stop to the operations of the war; but Cardinal ADRIAN, preceptor to the Emperor, being elected in his room, all things went on to the wish of the confederates. (The Emperor it seems had made a tool of WOOLSEY, and never intended to advance him to the pontificate.) They march'd towards Milan, and having made themselves masters of several places, that capital open'd its gates and receiv'd FRANCIS SFORZA for her sovereign. Soon after the French being join'd by the Venetians, and having receiv'd some other reinforcements, attack'd the Imperialists and Italians, commanded by the Pope's General PROSPER COLONNA, at Bicoque, a palace and park of the Dukes of Milan, about a league from that city, surrounded by a wall and ditch. They were not able to force the Italian camp, but were repuls'd and entirely defeated; whereupon Genoa and the whole Milanese revolted from the French, except the castles of Milan, Novara, Pifighitone and Cremona. The Venetians also deserted the French interest, and made an alliance with the Emperor against all powers that should disturb the repose of Italy for the future; never expecting to see the French in Italy again so soon as they were, having

The Milanese revolt from the French.

1523.

CHAP. XXXIV. so much business upon their hands on the side of the Pyrenees and Picardy; for the English the year before had declar'd war against them, and in pursuance of that declaration landed thirteen thousand men at Calais, under the command of the Duke of Suffolk, who was to have been join'd by a like number of Imperialists; but the latter not bringing more than five or six thousand men into the field, and throwing the whole charge of the war on that side upon the English, according to custom, no considerable action could be undertaken; whereupon the Duke contented himself with ravaging the country till he came within ten or eleven leagues of Paris, and then return'd to England.

The French invade the Milanese. In the mean time the castle of Milan surrender'd to the confederates, but the French King notwithstanding made great preparations for the invasion of that duchy, and was upon his march thither when he receiv'd advice that the Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, being disgusted, was treating with his enemy the Emperor. He charg'd the Duke with it; but there being no direct proof of the matter, he continu'd his march towards Lyons, where he was assur'd that the Constable was actually fled into Germany, and thereupon order'd the fortified towns belonging to that Duke to be seiz'd, and his adherents apprehended: and not thinking it proper at such a juncture to leave the kingdom, he committed the care of the Italian expedition to the Admiral BONNIER, who pass'd the Alps and recover'd several places in the Milanese, taking up his winter-quarters in that country.

But the following spring 1524, the Swiss deserted his army, and the Imperialists, who were now commanded by the Duke of Bourbon, with the Venetians, Neapolitans, &c. having assembled their forces, fell upon the French, and fairly beat them out of Italy again: after which the confederates pass'd the Alps, and besieg'd Marseilles; but having lain before that town forty days, and made little progress in the siege, their army being pretty much lessen'd by sickness, they rais'd the siege and return'd into Italy, King FRANCIS following them close at the heels with an army of forty thousand men. Upon his appearance in the Milanese, the city of Milan itself, which always submitted to the strongest side for fear of being plunder'd, open'd her gates to him; and the confederates not being in a condition to keep the field, the King laid siege to Pavia. The place was defended by a numerous garrison, and the besiegers were so incommoded with the rains and snows, that they had not much advanc'd their works in two months they had lain before it. In the mean time the Imperialists having received large reinforcements from Germany, attack'd the King in his camp on St. MATTHIAS's day, 1524-5, and after a brave resistance, entirely de-

feated his army and took him prisoner. It is computed that there were eight or nine thousand of the French kill'd upon the spot, and of the Germans scarce so many hundred. The loss of this battle was follow'd by that of all the Milanese.

1525. The King of England upon this occasion shew'd himself a Prince of great honour: he had assembled an army to invade France on the side of Picardy, and hearing of the distress that the French were reduc'd to upon the imprisonment of their King, he declared to the Regency of France that he would not proceed in the enterprize, or give them any disturbance: whereas nothing is so common as to see Princes taking advantages of the misfortunes of their neighbours. But one great inducement to this conduct no doubt was an apprehension that the Emperor would soon become too powerful for all the Princes in Europe if he did not change hands: he enter'd into a defensive alliance therefore with France, and engaged to procure the liberty of King FRANCIS upon reasonable terms.

In the mean time the Emperor had caus'd his royal prisoner to be brought from Italy to Madrid, where after about a year's confinement a treaty was made between them. The King to obtain his liberty yielded up the duchy of Burgundy, renounc'd his pretensions to Naples, Milan and Genoa, and all sovereign jurisdiction over the counties of Flanders and Artois, and all other demesns in the possession of the Emperor; and a marriage was at the same time concluded between the King and ELEANOR Queen-dowager of Portugal, the Emperor's sister. About a month after the King was permitted to return to France, leaving his two sons, FRANCIS the Dauphin and HENRY Duke of Orleans as hostages for the performance of the articles. Being required to put the Emperor into the possession of the duchy of Burgundy soon after, the States of the kingdom represented to him, that he could not alienate the demesns of the crown without their consent, and therefore that part of the treaty was void. This occasion'd a rupture with the Emperor, whereupon King FRANCIS enter'd into an alliance with the English, the Venetians, the Swiss, the Florentines and the Pope, for preserving the liberty of Italy, and restoring the duchy of Milan to FRANCIS SFORZA.

1527. The Duke of Bourbon, the Imperial General, having notice of this league, march'd directly to Rome, partly to be reveng'd on the Pope, and partly to satisfy his forces with the plunder of that city, having received no money to pay them for a considerable time. He demanded a passage for his forces thro' Rome, pretending he was marching towards Naples; and this being refus'd him, he order'd scaling-ladders to be brought to the walls, and as he was standing at the foot of one

Rome taken by storm by the Imperial Generals.

CHAP. of them animating his men, he was wounded with
 XXXIV. a musket-ball, of which he died; whereupon the
 Prince of Orange took upon him the command of
 the Imperial army, and carried the city by storm,
 committing greater outrages there, if we may credit
 the French writers, than ever the barbarous
 nations were guilty of when they made themselves
 masters of it. The Pope having retir'd into the
 castle of St. ANGELO, was besieg'd there; but
 the Imperial Generals finding, that the French
 and the rest of the confederates were marching to
 his relief, agreed to raise the siege, on condition
 he would advance them four hundred thousand
 ducats, and yield up some places to the Emperor,
 which belong'd to the Ecclesiastical State. The
 confederates, on the other hand, having made
 themselves masters of great part of the Milanese,
 marched afterwards into the kingdom of Naples,
 and laid siege to the capital city, which induc'd
 the Imperialists to abandon Rome, in order to
 prevent another revolution in that kingdom.

The war
 carried into
 Naples.

1528.

The city of Naples being block'd up by the
 Genoese fleet by sea, and invested on all sides by
 the confederates by land, was reduc'd to great ex-
 tremity for want of provisions. The plague also
 carried off great numbers of the garrison as well as
 inhabitants; but the condition of the besiegers was
 not at all better. Of six and twenty thousand
 men that first invested the place, there were not
 six thousand left; and to compleat their misfor-
 tune, ANDREW DORIA, Commander of the
 Genoese fleet, went over to the Imperialists, and
 gave them an opportunity of supplying the place
 with forces and provisions; whereupon the con-
 federates found themselves obliged to raise the
 siege. The Prince of Orange pursued them to A-
 versa, and having invested the place, they were
 glad to accept of such conditions as he was pleased
 to grant them. The French officers and soldiers
 had leave to return to France, leaving all their
 arms, standards, and colours behind them. The
 Swiss were allow'd to go home; and the Italians
 obliged themselves not to serve against the Empe-
 ror for six months; and their General, the Mar-
 quis of Saluzzo, agreed to do all that was in his
 power to oblige the Governours of towns in pos-
 session of the allies to surrender to the Imperialists,
 for the performance whereof he remain'd a pri-
 soner amongst them.

Peace be-
 tween
 France and
 the Empe-
 ror.

The following year a peace was concluded be-
 tween the Emperor and France, by the mediation of
 the Queen Dowager of France, and MARGARET
 of Austria, Governess of the Netherlands, where-
 by the Emperor desisted from his pretensions on
 the duchy of Burgundy, and the French King
 oblig'd himself to pay the Emperor two millions
 of crowns, as a ransom for the two Princes his
 sons. He promis'd also to withdraw the forces he
 had still remaining in Italy, and renounce all so-

vereignty over Flanders, Artois, &c. The treaty
 of marriage also was confirmed between King
 FRANCIS and the Emperor's eldest sister the
 Queen of Portugal. The Pope had already made
 a separate Peace with the Emperor; and the Ve-
 netians obtain'd one on condition of delivering up
 the towns they were possessed of in the kingdom
 of Naples. The Emperor consented to grant the
 investiture of the duchy of Milan to Duke SFOR-
 ZA, upon condition he would let him put a gar-
 rison in the castle of that capital, and in the city
 of Cosmo. As to the Republick of Florence, the
 Emperor besieg'd, and took their capital city, and
 oblig'd them to accept ALEXANDER de Medicis
 for their Sovereign, whom they had driven away.

The Empe-
 ror subdues
 the Repub-
 lick of Flo-
 rence.

The French King being now in peace with all
 his neighbours, solemniz'd his marriage with the
 Queen of Portugal. He afterwards apply'd him-
 self to remedy such disorders in the state, as the
 long war had occasion'd, and gave great encou-
 ragement to arts and sciences, whereby he ob-
 tained the title of the Restorer of Learning in
 France. And in the year 1532, he caused the
 duchy of Britany to be formally united to the
 crown of France. He propos'd also the model-
 ling his militia, after the pattern of the antient
 Romans, by forming them into legions or bodies
 of men, consisting of six thousand each; Norman-
 dy, Britany, Picardy and Burgundy were each of
 them to furnish one, to be call'd by their respective
 names, and so the rest of the provinces in propor-
 tion to their extent; and this he began to exe-
 cute about the year 1533. In the mean time,
 the Protestant or Lutheran Princes of Germany,
 finding themselves in danger of being crush'd by
 the Emperor, who had publish'd a decree, that no
 other religion should be tolerated in the Empire
 but the Catholick, apply'd themselves to the
 French King for his protection: and he accord-
 ingly entered into a defensive alliance with them,
 not with an intent to support the Protestant reli-
 gion, for he was a zealous Catholick, and had
 executed several for heresy in his own kingdom,
 but in order to break the Emperor's power, and
 render him less terrible to himself and the rest of
 the powers of Europe, who were apprehensive that
 CHARLES the Fifth aim'd at nothing less than
 universal monarchy. This confederacy of the
 Protestant Princes being entered into at the town
 of Smalcald in Germany, obtain'd the name of
 the Smalcaldick League. The Emperor finding so
 formidable an alliance of the German Princes
 formed against him, supported by the King of
 France, and the Turks threatening to fall upon
 him at the same time with an army of three hun-
 dred thousand men, begun to use the Protestants
 more mildly than he had done, and notwithstand-
 ing the decree he had published at the conclusion
 of the Diet of Augsburg, prohibiting the exercise
 of

1530.

1531.

1532.

1533.

France en-
 ters into an
 alliance with
 the Protest-
 ant Princes
 of Germany.

The Smal-
 caldick
 League.

CHAP. of any other religion than the Catholick, he granted the Protestants liberty of conscience till a general council should be assembled to settle the points in dispute; and these temporary indulgencies obtain'd the name of Interims, as all things were to remain in the same state they were in the mean time.

The King of England, HENRY VIII, having been disgusted also on account of the opposition the Emperor made to his separation from Queen KATHERINE, who was the Emperor's aunt, had engaged to support the Protestant Princes of Germany; and that Prince being afterwards excommunicated by the Pope, on his marriage with ANNE BULLEN, threw off the Pope's supremacy, and stiled himself Head of the Church of England. The French King, their writers inform us, did all that lay in his power to prevent matters being brought to this extremity, by applying himself first to King HENRY, and then to the Pope: but things were carried with that violence in both courts, that his mediation was to no purpose, tho' there were at this time a very great intimacy between the French King and the Pope, on account of his Holiness's niece KATHERINE de Medicis marrying the King's second son, HENRY Duke of Orleans, to solemnize which, the Pope made a journey into France on purpose. One of the articles of this marriage was, that the Pope should assist the French King in making his son the Duke of Orleans Duke of Milan; but the Pope dying the next year, anno 1534, this part of the treaty was never executed.

In the year 1535, the war broke out again between France and the Emperor. FRANCIS SFORZA Duke of Milan, happening to die about this time, the French King resumed his claim to the Milanese, alledging, that on the death of SFORZA without issue, it reverted to him: but being conscious that the Emperor would oppose his pretensions, he waited till he found that Prince engaged in an expedition to Africa against the infidels; and that he might be able to make good his retreat, in case of a misfortune, he found some pretence of falling out with the Duke of Savoy, and seized upon his capital city of Turin, and most of his other towns, quartering his army in that country. But the Emperor being returned from his expedition to Tunis, marched with an army into Piedmont, and obliged the French to quit all the Duke of Savoy's towns, except Turin. He afterwards passed the Alps, and entered Provence, where he found all the country wasted by the French, that they might meet with no subsistence for their troops; the Emperor however possessed himself of Aix, and afterwards laid siege to Marseilles; but his army was so weakened by sickness and famine, that he was obliged to return on a sudden into Italy. The French relate, that

of fifty thousand men with which he invaded Provence, he had scarce five and twenty thousand left when he came to Genoa. The Imperialists met with no better success on the side of Picardy, where they laid siege to Peronne, but were forced to raise it by the brave defence the garrison made. In the mean time the French follow the Imperialists into Italy, where there were perpetual skirmishes between them during the winter. JAMES the Fifth of Scotland, it seems, was so zealous in serving the French King in this war, that, of his own accord, he raised an army of sixteen thousand men, and transported them to Provence, which gave the French that superiority over the Emperor, as to oblige him to return to Italy. In gratitude to the King of Scots therefore, he gave him his daughter MAGDALEN in marriage, which created a misunderstanding between the Kings of England and France; the Scots being the constant and avowed enemies of the English nation.

The French King at his return to Paris, had the vanity to summon the Emperor as his vassal before the court of Peers, to do homage for Artois and Flanders, pretending that the cessions he had made of all homage and service from the Emperor at the treaty of Cambray, were void, by that Prince's having invaded France on the side of Provence; and upon the Emperor's not appearing, that court declar'd him guilty of rebellion and treason against his sovereign Lord the King of France, and depriv'd him judicially of the provinces of Flanders, Artois, and Charolois, which the Emperor and the rest of the Princes of Europe laugh'd at very heartily.

The French, also to shew their resentment against the Emperor, entered into an alliance with the Grand Seignior, whereby it was agreed, that the Turks should invade the kingdom of Naples, while the King of France attack'd the Milanese; and accordingly BARBAROSSA the Turkish Admiral, made a descent near Otranto, burnt and plunder'd the country of Apulia, and carried off captives without number. But the French did not perform their part of the treaty; the Imperialists found them so much business on the side of the Netherlands, that it was as much as they could do to maintain themselves in Piedmont; they were not able to penetrate into the Milanese, and a truce was concluded between France and the Emperor the following winter, by the mediation of the Pope, who gave both parties a meeting at the city of Nice, in order to settle the articles.

During the continuance of this truce, there being an insurrection in the Netherlands, the Emperor desir'd leave to come through France to Flanders, for he was at that time in Spain; which the French King consented to, and receiv'd him suitable to his dignity on his arrival at Paris. There

The K. of England throws off the Pope's supremacy.

1534.

War in Italy between France and the Emperor.

1535.

1536.

The French K. summons the Emperor before him as his vassal.

He enters into an alliance with the Turk.

1537.

1539. The Emperor comes to Paris.

CHAP. There seem'd to be a perfect reconciliation between the two Princes ; and the Emperor promised to grant the investiture of the Milanese to one of the sons of France, if we may credit their historians ; tho' the Emperor, when he was put in mind of it on his arrival in Flanders, declar'd, he never made any such promise. This, and the murdering one of the French Envoys in the Milanese, who was going to the Ottoman Port, occasion'd a misunderstanding between these two powers again, tho' the French did not think fit to break the truce till they found the Emperor engaged in another expedition to Africa ; in which he lost a very great fleet and army, and was oblig'd to return to Spain without effecting any thing.

1541.

1542.
War between the French and the Emperor.

The following year, 1542, the French King declar'd war against the Emperor, on account of the murder of his Envoy, and for some other reasons ; and having rais'd two great armies, sent one to the confines of Spain, and the other to the Low Countries. The latter penetrated Luxemburg, and reduc'd several considerable towns ; but the other army having besieg'd Perpignan three months, was forc'd to rise from before it, and return home, after they had lost a great many men.

1543.

The English declare against France.

The next campaign the French, as usual, took some places on the side of Flanders and Luxemburg before the Emperor's forces came into the field, but lost most of them again before the end of the summer ; and the Emperor at the same time fell upon their allie the Duke of Cleve, and the rest of the German Princes, who were in a confederacy against him, and forced them to submit to very hard conditions. The King of England also entered into an alliance with the Emperor, being provok'd to it by the French King's sending over forces into Scotland, and opposing him in the match he had propos'd between his son EDWARD and the young Queen of Scots, whereby HARRY the Eighth hoped to have united the two kingdoms. In pursuance of this treaty, ten thousand English were soon after sent over to the assistance of the Emperor in the Netherlands.

The French King finding himself hard press'd on all sides, united his forces with the Turks, and laid siege to Nice, while BARBAROSSA the Turkish Admiral block'd it up by sea. He did not succeed in his enterprize however, being forced to raise the siege of the castle, after he had made himself master of the town : and this confederacy with the Turks rendred the French extremely odious to all the Princes in Europe ; tho' now 'tis become a common practice, when any power is at war with the Emperor, to bring the Grand Seignior upon his back by way of diversion.

1544.

The French were very successful in Piedmont in the year 1544, where they gave the forces of the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy a very signal

defeat, but could not make any great advantage of their victory, being forced to withdraw part of their army to the frontiers of Picardy, where the Imperialists and English were drawing together an army of fourscore thousand men, giving out, that they intended to march directly to Paris. The Imperialists however, not being ready to take the field so soon as the English, King HARRY laid siege to the cities of Bologne and Monstrevil, and the Emperor retook Luxemburg and some other towns, which the French had possess'd themselves of in that duchy. These sieges took up so much of their time, that their grand design of carrying the war into the heart of France became impracticable. The King of England took Bologne, after a siege of three months ; but could not make himself master of Monstrevil, and the winter approaching, he left a garrison in Bologne, and returned to England. A treaty was soon after set on foot between the Emperor and France, whereby it was agreed, that the French King's second son the Duke of Orleans, should marry either MARY of Austria the Emperor's eldest daughter, or the second daughter of the King of the Romans ; and that upon his marriage, he should be invested either in the Milanese, or the Netherlands, with the counties of Burgundy and Charolois, at the election of the Emperor : but the Duke of Orleans dying a few months afterwards, this part of the treaty was never executed.

The following year, 1545, was most remarkable for a terrible execution committed in France on account of religion ; the zealous King FRANCIS had before burnt several of his subjects for adhering to the doctrines of the Reformed ; but in pursuance of a decree made five years before by the President of Provence, he was still guilty of greater cruelties, ordering a detachment of his army, to burn the city of Cabrieres down to the ground ; together with the large town of Merindol, and several other towns and villages ; to burn the master of every family at the stake, and plunder all their goods, leaving their wives and children to starve. In which execution the soldiers committed the most unheard of barbarities, on pretence that the inhabitants were infected with what the Pope was pleased to call heresy. So early were the French Princes remarkable for their inhuman persecuting spirit.

The French King, after he had made peace with the Emperor, bent all his forces against England, being determin'd to recover Bologne and Calais from them, and drive them from the continent. But as this was impracticable, till he could make himself master at sea, he first fitted out a fleet of two or three hundred sail, which stood over to the coast of England, where they met with the royal navy of that kingdom. The Commanders on both sides were so prudent, that after

CHAP XXXIV
The English and Imperialists invade France.

Bologne taken by the English.

1545.
Several towns destroyed with the inhabitants on account of religion.

1548.

1549.

1550.

Bologne
yielded to
France.

1551.

An alliance
between
France and
the Protest-
ant Princes
of Germany.

1552.

CHAP. after firing upon one another at a distance for
XXXIV. some time, they thought fit to part without com-
ing to a close engagement. The French after-
wards plunder'd some villages in the Isle of
Wight; and the English return'd their visit, and
ravag'd Normandy. There were several skir-
mishes also between the armies at land in the
neighbourhood of Calais and Bologne; but nothing
decisive happened either this or the following
year: and the Council of Trent being assembled
about this time, where the King of England was
apprehensive something might be decreed against
him to his prejudice, began to listen to the offers
of peace that were made him by France, and a
treaty was set on foot accordingly; wherein it
was agreed, that upon the French King's paying
eight hundred thousand crowns to the King of
England, or so much as the war and the fortifica-
tions of Bologne had cost him, within the space of
eight years, that city should be resign'd up to France.
And thus a peace was again establish'd between
these two Princes a very little before their deaths,
King HARRY dying in January following, and
the French King on the last day of March, 1547,
being succeeded by his son HENRY.

The Kings
of England
and France
make peace,
and die soon
after.

1547.

Henry II.

HENRY II, son of FRANCIS the First, as-
cended the throne on the thirty-first of March,
1547, being that day nine and twenty years of
age. He discharg'd most of the officers of state at
his accession, and brought the famous Constable
MONTMORENCY, (who had been in disgrace,
and banish'd from court in the late reign) and
FRANCIS Duke of Aumale, afterwards Duke of
Guise, into the administration.

The Empe-
ror obtains a
victory over
the Protest-
ant Princes.

He expected every day to have his dominions
invaded by the Emperor CHARLES the Fifth,
who was now grown very formidable, having en-
tirely defeated the Protestant Princes of Germany
that form'd the Smalcaldick League at the battle
of Mulberg, and taken two of their Chiefs pri-
soners, namely, FREDERICK Elector of Saxony,
and PHILIP Landgrave of Hesse, with whom the
French were in confederacy. But the Emperor be-
ing engaged in settling his affairs in Germany, the
King found himself at leisure to defeat the designs of
the English, who were about to marry their young
King EDWARD the Sixth to the infant Queen of
Scotland, MARY STUART, by forming a party
among the Scots, and sending over troops to their
assistance, he procur'd the negociation with Eng-
land to be broke off, and the young Queen brought
over to France, in order to be married to the
Dauphin; whereby he again prevented a union
between the two kingdoms.

The next thing he undertook was to discourage
all innovations in religion: accordingly he re-
vived his father's severe edicts against the refor-
mers; for tho' he assisted the Protestant Princes in
Germany against the Emperor, it was not out of

any opinion he had of their principles, but purely
upon a political account.

In the year 1548, he visited all his frontier
towns, especially on the side of Flanders and Ger-
many, and put them in a posture of defence. In
the mean time an insurrection happen'd in Gui-
enne, on account of the excessive duties on salt;
several of the King's officers were killed, and a-
mong the rest the Governour of the castle of
Bordeaux: but some troops being sent against
them, they were soon reduc'd, and severe exam-
ples made of the ring-leaders of them.

The English court being in great distraction,
the King look'd upon this as a favourable oppor-
tunity to attempt the recovery of the Bolognois;
but he first transported a body of troops to Scot-
land, to join his party there, and make a diversion,
and then attack'd the forts about Bologne, which
he easily carried, the English having no army in
the field. However, when he came before the
town itself, he found it to be so strong, that he
contented himself with blocking it up. But the
dissensions encreasing in the English court, which
made it impracticable to send any relief to Bologne,
the English Ministry entered into a treaty with
the French, and agreed to deliver up the place on
the payment of four hundred thousand crowns of
the value of a noble each; and a peace was con-
cluded thereupon between the two nations, in
which Scotland was included.

The following year hostilities were renewed in
Italy between the French and Imperialists, on ac-
count of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, the
right to which was contested by the Emperor with
the family of Farnefe, who apprehending they
should be overpower'd, call'd in the French to
their assistance.

The war being thus begun between France and
the Empire, the German Princes, who were dis-
gusted by the Emperor's haughty behaviour since
his victory at Mulberg, and his establishing the
Catholick religion in several Protestant towns,
proposed to enter into an alliance again with the
French King. Even MAURICE, whom the Em-
peror had made Elector of Saxony, in the room
of JOHN-FREDERICK, that was taken prisoner
at Mulberg, and JOACHIM Elector of Branden-
burg, who had till now been in the Emperor's
interest, were among the number. The King
by this treaty engaged to maintain the liberties of
Germany; to raise two great armies, and make
himself master of the Imperial towns of Cambray,
Metz, Toul, and Verdun; and to furnish the
German Princes with very great sums towards the
charges of the war. By the same treaty, MAU-
RICE Elector of Saxony, was declar'd Head of
the league of the German Princes, and General of
the army to be formed of their troops, who pub-
lish'd a manifesto declaring the motives of their

M m m m

entring

CHAP. entering into this war, viz. The security of the
 XXXIV. Protestant religion, the defence of the liberties of
 Germany, and the deliverance of PHILIP Land-
 grave of Hesse, his father-in-law.

The French
 possess them-
 selves of
 Metz, Toul
 and Verdun.

The French King was very ready to execute that part of the agreement which oblig'd him to attack Metz, Toul and Verdun, and accordingly marched an army immediately into Lorrain, and made himself master of those towns, and indeed of the whole country of Lorrain. In the mean time, the Elector of Saxony and the Marquis of Brandenburg, having assembled their troops, were very near surprizing the Emperor at Inspruck; but he fled from thence with the utmost precipitation, when he heard of their approach, not being in a condition to oppose them. They advanc'd however, and plunder'd the town, together with the Emperor's baggage, and put the Council of Trent in such a fright, that the Cardinals and Ecclesiasticks, who compos'd it, thought fit to break up their session, and were adjourned to another place.

The treaty
 of Passau.

The invasion of the French, and the progress of the confederate Princes, had such an effect also on the Emperor, that he consented to a treaty with them at Passau; wherein it was stipulated, that he should release the Prince of Hesse; assemble a Diet of the Empire within six months, and redress their grievances: that in the mean time liberty of conscience should be allow'd, and that those of the Augsburg confession should sit in the Imperial chamber, from whence they had been excluded.

The Empe-
 ror unsuc-
 cessful in
 his wars
 with France.

The Emperor was now at leisure to take his revenge of the French, and accordingly order'd his armies to ravage their country on all sides, while, with the greatest part of his forces, he invest'd Metz; but as he did not open the trenches before that place till November, and it proved a very severe winter, he lost a fine army by the rigour of the season, and was forced to raise the siege at last. He met with the like ill success in Italy, and in every place where the war was carried on between him and France this year, which he look'd upon as the most unfortunate of his life, and occasion'd his saying, 'That fortune was a friend to young people; meaning chiefly the French King, who was successful against him every where.'

1553.

The following year, the Emperor took Terouen and Hedin in the Low Countries, and raz'd them to the ground. On the other hand, the French fleet, in conjunction with that of the Turks, ravag'd the coast of Calabria, and made a descent on the island of Corsica, maintaining themselves in the fourthen part of it for several years; and in other places, the war was carried on with various success. In the mean time, EDWARD the Sixth King of England, being taken dangerously ill, the French King sent an Embassy thither with

a compliment: but the real design of it was to prevent the Princess MARY's ascending the throne, because the Emperor had propos'd a marriage between her and his son PHILIP, which would probably bring England into an alliance against him. The French writers therefore suggest, that it was their King who influenc'd EDWARD the Sixth to exclude her, and settle the crown upon JANE GREY. But whatever share that Prince might have in it, we are very well satisfied, that religion and private interest were the principal inducements to the English Ministry, for setting the Princess MARY aside. And notwithstanding this settlement, we find she succeeded against her rival JANE GREY, and married King PHILIP afterwards, which brought England to be a party in the war against France.

An obstinate battle was fought the next year between the Imperialists and the French near Renti, in the Netherlands, where both sides claimed the victory; but it seems to have been a drawn battle. A more decisive action happen'd near Marciano in Tuscany, where the French were routed, and beaten out of several places they possessed in that duchy, by the Imperialists.

What rendred the succeeding year most remarkable was, CHARLES the Fifth's resignation of the Empire and all his other dominions, and retiring to a cloyster. He surrendred Spain, Naples, Milan, the Low Countries, and Burgundy to his son PHILIP at Brussels; and the Empire to his brother FERDINAND King of the Romans. After which he sail'd to Biscay in Spain, from whence he went to the monastery of Just, where he lived two years, employing himself in works of piety and devotion. About the same time, a truce was concluded between the French and Imperialists, by which it was agreed, each party should keep what they were in possession of.

This truce was broken the year following on the Pope's account; he was a mortal enemy to the house of Austria, and under some pretence of some insults he had received from the Viceroy of Naples, he invited the French to come into Italy to his assistance; giving them hopes, that both Milan and Naples would now become an easy conquest. The French immediately sent two of their Generals with a good body of troops to Rome, to defend his Holiness, who were followed by the Duke of Guise, and an army of between twenty and thirty thousand men the next spring. The French recover'd some of the Pope's towns, that had been taken by the Spaniards, and offer'd the Duke of Alva the Spanish General battle; but he finding the country as fatal to the French, as it had been in former enterprizes, and that their army would soon be destroyed by sickness, declin'd fighting till the French were reduc'd to such a condition, as to think of nothing else but of

CHAP.
 XXXIV.

1554.
 The battle
 of Renti.

1555.

Charles V
 resigns the
 Empire, &c.
 and retires
 into a mo-
 nastery.

1556.

The French
 send an army
 into Italy
 again.

1557.

CHAP. of making good their retreat over the Alps a-
XXXIV. gain.

The French defeated at St. Quintin's. In the mean time, the French army in the Low Countries was routed near St. Quintin, which event alone would have oblig'd their countrymen to have abandon'd Italy, if no other misfortune had happen'd to them. The Pope, upon the French General's deserting him, was obliged to beg a peace of the Spaniards, which was granted him upon much better terms than he could have expected, considering the provocations he had given them. But to be a little more particular as to the war in the Low Countries: The French tell us, that when they made that great detachment to Italy, they did not imagine the enemy would have been so numerous in Flanders; they were surpriz'd at the Queen of England's declaring war against them at this time, presuming, that as King PHILIP was neither belov'd nor esteem'd by the English, they would have left him to end his quarrels with France by himself. But on the contrary, about the end of July, they saw the Spanish army commanded by EMANUEL PHILIBERT Duke of Savoy, amounting to upwards of fifty thousand men, join'd by twelve thousand English, set down before St. Quintin, which being a place of importance, they endeavour'd to throw a supply of forces and provisions into the town; and, contrary to their intentions, this brought on a general battle, in which they were totally routed, their General the Constable MONTMORENCY, and a great number of their Nobility taken prisoners. Upon this misfortune, the Duke of Guise was immediately sent for out of Italy, and declar'd Lieutenant-general of the kingdom. This gentleman, to raise the spirits of the people, and establish his own reputation, took the field in the depth of winter, and disguising his intention by several marches and countermarches, sat down before Calais, which having but a small garrison, and very ill provided with necessaries, (the English not expecting a visit so soon after the loss the French had sustain'd at St. Quintin) the garrison was oblig'd to capitulate in eight days, and had no better terms allow'd them than of being transported to England, except the Governour and fifty more, who were to remain prisoners of war. Thus was this place lost, which was once deem'd impregnable, after the English had been in possession of it two hundred years and upwards. It is impossible, say the French historians, to express the joy which this glorious conquest caus'd throughout the kingdom, and the surprize all the courts of Europe were in to see it effected at a time when France was thought to be at its last gasp. The King look'd upon it to be so considerable, that he soon after made a kind of triumphant entry into Calais; and as this place rendered the English masters of both sides the

channel, the loss of it was extremely regretted by that nation. CHAP. XXXIV.

While the French were engag'd in the enterprise against Calais, Guisnes and Hammes, and the other little forts about it, the Scots their faithful allies, made an incursion into England, in order to give a diversion on that side; and the April following, MARY STUART Queen of Scotland was married to FRANCIS the Dauphin, which proved a considerable advantage to the house of Guise, she being a niece of that Duke. It was about this time, that that fatal emulation began between the families of Montmorency and Guise, which occasion'd infinite distractions in the kingdom. The change of religion also contributed to these intestine divisions: the Duke of Guise was esteemed the head of the Papists, and the Constable and the Admiral COLIGNI the support of the Protestants; but both the Constable and the Admiral having been made prisoners at the battle of St. Quintin, the Guises had now the administration almost entirely in their hands. They took this opportunity of charging Monsieur DANDELOT the Admiral's brother, who was General of the infantry, with speaking irreverently of the mass, and procured an order from the King to commit him to prison. About this time, the French laid siege to Thionville in Luxemburg, and took it; while Marshal de Tormes Governour of Calais, with another part of the army, surpriz'd Dunkirk; but he was attack'd by Count EGMONT Governour of Flanders, in his retreat near the mouth of the river Aa, on the third of July, and routed, Marshal de Tormes himself being made prisoner. The French ascribe the loss of this battle to a squadron of English ships, which lay at that time in the mouth of the river, and cannonaded the French while they were engaged with the Spaniards.

This ill success of the French induced them to think of peace, tho' their writers impute it to another motive; they relate, that the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine his brother, looking upon their interest at court to be so well established as to need no support, treated the King's mistress, the Duchess of Valentinois, with great insolence; whereupon she prevailed upon his Majesty to send orders to the Constable MONTMORENCY, who was then a prisoner in Flanders, to make proposals of peace to the Spaniard, to the end that the Constable might return home, and assist her against the power of the Guises. She applied herself also to the Duke of Savoy, who was General of the armies of Spain, to influence that court to enter into a treaty, assuring him, that his dominions in Savoy and Piedmont should be restor'd him if he could effect it. But I find there was little occasion for all this artifice to bring about a peace, for King PHILIP having just buried his father the

CHAP. Emperor, and his wife the Queen of England, XXXIV. and being about to return to Spain, was very desirous to leave his dominions in the Low Countries and Italy in peace; and the French court, as has been intimated, having the worst in the war, could not be averse to pacifick measures. But however the matter was brought about, Chateau-Cambresis was agreed on for the place of treaty the following year, where Queen ELIZABETH of England was to have her plenipotentiaries, as well as France and Spain; notwithstanding the French had encouraged MARY Queen of Scots, the wife of the Dauphin, to take upon her the title and arms of the Queen of England: to retaliate which affront, and to strengthen her interest, Queen ELIZABETH enter'd into an alliance with the Protestant Lords in Scotland, and had thereby a greater influence on the affairs of that nation during her reign, than their own Queen. But to return to the treaty: It was at length agreed, that the French should remain in possession of Calais for eight years, at the end of which term, they should either restore it, or pay five hundred thousand crowns to England: that the places taken either by the French or Spaniards should be reciprocally restor'd, only the French were to remain in possession of Metz, Toul and Verdun: the Duke of Savoy was to be put into the possession of his country, except Turin, Pignerol, Quiers, Chivos and Villeneuve, which the French King was to retain till some pretensions he had to the dominions of Savoy, in the right of LOUISA of Savoy, mother of FRANCIS the First, were examined; and in the mean time the King of Spain was to keep garrisons in Verceil and Asti.

A peace between France, Spain and England, 1559.

This peace occasion'd some murmurings against the Constable, because the French had taken a great many more towns during the war, than the Spaniards had taken from them; it was even computed, that the French hereby surrendred up no less than two hundred towns and fortresses: to which the Constable and his friends replied, that these two hundred fortresses were most of them little castles belonging to the Lords of towns and villages, which had been seiz'd in order to protect the country against the enemy's parties during the war; and that Calais and the towns of Picardy which were restor'd to France, were an ample equivalent for them, especially if it were consider'd that France was to remain in possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with their dependencies, which were a noble augmentation to the kingdom, and cover'd it on the side of Champaign, much the weakest frontier they had: that the kingdom also received an inconceivable advantage by removing the English to the other side of the water, who had been a thorn in their sides for several hundred years past. For whatever they had stipulated concerning the restoring

of Calais at eight years end, it is evident they never intended it: nor were the English ministry so weak as to expect they should; but the Queen had so many difficulties to struggle with at her accession on account of religion, that they were in no condition to continue the war, and only got that clause inserted to satisfy the populace, who were as zealous at that time for the recovery of Calais, as we are at present for retaining Gibraltar and the island of Minorca.

There were two marriages solemniz'd at the French court afterwards, which were intended to cement this peace, viz. one between the King of Spain and the Princess ELIZABETH, the French King's daughter: and the other between the Duke of Savoy and the Princess MARGARET, the King's sister. Among other shews and diversions on this occasion the King ordered a tournament to last three days: the King was the first challenger, and with the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Nemours and the Prince of Ferrara, engaged all that came the first day with abundance of applause. He was equally successful the second, being the thirtieth of June, till about the close of the evening, when they were about to give over, he propos'd to break another lance with the Earl of Montgomery, Captain of the Scots guards. The Queen, as if she had some foresight of the misfortune that was to happen to him, begg'd of him herself, and employ'd her friends to dissuade him from tilting any more; but he could not be prevailed upon: he enter'd the lists with the Count, they ran with all their force against each other, broke their lances, and a splinter of the Earl's pierc'd the King's eye through the visor of his helmet: the blood gush'd from the wound in such quantities, that no body doubted its being mortal, and in a few days his Majesty's life was declared to be in danger. However, he ordered that the Duke of Savoy's wedding with his sister should be solemniz'd in his chamber the ninth of July, and died the next day, being eleven days after he received the wound, in the forty-first year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign, leaving four sons behind him, namely, FRANCIS II, who immediately succeeded him, CHARLES, HENRY and FRANCIS; and three daughters, viz. ELIZABETH, Queen of Spain; CLAUDE, Duchess of Lorrain; and MARGARET.

The King of France killed at a tournament.

FRANCIS the Second was in the seventeenth year of his age at his father's death: a Prince, says my author, weak both in body and mind, and by no means qualified to bear the weight of the government in his own person. There were three factions therefore that endeavour'd to get the administration of affairs into their hands, namely, the house of Guise, that of the Constable MONTMORENCY, and that of the Princes of the blood. But the Queen-mother CATHERINE DE MEDICIS

Factions in the French court.

CHAP. cis adhering to the Guises, that party carried all
 XXXIV. before them. Whereupon the Constable was ob-
 lig'd to retire from court, and live privately: AN-
 THONY DE BOURBON King of Navarre, first
 Prince of the blood, and the Prince of Condé his
 brother, were likewise in a manner banish'd: the
 Admiral COLIGNI, and DANDELOT, relations
 to the Constable, also were frown'd upon. These
 gentlemen therefore, and many other persons of
 distinction, soon began to form a conspiracy a-
 gainst the court: and observing that the reform'd
 religion began to spread all over the kingdom, and
 that those who profess'd it had been cruelly perse-
 cuted in the late reign, chiefly by the incitement
 of the Guises, and were on that account sufficiently
 enrag'd against them, they propos'd to unite their
 interest with the Protestants, which would in all
 probability render their party very numerous and
 formidable, and they had all the reason in the
 world to believe they should be supported by the
 Queen of England and the Protestant Princes of
 Germany. The Prince of Condé, it was agreed,
 should have the direction of the enterprize; but he
 was not to appear and avow it publickly till things
 were brought to a certain point. In pursuance of
 these resolutions, soldiers were list'd, and parties
 form'd in every town and province of the king-
 dom. It was agreed they should all set out at a
 certain time, and march towards Blois, where the
 King was, in order to make themselves masters of
 the court. As soon as the soldiers of the several
 provinces were within reach of joining, a numerous
 company without arms was to go to Blois, to pre-
 sent a petition to the King for liberty of con-
 science; and as they expected the petition would
 be rejected, the soldiers were to appear in arms be-
 fore the town, and oblige the King to declare the
 Prince of Condé Lieutenant-general of the king-
 dom.

The Guises having intelligence of the conspiracy
 that was forming against them, carried the King
 to the castle of Amboise, and assembled a good
 body of troops to oppose the designs of the male-
 contents, who did not give over the enterprize,
 notwithstanding they had all the reason in the
 world to believe they were discover'd. They
 march'd boldly towards Amboise, and were ad-
 vanc'd pretty near it, when they fell into the am-
 buscades the Duke of Guise had laid for them, and
 were most of them kill'd or taken prisoners; many
 of the latter were immediately hang'd up on the
 ramparts of the castle, and others thrown into the
 Loire and drowned; after which a pardon was
 publish'd for all that would lay down their arms.
 Neither the King of Navarre, the Prince of
 Condé, the Constable, or the Coligni's, appear'd
 in this insurrection; tho' the court was satisfied
 that some or all of them were at the bottom of it.
 However, it was thought advisable not to search

too far into the matter; and the Prince of Condé, CHAP.
 who was at this time in the castle with the King, XXXIV.
 was permitted to retire and go to his brother the
 King of Navarre.

As the Queen of Scotland was married to the
 French King, the court of France look'd upon
 themselves to be equally concern'd in defending
 that kingdom against the English as their own,
 and therefore sent over four thousand men to sup-
 port the party that adher'd to the Queen against
 the English; while the Queen of England on the
 other hand sent reinforcements to the Protestant
 Lords there, who appear'd to be the prevailing
 faction. This induc'd the French to enter into
 a treaty with Queen ELIZABETH in relation to
 Scotland, wherein it was agreed, that the Pro-
 testants should have liberty of conscience in that
 kingdom; that the Queen of France and Scotland
 should not bear the arms of England; and that
 the French and English should each of them re-
 call their troops from thence.

Treaty be-
 tween
 France and
 England in
 relation to
 Scotland.

In the mean time an assembly of Lords, Pre-
 lates and Lawyers was call'd by the French court
 to advise upon the present state of affairs, chiefly
 in relation to religion; but neither the King of
 Navarre, or the Prince of Condé, thought fit to
 appear in it, being apprehensive the court might
 confine them.

The Admiral COLIGNI here presented a peti-
 tion to the King in behalf of the Reformed, telling
 his Majesty, that tho' it was not signed by any,
 there were fifty thousand in the province of Nor-
 mandy only who were ready to sign it: and the
 King demanding the opinion of the assembly upon
 it, the Cardinal of Lorraine said, that the petition
 was seditious, foolish, scandalous, heretical and
 impudent; and if there were fifty thousand fac-
 tious people who would sign it, he would answer
 for a million of substantial persons in the kingdom
 who were ready to oppose their insolence. There
 were other very warm speeches made on the sub-
 ject, and it was concluded at length to convene
 the States of the kingdom to deliberate on these
 matters.

Coligni's pe-
 tition to the
 King in be-
 half of the
 Protestants.

This council or assembly was no sooner broke
 up but the malecontents enter'd into another con-
 spiracy against the government, or rather against
 the faction of the Guises: Lyons and several o-
 ther cities were to have been surpriz'd; but their
 designs were discovered and defeated. In the mean
 time the States of the kingdom were summon'd to
 meet at Orleans; where the King of Navarre and
 the Prince of Condé venturing to attend, were
 both seiz'd by the King's order, and the Prince
 was tried and convicted of high treason by a spe-
 cial commission, though he insisted that as a Prince
 of the blood he could only be tried in parliament
 by his peers. He had infallibly been executed, and
 probably the King of Navarre would have under-

The King
 of Navarre
 and the
 Prince of
 Condé seiz'd
 by the court.

CHAP. gone the same fate, if the King of France had not
 XXXIV. in this very instant been taken dangerously ill ;
 and as it was, the Guises press'd the Queen to hasten the execution : but her Majesty having an eye upon the regency in the future reign, and apprehending the readiest way to obtain it would be to make these two Princes her friends, she caus'd the execution to be suspended, and afterwards procur'd both of them their liberty, which was such an infinite obligation, that they could not oppose her taking the regency upon her at the King's death, that happen'd on the fifth of December 1560, after a reign of a year and half, which may with more propriety be stiled the reign of the Queen-mother and the Guises.

Charles IX,
 1560.

CHARLES the Ninth, brother to the deceased King, being ten years and six months old at his accession, the Queen-mother CATHERINE DE MEDICIS had the address to procure herself to be declared Regent again ; she gave both parties hopes of joining with them, and by that means secured both of them in her interest.

This reign began with opening the assembly of the States, which had been conven'd in the last. Here the regency was confirm'd to the Queen ; the King of Navarre was constituted Lieutenant-general of the kingdom ; the Constable Generalissimo of the forces, and the office of Treasurer or super-intendant of the finances was conferr'd on the Cardinal of Lorrain.

Debates on
 religion in
 the assembly
 of the States.

As the States were assembled on account of religion, their debates run chiefly on that subject. The speaker of the third Estate inveigh'd vehemently against the irregularities and encroachments of the clergy : the speaker of the Nobility propos'd the granting of churches to the Protestants ; while the speaker of the Ecclesiasticks on the other hand declar'd against all innovations in religion, and mov'd that whoever should petition for any indulgence to the hereticks, should be deem'd a heretick himself, and be punish'd accordingly ; for the Admiral COLIGNI, it seems, had preferr'd a petition to his Majesty just before in favour of the Protestants. This assembly broke up at last without coming to any resolution. The King granted a general pardon for all that was pass'd ; and the business of religion was to be further treated of in the next meeting of the States, which was appointed to be held at Pontoyse.

About this time the Constable forsook the Hugonot party, and was reconciled to the Guises by the management of the Marshal of St. Andre ; and these three having a great stroke in the administration, obtain'd the name of the Triumvirate.

Another petition being presented to the King in behalf of the Hugonots by the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Coligni's, he referr'd it to the parliament of Paris, who was very severe upon that persuasion. They declar'd

it to be their opinion, that the magistrates ought to put the laws in execution against hereticks : that the cognizance of religious matters ought to be referred to the ecclesiastical courts, who were their mortal enemies ; and that it should not be lawful to preach or administer the sacraments in any other manner than was observed in the court of Rome. Hereupon the Protestant Lords propos'd a conference between their Doctors and the Catholics, which being granted by the Queen-mother, BEZA and all the most celebrated fathers of the reformation, came to the French court to assist at it. These conferences were open'd on the ninth of September 1561, at the abbey of Poissy, in the presence of the King, Queen, the Princes, and a great number of Lords and Prelates. The King having in a few words signified his desire to see them united in the business of religion, the Chancellor made a speech, which the Catholics did not at all approve of ; and he was answer'd by the Cardinal DE Tournon. Then BEZA was permitted to speak in behalf of the principles of the Reformed ; and being a man of learning and eloquence, was heard with great patience till he came near the conclusion of his harangue, where having repeated the profession of his faith agreeable to the Apostles creed, and explain'd some articles of it according to CALVIN's doctrine, he took occasion to say, That the body of Christ was as far removed from the bread and wine in the sacrament, as heaven was from earth ; it occasion'd a general murmur, and the Cardinal DE Tournon rose up and inveigh'd bitterly against the blasphemy, as he called it, desiring the King not to suffer himself to be impos'd upon by these new Doctors, but order them to depart the kingdom immediately, where their presence serv'd only to corrupt the people. BEZA press'd the King on the other hand to give him leave to reply to the Cardinal, but could not obtain it : however, he was permitted afterwards to have some private conferences with the Catholick Doctors, in order to prevent his publishing his reply. The Calvinists sent accounts of these conferences to their brethren all over Europe, which were much to their advantage : but this, says the Jesuit my author, was no more than was to be expected.

Soon after these conferences, the Guises and the Pope's Legate apply'd themselves to the King of Navarre, in order to draw him off from the Protestant interest. They assure us, that the disputes at Poissy had a considerable effect upon him ; but are so ingenuous at the same time to acknowledge, that they tempted him to change sides by the hopes they gave him of procuring his dominions that were possess'd by the Spaniards, to be restor'd him. They represented also, that he was despised even by the Hugonots themselves, while his younger brother the Prince of Condé was ador'd by that faction.

A conference
 between the
 Papists and
 Protestants.

1561.

1562.

CHAP. XXXIV. faction. And by these and other arguments of the like nature, they prevail'd on him to declare for the Triumvirate, and consequently for the Papists. This alteration very much alarm'd the Queen, who apprehended that party would now become so powerful, that she should in a manner be govern'd by them; whereupon she enter'd into a stricter union than ever with the Prince of Condé and the Coligni's, and publish'd an edict, whereby the Protestants were permitted to meet in the suburbs of towns, upon condition of restoring to the Catholics the churches they were possess'd of in the towns themselves.

An edict in favour of the Protestants.

The war break out between the Protestants and Papists.

This edict enrag'd the Popish party to the last degree; for abundance of Protestants, who till then had conceal'd their principles, declar'd themselves, and went in crouds to hear their preachers: the monks and nuns also, weary of their condition, left their cloysters, pretending they had a right to enjoy the benefit of this edict, as well as others: and several priests took wives, and were married at the Hugonot conventicles. These apostacies, as the Papists term'd them, they apprehended were occasion'd in a great measure by the countenance that was given them by the Prince of Condé at Paris, as well as by the edict. The Guises therefore, the King of Navarre, and their friends, agreed to raise forces, and drive the Prince from that city; but as the Duke of Guise was bringing up a party of men in pursuance of this resolution, and had quarter'd them at Vassi in Champaign, while he was at mass there, some of his retinue went and disturb'd an assembly of Protestants, who were met together in that town for religious worship, which occasion'd a quarrel, wherein three or fourscore of the Protestants were kill'd, and the rest dispersed; the news of which massacre, as their friends call'd it, being brought to Paris, the Prince of Condé demanded satisfaction of the Queen; but the King of Navarre, the Constable, and the Duke of Guise, having assembled their troops, seiz'd upon the King and Queen-mother, and brought them from Fontainbleau to Paris. The Queen, to her unspeakable grief, finding her self in the power of the Triumvirate, and in a manner divested of the regency, sent courier after courier to the Prince of Condé, (who was retir'd from Paris to muster his forces) to come and rescue the King and herself out of their hands; but tho' the Prince was not in a condition to effect this, he made himself master of Orleans, where he permitted his party to plunder the churches of their plate, to support the war; after which he publish'd a manifesto, and dispers'd it in all parts of the kingdom, and among the Protestant Princes of Germany, wherein he enlarges on the massacre of Vassi, and protests they had recourse to arms purely for their defence, and to deliver the King and Queen from the captivity in which they were de-

tain'd; charging the Guises with being the authors of the war. The Lords and others who join'd the Prince, swore obedience to him, as Lieutenant of the kingdom till the King came of age, and promis'd to stand by him in protecting the King, Queen, and kingdom at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. In the compass of a few weeks, a multitude of cities and towns submitted to his forces, of which the chief were Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Rochelle, Rouen, Diepe, Havre de Grace, Bourges, Montauban, Montpellier, Nantz, Lyons, Grenoble and Valence; and the Cevennes and Vivarez in general came over to them. The Guises on the other hand sent detachments of their forces into all the provinces, to preserve them in their interests; and with the body of their army, consisting of sixteen or seventeen thousand men, of which one half were Swiss, march'd to attack the Prince of Condé, who not being yet join'd by the Germans his confederates, shut himself up in Orleans with a good garrison, and put the rest of his forces into the towns of the greatest importance; whereupon Blois, and several other towns, were retaken by the Guises, and they determin'd to besiege the Prince in Orleans. But the Queen of England about this time sending forces into Normandy under the Earl of Warwick, to assist the Protestants on that side, and it being apprehended if the English once establish'd themselves here it might be difficult to remove them, it was agreed in a council of war to lay siege to Rouen, which was defended by the Earl of Montgomery and two thousand English, besides the inhabitants who were form'd into companies. The town however was taken and plunder'd, and Montgomery found means to retire to Havre de Grace. The King of Navarre was mortally wounded at this siege, and died soon after. The Prince of Condé receiving a reinforcement of six or seven thousand men from Germany about this time, left Orleans, and march'd up to the gates of Paris, where he hoped there might be an insurrection in his favour in the absence of the Guises; he attack'd the suburbs, but his friends in the town not being strong enough, durst not shew themselves. He determin'd therefore to march into Normandy, and join the English troops, but he had not march'd far before he found the Constable and the Guises posted in his way, with eighteen or twenty thousand men, in order to prevent this conjunction; which occasion'd a general battle near Dreux, in which the Marshal of St. André was kill'd, and the Constable who was General of the Catholics taken prisoner on the one side, as the Prince of Condé General of the Hugonots was on the other; whereupon the Duke of Guise took upon him the command of the Popish army, as the Admiral COLIGNI did the command of the Protestants. The engagement was very bloody, and both sides claim'd the victory, but neither

CHAP. XXXIV. The Pr. of Condé's success.

Rouen taken by the Papists, where the King of Navarre is kill'd.

The battle of Dreux.

CHAP. neither had any great reason to boast : certain it is, XXXIV. the Admiral march'd afterwards to Orleans, whither he carried the Constable prisoner, without any interruption from the Duke of Guise. The Duke however receiving re-inforcements from several parts of the kingdom, found himself strong enough in a little time after to lay siege to Orleans, the taking of which city, he apprehended, would be a decisive blow, and carry with it the entire destruction of Calvinism ; but while he lay before the place, and was upon the point of accomplishing his design, he was assassinated, being shot with a pistol by one POLTRON a young gentleman of Angoumois upon the eighteenth of February 1563-4 in the evening. His party were of opinion, that the assassin was employ'd by the Admiral. This death, says the Jesuit my author, was an irreparable loss to religion and the state. The murderer was seiz'd, and some time after executed at Paris ; but I don't perceive he charg'd the Admiral, or any of the Protestants with putting him upon it

The D. of Guise kill'd at the siege of Orleans.

A peace between the Protestants and Papists.

1563.

The Protestants assist in driving their friends the English out of Normandy.

Upon the death of the Duke of Guise, both parties seem'd inclin'd to peace, and a treaty was set on foot, wherein it was agreed, that the Protestants should be allow'd to hold one congregation or meeting in every bayliwick, and one or two in each town they were masters of, but that they should not perform divine worship in churches ; that the Protestant nobility and gentry who had high jurisdiction in their demesns, might perform divine service in their houses with their vassals, but that the Reformed should hold no meetings, or assemblies in Paris, or the neighbourhood of that city. The Prince of Condé had several reasons for accepting this peace, his principal enemy was dead, he was to obtain his liberty by it, and 'tis said he had some hopes given him of marrying the Queen of Scotland : And the Queen on the other hand being now out of danger of the Triumvirate, whom the war had taken off, propos'd to have the whole administration in her hands upon a peace, without controul.

This treaty was no sooner concluded, but the Generals on both sides, Protestants as well as Papists, agreed to unite their forces, and drive the English out of Normandy, for the Earl of Warwick still remain'd master of Havre de Grace, which had been put into the hands of Queen ELIZABETH by the Protestants, as a cautionary town, upon her advancing them a sum of money towards the charges of the war, and she was to remain in possession of it till the money was repaid, or Calais restored to England ; but the Prince of Condé and his party having serv'd their turn, and by the Queen's assistance obtain'd liberty of conscience, deserted her interest, and were as forward as the Papists in recovering that place from her ; which they found very little difficulty in effecting, the garrison be-

ing very much diminish'd by the plague ; and upon the surrender of the town they carried over the infection to London, where upwards of twenty thousand people died of the pestilence.

The following year a peace was concluded between France and England, wherein no mention was made of Calais, only it was provided that the rights of the Queen of England should not be affected thereby.

The year 1564 was great part of it taken up in a journey which the King and Queen-mother made through almost all the provinces of France. In North France, 'tis said, the court observed that the popish party was much stronger than that of the Hugonots ; but in Lyonois, Dauphiné and Languedoc, the Protestants were much more numerous than the Catholics. While the court were engaged in this progress, an edict pass'd which bore very hard upon the Protestants, and rendred several articles useless which had been stipulated in their favour at the last peace, of which the Prince of Condé complain'd. Another edict or ordinance pass'd about the same time, which fix'd the commencement of the year in January, which before began at Easter in France, and was a very great inconvenience, on account of the moveableness of that feast.

Upon the King's arrival at Bayonne, he was met there by the Queen of Spain and the Duke of Alva ; and it was agreed between the two courts (at least the Protestants of all countries apprehended it so) to form an alliance for the extirpation of the reformed churches in France and the Low Countries ; and what renders this extremely probably is, the introducing the Inquisition into Flanders soon after, and the sending troops thither to dragoon them into popery ; in the last of which they were imitated by the French. The following year the King procur'd a reconciliation, in appearance at least, between the Duke of Guise and the Admiral COLIGNI ; the latter declar'd upon oath, that he had no hand in the death of the late Duke of Guise his father ; and the other declar'd himself content with this satisfaction. In Flanders there were nothing but tumults and insurrections at this time, on account of religion, and the invasion of their civil liberties by the King of Spain. The Duke of Alva march'd thither from Italy with an army of veterans in the year 1566, where he beheaded the Counts EOMONT and HORN, who had been governours of the country, and done the King of Spain signal service at the battle of St. Quintin, and on other occasions, but would not tamely part with their liberties ; the Prince of Orange was so wise as to retire into Germany, where he strengthen'd his party considerably.

An alliance between the French and Spaniards for the extirpation of the Protestants at Bayonne.

1565.

1566.

The Prince of Condé in the mean time observing the Queen's partiality to the Popish party in France, The civil war breaks out again in France.

CHAP. France, and the proceedings of the Duke of Alva
XXXIV. in Flanders, made no doubt but the extirpation of
the Protestants had been agreed upon between
them at Bayonne, of which he sent advice into
Germany and England, and enter'd into an al-
liance with the Prince of Orange and the Calvi-
nists of the Low Countries, who were call'd Guex
or beggars, on their presenting a petition to the
court for the preferation of their religion and li-
berties, because some of the croud appear'd in a
tatter'd condition, tho' it is certain most of the
nobility and gentry of Flanders were in the inte-
rest of the Protestants, and nothing but a foreign
force could ever have establish'd popery there.
But to proceed: When the Prince of Condé saw
the French court, tho' they were at peace with
all the world, take a great body of Swiss into their
service, he no longer made any doubt of their in-
tention. In order to their defence therefore, the
Prince and the Admiral assembled their friends,
and advanced towards Monceaux, a pleasure-
house in Brie, where the King then was, with a
design, as their enemies gave out, to seize on the
person of the King; but however that matter
was, the Swiss were so much stronger than the
Prince's party, that he did not think fit to attack
them. The King was afterwards escorted by the
Swiss to Paris, when several of the Hugonot par-
ties appear'd, and endeavour'd to give some inter-
ruption to his march, but they did not come to
an engagement.

1567.

A battle
near Paris.

The Prince being afterwards considerably re-
inforc'd, possess'd himself of Montereau, Lagni,
and St. Denis, and block'd up the city of Paris,
not so closely however but the King's troops every
day enter'd the town, and became at length su-
perior to those of the Prince, whereupon it was
resolv'd to give him battle. The Constable accord-
ingly march'd out with fourteen or fifteen thousand
men, and attack'd the Prince, who had posted him-
self so advantageously, that tho' his army did not con-
sist of more than four or five thousand men (having
detach'd great part of it to meet a convoy of
provisions) he maintain'd his ground, and the
Constable was mortally wounded in the engage-
ment. During the blockade of Paris, the Pro-
testants had made themselves masters of Orleans
again; and about the same time the Elector Pa-
latine and the rest of the Protestant Princes of Ger-
many sent a body of eleven or twelve thousand
men to the assistance of the Prince of Condé,
who thereupon rais'd the blockade of Paris, and
went to the confines of Lorraine to meet them.
The King also receiv'd large reinforcements from
Germany and Switzerland, so that the country
was ravag'd and plunder'd by foreigners as well as
the natives from one end to the other. Nor was
this the worst: the court were apprehensive that
the introducing so many foreign troops into the

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kingdom might in a little time indanger the State; CHAP.
and therefore it was resolv'd to conclude a peace XXXIV.
with the Prince on any terms almost, in order to
rid the nation of them. A treaty was according- 1568.
ly set on foot, whereby it was agreed, that the A peace
edict of pacification, concluded in the year 1562, concluded.
should be confirm'd, and that the King should
pay the German troops that came to the assistance
of the Protestants.

This peace was not of long duration; for the
court of France, which was at this time govern'd
by the Queen-mother, the treacherous CATHE-
RINE DE MEDICIS, made it with no other view
than of destroying the Prince of Condé and the
Admiral, the heads of the Protestant party, who
were indeed so jealous of her, that they did not
think fit to reside at court, but retir'd to their re-
spective estates, among their friends and vassals. An attempt
to seize the
Prince of
Condé and
the Admiral
at Noyers
The King thereupon order'd his troops to be dis-
pos'd in such a manner that they might by de-
grees surround these noblemen, and make them
prisoners; and the Admiral going to pay the Prince
of Condé a visit at Noyers, a large detachment of
the army was sent to seize them; of which these
gentlemen having some intelligence, they order'd
two hundred horse to be got ready, and without
communicating the reason of it to any of their
domesticks, they march'd at the head of them
on the twenty-fifth of August in the night-time,
and having forded the Loire, took the road to
Rochelle. This vile attempt of the court to sur-
prize the Prince, when they had just made peace;
with him alarm'd the Protestants, and put them
upon assembling their troops in all the provinces
for their defence. The Queen of Navarre also
came to Rochelle with a strong body of troops, so
that the Prince of Condé soon found himself at
the head of a numerous army again. The Queen
of England furnish'd him with considerable sums of
money and warlike stores, which were the things
he most wanted; and the Germans promis'd him
a re-inforcement of troops the following spring.
The winter was taken up with little skirmishes,
beating up each other's quarters, or surprizing pla-
ces of no great consequence. The war
commenced
again.

The Duke of Anjou, the King's brother, (who had 1569.
had the command of the royal army, ever since the
death of the late Constable MONTMORENCY, kill'd
in the last battle near Paris) took the field early in the
spring, in order to fight the Prince before he should
be join'd by his German allies. And tho' the Prote-
stants avoided coming to a general engagement all
they could, the Duke fell upon them near Jarnac, and
defeated them, the Prince of Condé their General be-
ing kill'd upon the spot; not accidentally, but by de-
sign, in pursuance of the orders of the court to their
Generals, to give him no quarter if ever he should
be in their power. The Prince it seems, charging
very briskly at the head of his troops, was dis-
mounted,

The Prote-
stants de-
feated at
Jarnac, and
the Prince
of Condé
kill'd.

CHAP. mounted, and being unable to disengage himself
 XXXIV. from the enemy that surrounded him, surrender'd:
 the Baron DE MONTESQUIOU coming up in that
 very instant, demanded who he was, and being
 told he was the Prince of Condé who was wound-
 ed and taken, Kill him, kill him, he cried with an
 oath, and immediatly shot him through the head.
 The Admiral, notwithstanding this misfortune,
 made a good retreat, and put the greatest part of
 the infantry which had not suffer'd much, into the
 fortified towns; and having still with him about
 four thousand horse, march'd to Tonna Charente,
 where he met the Queen of Navarre with her son
 HENRY Prince of Bearn, about sixteen years of
 age, and Prince HENRY, son of the late Prince
 of Condé, who was about seventeen. Here it was
 agreed, that the Prince of Bearn should be declar'd
 head of the Protestant party; accordingly they all
 took an oath to stand by him with their lives and
 fortunes till they could obtain an honourable peace.
 In the mean time the Duke of Deux-Ponts enter'd
 Franche Comte at the head of twelve thousand
 Germans; and notwithstanding all the opposition
 of the King's forces that harass'd his army from
 time to time, he continu'd his march quite through
 France, cross'd the Loire, and was upon the point
 of joining the Admiral, when the Duke was tak-
 en dangerously ill, and died before he saw him;
 whereupon Count MANSFIELD took upon him
 the command of the Germans, and join'd the
 Admiral on the twenty-third of June. The
 royal army was also reinforc'd by great numbers
 of Italians, Germans, and Swiss, which still ren-
 der'd them superiour to the Protestants, but not so
 much however as to hope for a speedy end of the
 war. The Queen-mother therefore propos'd in
 the cabinet council, into which the young Duke
 of Guise had been lately admitted, to proscribe
 the Admiral, and set a price upon his head, be-
 lieving if they could once procure him to be taken
 off, the Protestant interest must sink. Where-
 upon the parliament of Paris, at the instance of
 the Attorney-general, condemn'd the Admiral to
 death as a traitor and a felon, offering fifty thou-
 sand crowns to any person that should take or kill
 him; which had such an influence on one of his
 valets, that he attempted to poison his master,
 and was hang'd for it. This stratagem not suc-
 ceeding, the Duke of Anjou assembled all his
 forces, and gave battle to the Admiral near Mon-
 contour, and defeated him. The Admiral here-
 upon determin'd to abandon all the towns in Poi-
 tou, and to keep possession only of St. John d'An-
 geli, Rochelle, Angouleme and la Charite beyond
 the Loire, which were in a condition to sustain a
 siege; to retire to the mountains of Auvergne,
 Viverrais, Languedoc and Gascogne, and to en-
 deavour to join the Earl of Montgomery, who
 had still a good body of forces in Navarre; and

Admiral
 Coligni pro-
 scrib'd.

He is de-
 feated at
 Montcontour.

he did not neglect to send couriers to England, CHAP
 Germany and Switzerland, to acquaint them with XXXIV
 his circumstances, and desire reinforcements.

The Admiral having join'd the Earl of Mont- 1570.
 gomery, undertook to march quite cross France,
 to meet the Germans who were coming to his
 assistance: but before he had effected it, terms of
 peace were again offer'd him by the court, with
 a treacherous view indeed, which he had sufficient
 reason to suspect; but his circumstances were such
 (great part of the forces which were design'd to
 join him from Germany being carried into the
 Low Countries by the Prince of Orange) that he
 thought it expedient once more to enter into a
 treaty with the King; wherein, besides the con-
 cessions made the Protestants by former pacifica-
 tions, the towns wherein they were permitted to
 hold their assemblies for divine worship were spe-
 cified; the cities of Rochelle, la Charite, Mon-
 tauban and Coignac, were granted them for cau-
 tionary towns; the Protestants were declar'd ca-
 pable of publick employments and dignities, and
 the Prince of Orange was put into possession of the
 principality of that name; which were such ad-
 vantagious conditions as the Protestants could scarce
 have expected if their affairs had been never so
 prosperous. This was called the treaty of St. Ger-
 mans, from the place where it was held.

A peace
 concluded
 St. German

The following year 1571, the King solemniz'd
 his marriage with ELIZABETH of Austria, daugh-
 ter of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN: and in order
 to draw the heads of the Hugonot party to court,
 about the same time propos'd another marriage be-
 tween HENRY Prince of Bearn, son to the Queen
 of Navarre, and his sister the Princess MARGA-
 RET, which the Queen of Navarre joyfully ac-
 cepted of, and set out with her son for Paris in or-
 der to see it solemniz'd. The King went as far
 as Blois to meet her, and at the first interview
 gave her all imaginable testimonies of his friend-
 ship and confidence in her; and was so delighted
 with the treacherous part he had acted, that he ask'd
 the Queen-mother with joy, whether he had not
 play'd his part well; the Queen answering it sig-
 nified nothing to begin unless he finish'd it, he re-
 ply'd with an oath, that he would have them all
 in the net.

1571.
 The King's
 marriage.

The next point was to draw the Admiral into
 the snare; and while they were deliberating about
 it, he furnish'd them with a specious pretence of
 inviting him to court himself. The King, in or-
 der to induce the Protestants to put the greater con-
 fidence in him, had declar'd that he would make
 war on the King of Spain, which court was known
 to be the great support of the House of Guise, the
 authors of most of the severe proceedings against
 the Protestants in this kingdom. The King pro-
 ceeded so far as to suffer the Prince of Orange to
 raise troops in France to oppose the Spaniards in the
 Low

Low

CHAP. XXXIV. Low Countries, and did many other things that look'd as if he had really design'd a rupture with Spain. Whereupon the Admiral sent Count NASSAU to his Majesty, to offer his advice and assistance in that service: the King let the Count know, that he look'd upon the Admiral as the most experienc'd soldier in his kingdom, and the person who could best advise him in an affair of this consequence; and if he should declare war against Spain, he would intrust him with the command of the army, having some suspicion of the other Generals, meaning the Guises and their faction, on account of the correspondence they held with that court: but that it was necessary the Admiral should come to him, that they might consider together what measures were proper to be taken in an enterprize of that importance. Count NASSAU returning to the Admiral, conjur'd him to lay hold on this favourable opportunity, which tended to raise him to the highest pitch of credit and power, and put him in a condition of being serviceable to his friends, both at home and in the Low Countries. The Marshals MONTMORENCY and COSSE, wrote to the Admiral also, to persuade him to come to court. After he had taken some little time to deliberate upon the matter, he resolv'd to set out for Paris. The King receiv'd him in all appearance with the greatest respect and kindness, and order'd him fifty gentlemen of his own choosing for his guard, defray'd his charges, and admitted him into his council. He gave the Earl of Rochefoucault, la Noue, and the rest of his friends the like reception, and seem'd to discourse as freely with these Lords, as with any about the court. To disguise his intentions the more, SCHOMBERG was sent to the Protestant Princes of Germany to make an alliance with them. The negotiation with the Queen of England concerning her marriage with the Duke of Anjou also was revived, and a treaty concluded with that Princess, purporting, that if the King of Spain should seize or detain the ships of either nation in his ports, which often happen'd, they should reciprocally assist each to procure satisfaction. And the King of Spain took such umbrage at these steps, that he actually recall'd his ambassador from the court of France, all which confirm'd the Admiral and the Protestants in the sincerity of the King's intentions. But while they were making preparations at court for the marriage of the Prince of Bearn with the King's sister, the Queen of Navarre, his mother, was taken ill and died in a few days, suppos'd to be poison'd. It was given out however, that she died of an ulcer in her side on her being open'd, which made the Admiral take little notice of it, any more than the Prince of Bearn her son, who upon her death took upon him the title of King of Navarre. But two or three days after, as the Admiral was returning home,

and reading a petition that had been presented him, a musket was fir'd at him from a window, and one of the bullets struck off the second finger of his right hand, and the other wounded him in the left arm: upon this he stood still, and observing from whence the shot came, this, says he, is the fruit of my reconciliation with the Duke of Guise. MANREVEL, the assassin, had a horse ready, and fled out of the port St. Antoine. The King soon after came to visit the Admiral, and swore he would punish the author of this villainous attempt; and express'd so much concern on the occasion, that the Admiral was persuaded of his sincerity, and would not remove into a place of security as his friends advis'd him. The rest of the Protestants however were sufficiently alarm'd at the accident, and began to consult how they might defend themselves in case they were attack'd; which the Queen-mother having notice of, went to the King, and told him it was now no longer time to deliberate, that his crown and life and the safety of the whole royal family was at stake, that the Hugonots were preparing to revenge themselves on the Duke of Guise, and that Paris would be made a scene of blood and confusion, and it was better to prevent his enemies than fall a sacrifice to them. Thus far the Jesuit my author, who forgets that he himself has told us more than once, that this scheme for destroying the Hugonots was laid long before, tho' now he would have it appear, that his Majesty and the court only consulted their own security; so barbarous did the ensuing tragedy appear, even to the Roman Catholicks themselves, that they seem to acknowledge nothing but a view to their own preservation could justify the authors of it. But to proceed; a cabinet council being held upon the occasion, it was resolv'd that the Admiral and all the Hugonots throughout the kingdom should be put to death, except the young King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé: and that it might be done effectually, the Duke of Guise their mortal enemy was trusted with the execution of it. The Duke, says the Jesuit my author, never receiv'd a commission that was more agreeable to him: he immediately order'd the Provost of Paris to give directions to the captains of the several wards to raise the citizens, and that upon the ringing the alarm-bell in the palace on the eve of St. BARTHOLOMEW, they should set up lights in their windows, break into the houses of the Protestants, and murder them without mercy: all which they executed with such expedition and secrecy, says the same writer, as nothing but the extreme hatred of the Catholick Parisians to the Hugonots could have made them observe. About midnight the Duke of Guise, with the Duke of Aumale, the Grand Prior of France, several officers, and three hundred soldiers, broke open the Admiral's gates,

CHAP. XXXIV.
The Admiral wounded by an assassin.

The massacre at Paris.

CHAP. and sending some of their number directly into his
 XXXIV. apartment, they stabb'd him in abundance of
 places, many of them after he was dead, and then
 threw his body out of the window, and after-
 wards cut the throats of all them that were in
 house. The like executions were made in the pa-
 lace of the Louvre, whilst the citizens and soldiers
 dispers'd themselves through the city, and massa-
 cred all the Protestants they found in private
 houses. Messengers also were dispatch'd to all the
 great towns and provinces in the kingdom to in-
 vite the Catholics to take up arms and fall upon
 the Protestants, which they did not fail to do in
 every place where they were not overpower'd;
 but Meaux, Orleans, Troyes, Bourges, Angers,
 Thoulouse, Rouen and Lyons signaliz'd their bar-
 barity in executing this cruel and treacherous or-
 der beyond any other places. When the fury of
 this massacre was a little over, the King sent
 the young King of Navarre and the Prince of
 Condé into his closet, and told them in a haughty
 tone, that he was now reveng'd of his enemies,
 who under the umbrage of their names as Princes
 of the blood had made war upon him, and would
 have depriv'd him both of his life and crown.
 That he requir'd them both to return to the re-
 ligion of their ancestors, or it would not be in
 his power to protect them from the fury of the
 people. The King of Navarre answer'd, he was
 ready to obey his Majesty in all things; but the
 Prince of Condé said, nothing should induce him
 to act contrary to his conscience: however, upon
 the King's threatening him that he should not be
 alive three days if he remain'd obstinate, that
 young Prince thought fit to follow the example
 of the King of Navarre.

The parlia-
 ment ap-
 prove the
 massacre, and
 attain the
 Admiral and
 his adhe-
 rents.

The King went to the parliament soon after,
 and acquainted them with the reasons of this hor-
 rid execution; whereupon CHRISTOPHER DE
 THOU first president highly commended his pru-
 dence and conduct in this affair. The Advocate-
 general pray'd that the Admiral and his accompi-
 ces, who were dead, might be proceeded against ac-
 cording to the forms of law; which being done, the
 Admiral was hang'd in effigy on a common gibbet,
 to which the mob had some days before fastned
 his body, and from whence it had been taken a-
 way by his friends. The court, during the con-
 sternation this massacre had put the Protestants in,
 endeavour'd to recover the towns that had been
 granted them, but Montauban and Rochelle both
 held out against their forces, whereupon the latter
 was besieg'd in form by a numerous army, com-
 manded by the Duke of Anjou, but the town being
 well supply'd with provisions, and having abundance
 of gentlemen in it who had fled thither upon the
 late massacre, baffled all their attempts; but the
 Duke of Anjou being about the same time elected
 King of Poland, was glad of this pretence to raise the

Duke of
 Anjou cho-
 sen King of
 Poland.

siege, after he had lost twenty-four thousand men
 before it. Soon after a treaty was set on foot with
 the Rochellers, the principal articles whereof were,
 that the Protestants should be permitted to keep
 garrisons in Rochelle, Montauban and Nismes,
 but should not assemble for divine service in other
 towns of the kingdom.

CHAP.
 XXXIV.
 A treaty
 with the
 Protestants
 of Rochelle.

The Protestants of the Cevennes and other parts,
 were not at all satisfied with the treaty of pacifi-
 cation the Rochellers had made; but petition'd
 the King for the publick exercise of their religion
 in pursuance of former edicts, in which they were
 encourag'd by the Duke of Alençon, the King's
 brother, and the family of Montmorency, who
 were become malecontents on the Guises engrof-
 sing the administration of affairs to themselves,
 and not on account of religion. The Court hav-
 ing intelligence that the Dukes of Alençon and
 Montmorency were upon the point of joining
 the Protestants, caus'd them both to be secur'd in
 the castle of Vincennes, together with the King
 of Navarre, and proceeded to put to death some
 of the Duke of Alençon's accomplices; whereupon
 the several factions had recourse to arms in many
 parts of the kingdom, between whom there were
 perpetual skirmishes, particularly in Languedoc,
 the Vivarez and Normandy, and the Earl of
 Montgomery, who commanded the Protestants in
 Normandy, had the misfortune to be taken pri-
 soner. In the mean time the King fell danger-
 ously ill, and died on the thirteenth of May, at
 the castle of Vincennes, of which the Queen-
 mother sent immediate notice to her son the King
 of Poland, advising him to return to France as soon
 as possible. The late King left only one daugh-
 ter named MARY-ELIZABETH, who died about
 five years of age, and one son that he had by a
 concubine, who was afterwards Duke of An-
 gouleme.

1574.

The King
 dies.

HENRY the Third at the death of his brother
 CHARLES the Ninth was seated on the throne
 of Poland, where he was so acceptable to the
 people, that he despair'd of their permission to
 resign that crown, and therefore stole away from
 them in the night, as if he had fled from an ene-
 my; and thought himself very happy when he
 arriv'd in the Emperor's territories and had got
 out of their reach, as he did the next day. He
 pass'd through Vienna, and from thence went to
 Venice and so to Savoy, where that Duke so in-
 gratiated himself with him, that he restor'd him
 Pignerol, Savillon and Perouse, which the French
 had kept possession of to this time: he was guard-
 ed by a great body of the Duke of Savoy's troops
 from Turin to Lyons, because the Hugonots were
 pretty strong in Dauphiné, and had possess'd them-
 selves of several passes in his way.

Henry III.
 He leaves
 Poland pri-
 vately.

The Queen-mother, who had govern'd the
 kingdom during his absence, met him at Lyons,
 and

CHAP. and express'd the greatest tenderness and affection
XXXIV. for him imaginable, this being her favourite son.

On the other hand he assur'd her he would continue to be govern'd by her counsels, notwithstanding his advancement to the throne; which gave her a most sensible pleasure, for no Princess was ever so fond of power as CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, (she had actually govern'd the State most part of the two preceding reigns, as she did great part of this.) Here she presented his brothers the Duke of Alençon, and the King of Navarre to him, whom she had kept in a manner prisoners till his arrival, apprehending that the disaffected part of the kingdom would gladly have set the present King aside, and have advanced one of these Princes to the throne before his arrival: the Hugonots she knew were sufficiently prejudic'd against his Majesty, on account of the share they apprehended he had in the late massacre; but I look upon the Queen-mother herself to be the real author of that butchery, and that her two sons were only her instruments in the execution of it.

The King
resolves to
destroy the
Protestants.

The King having consulted with the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, the Venetians, and other Italian powers in his way home, 'tis said, was generally advis'd to lenity and pacifick measures in the beginning of his reign, but whether he was mov'd by his own prejudices, or the Queen-mother's counsels, the bloody CATHERINE DE MEDICIS, he was scarce arriv'd at Paris before he took a resolution of destroying the Protestants; to effect which, he found himself under a necessity of uniting with the Guises, whom he hated in his heart, almost as much as he did the Reformed. Whereupon the politicians, as they were call'd, whose disaffection to the court proceeded rather from their aversion to the Guises than upon account of religion, join'd with the Hugonots, and their united forces became very formidable; of these the Marshal DOMVILLE brother to the Duke of Montmorency was the chief, who being governour of Languedoc, call'd an assembly of the States of that province, declar'd himself head of an association for re-establishing peace in the kingdom, and exhorted all good Frenchmen to join with him, in order to the obtaining a meeting of the Estates of the realm, for redressing their grievances. And now the war was actually commenc'd in all the provinces between the royalists and the faction of the Guises on the one side, and the Protestants and the politicians or malecontents on the other. Not a day pass'd without skirmishes, or the taking or retaking of towns; the kingdom was a scene of blood and confusion. About this time died the Cardinal of Lorraine, uncle to the Duke of Guise and Maine, an implacable enemy of the Protestants, and upon that account in great esteem with the Catholics, whose death was much lamented by them.

The civil
war breaks
out again.

The King, before he ascended the throne, CHAP. 'tis observed, was a great admirer of MACHIA-XXXIV. VEL's politicks, especially that part of them where he recommends a constant and profound dissimulation, and the bringing about designs by ways in appearance the most remote from them: accordingly to deceive and amuse the heads of the several parties, he affected to appear negligent in affairs of state, and to employ himself only in his devotions or pleasures; but he mix'd his penances and debauches so very oddly, that he became even in the beginning of his reign the contempt of his subjects and of all Europe. At Avignon he went in procession with the penitents, cloathed in sack-cloth, follow'd in the same manner by the court Lords, who were the greatest libertines upon earth; at other times he shut himself up in his apartment with these lewd young fellows, who made their court to him by giving an account of their amours, and betraying the secrets of the ladies they had been familiar with; while he on the other hand lavish'd away his credit and treasure upon them. This occasion'd infinite jealousies, quarrels and assassinations about the court. The women, to be reveng'd on him for exposing them, reveal'd his secrets in their turn, magnified his irregularities and unveil'd his hypocrisy, which render'd him extremely odious to all mankind. But notwithstanding the King was so much taken up with his favourites and mistresses, he was married about this time to LOUISA DE VAUDEMONT of the house of Lorraine, a Guise whom he had seen in his passage through Lorraine to Poland, when he was much smitten with her beauty.

A character
of this King.

The following year a conspiracy was discover'd 1575. against his Majesty, in which the Duke of Alençon the King's brother was concern'd; but upon making his submission the Duke obtain'd his pardon: however, not thinking himself safe at court, he retir'd from thence, and associated himself with the malecontents, and the Count Palatine and other Protestant Princes of Germany rais'd forces in order to join him: their vanguard indeed was defeated by the Duke of Guise, who gain'd a great deal of honour by it. But the Queen-mother finding the King to be in no condition to resist the united forces of the malecontents and the foreign troops, advis'd him to clap up a peace, which she negotiated in person with the Duke of Alençon; the conditions whereof were, that his Majesty should pay the German auxiliaries; that the Protestants and Malecontents should be allow'd eight towns for their security more than they had already; that the King should dismiss all his troops the Swiss and Scots guards, and that the Protestants should have the free exercise of their religion in all places, except Paris and two leagues about it; that the courts of justice should consist

The D. of
Alençon
leaves the
court.

1576.
A treaty be-
tween the
K. and the
malecon-
tents.

CHAP. of Protestant as well as Popish Judges; that the XXXIV. attainder of Admiral COLIGNI, and others of his party should be reversed; that Marshal DOMVILLE should have his offices, dignities and governments restored to him; that the government of Picardy should be given to the Prince of Condé, and that the Duke of Alençon's appenage should be augmented with the duchies of Anjou, Touraine, Berry and Maine. Whereupon the Duke obtain'd the title of Duke of Anjou, and return'd to court in a kind of triumph; where the King, dissembling his resentment, received him with a thousand caresses. What induc'd his Majesty to make many of these concessions to the malecon-

The King of Navarre escapes from court, and declares himself a Protestant.

tents was, the escape of the King of Navarre from court during the negotiation: when this Prince found himself out of the King's reach, he declar'd, that the profession he had made of the Romish religion after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was only the effect of fear and violence, and that he now profess'd himself to be of the Reformed religion, in which he had been educated. Upon his coming into his government of Guienne, the malecontentents resorted to him in much greater numbers than they had done to the Duke of Alençon, looking upon him as a Prince that might be much more depended on than that Duke; and this circumstance, as has been observ'd, was one principal motive of hastening the treaty above-mentioned, and procuring those advantageous conditions for the Protestants and other malecontentents.

The Holy League formed by the Papists.

This edict of pacification, it was suppos'd, would have produc'd great quiet in the nation; but on the contrary, it was no sooner publish'd than the Papists entered into a confederacy or association for the preservation of their religion, and extirpation of heresy; which alliance obtain'd the name of the Holy League, and afterwards simply the League. Some leading man in every province assembled the Popish party, and saw them sign an association, and take an oath for the maintenance of it; the King and Queen-mother encouraging or at least conniving at it; for by this means they hoped to see the Hugonots destroy'd more effectually, and with less hazard than by an open war: and if we may judge by some occurrences in the former reign, the last pacification was probably consented to with this view; his Majesty did not then foresee that the leaguers would become so powerful, as to trample on his authority, and render him no more than the shadow of a King, as it afterwards happened. The placing garrisons also in the great towns where the Hugonots were most numerous, and the officers of the troops supporting and encouraging the leaguers in their insults on that people, leaves little room to doubt that the court were at the bottom of those outrages.

The D. of Guise the Head of the League.

The Duke of Guise, though he did not yet ap-

pear, was the chief manager and contriver of all these associations, and entered into alliances with foreign Princes for the support of them; among whom he found none more ready to espouse their interests than PHILIP II, the bigotted King of Spain. The insurrections and revolts of the Reform'd in the Netherlands, had sufficiently prejudic'd him against that sect; and he was apprehensive, if those of the same persuasion in France should once be established there, they would support his disaffected subjects in Flanders. Thus religion, inclination, and interest all contributed to render the King of Spain a zealous and fast friend to the leaguers. But to return to France: The King having summoned an assembly of the States at Blois, made all the interest he could to get the friends of the League return'd, and declar'd himself to be the head of it, in order, as 'tis said, to prevent the party chusing the Duke of Guise for their leader, of whose ambition he had reason to be jealous; and still to ingratiate himself the more with the Papists, he declar'd, that he would suffer no other than the Roman Catholick religion in the kingdom for the future.

When the States of Blois were met, he procured petitions to be presented to him to the same effect: and it was accordingly carried in that assembly by a great majority, that the King should be address'd to reunite all his subjects in the Catholick Apostolick Roman religion, by the best and most wholesome methods: that the exercise of the pretended Reformed religion should be prohibited both in publick and private, and that the Preachers, Deacons, and Overseers of their congregations should depart the kingdom within a limited time, notwithstanding any former edicts to the contrary. Whereupon the deputies of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde, protested against the assembly as an unlawful convention, not having been called or chosen according to the laws of the kingdom; and indeed their adversaries seem to admit, that there was a great deal of foul play in returning the deputies or representatives. This protest was very little regarded: on the contrary, the Holy League was confirm'd and sign'd by the King, the Duke of Anjou, and most of the Catholick Lords and Princes assembled. And the war was immediately declared and begun on all sides against the Protestants; the Duke of Anjou commanding one of the armies against them, though in the late war he was engaged on the Protestant side. But notwithstanding the King had acted with all this shew of zeal against the Hugonots, either through want of money to maintain the war, or that he dreaded the foreign troops, which the Reformed had desired of the Queen of England and the German Princes, or whatever else was the motive, he thought fit to conclude a peace with the King of

Spain the Great support of it.

The King and the States make an edict against any toleration of the Protestants.

The League confirm'd.

War declar'd against the Protestants.

1577. Peace concluded against Na- with 'em.

CHAP. Navarre and the malecontents the following year ;
 XXXIV. the terms whereof differ'd but very little from the
 last. The Queen-mother afterwards made a jour-

1579.

1580.

ney to the court of the King of Navarre, to invite him to come to Paris ; but that Prince had so narrowly escaped the last massacre, that she could not with all her cunning prevail upon him to venture his life in her power again. The old Queen afterwards visited other parts of France, and seems to have a much greater share in the administration at this time than her son : he was content to let her take all the fatigue of government upon her, that he might indulge in pleasure. At her return to court in the year 1579, she found he had been trifling away his time in her absence with his mistresses and favourites ; and three of the latter having lost their lives, two in a duel, and a third by assassination, he was inconsolable ; and the manner of expressing his grief for them, 'tis said, was much beneath his royal dignity. The latter end of this year the leaguers obliged the King to come to a rupture with the Protestants again, and several towns were taken on both sides ; but by the mediation of the Duke of Anjou this breach was made up in a few months : for the Duke had two great designs carrying on at this time abroad, which were not consistent with the deposing the Protestant interest in France. The one was a treaty of marriage with the Queen of England ; and the other the obtaining the sovereignty of the Netherlands, which was offer'd to him by the Prince of Orange and the malecontents there. In both which views he was supported by the court of France.

1581.
 The D. of
 Anjou of-
 fered the So-
 verignty of
 the Nether-
 lands.

The Low Countries having withdrawn their allegiance from the King of Spain, and invited the Duke of Anjou to take the Government of those provinces upon him, he march'd with a gallant army to the relief of Cambray in the year 1581, which was then besieged by the Spaniards, commanded by the Duke of Parma ; and the siege being rais'd on his approach, the inhabitants receiv'd him with joyful acclamations, and here he began to take the government of the Low Countries upon him ; but because he looked upon this as the key of the country, he withdrew the Walloon garrison, and placed one of French in the room of it, which render'd his new subjects a little jealous of him.

He makes
 a court to
 the Q. of
 England.

He afterwards embark'd for England, where he was receiv'd by the Queen, as the French historians relate, with all the most tender marks of affection : and the matter proceeded so far, that on the twenty-second of November, in the presence of the French Ambassador and several English Lords, she put a ring upon the Duke of Anjou's finger, and told him, she betroth'd him that moment : she order'd also an instrument to be drawn up in Latin, containing the form that should be observed in celebrating their marriage, namely,

the terms the Duke of Anjou was to make use of CHAP.
 in espousing the Queen, and the words which XXXIV.
 were to be pronounced by her Majesty in accept-
 ing the Duke of Anjou for her husband. This instrument, they add, was sign'd by the Bishop of Lincoln, and several English Lords, and the Ambassador gave advice of it to the King of France ; infomuch, that the affair was looked upon as concluded, both in France and England. But the Duke of Anjou going to visit the Queen the next day, she told him, she had passed the night in great uneasiness, and that three such nights would bring her to her grave : she mentioned a great many scruples she had, and HATTON, one of the privy council, added many more. Some English Preachers had inveigh'd vehemently against the marriage, by a private order of the Queen, (as was suppos'd) and given her some pretence for this conduct ; while the Catholick Doctors at Paris appear'd no less zealous against the match, than the Protestants were in England, declaring, that this alliance of the presumptive heir of the crown of France with an heretical Queen, was a certain prelude to the destruction of religion in that kingdom. The Queen however amused the Duke for three months with hopes of succeeding ; and when she permitted him to return to Flanders, it was upon condition he should come over again within a month ; and promis'd him, that she would constantly persevere in her resolution of marrying him. Thus far the French account of that match.

There is no doubt but Queen ELIZABETH made the most of the treaties of marriage that were proposed between her and the Dukes of Anjou, (for HENRY III, when he was Duke of Anjou, had made love to her as well as his brother ;) she seems to have kept them in suspense upon political views. It was the hopes of succeeding in these treaties, that prevented the French and Spaniards joining in the extirpation of heresy (as they called it) in pursuance of the agreement at Bayonne. The Queen of England here shewed herself superiour to KATHERINE de Medicis, the Queen-mother of France, and her two sons, who were all three of them bent upon the destruction of the Protestants, as well as the King of Spain and the Pope, and could not have been diverted from it by any other means, than the hopes they had of adding England to their Empire by this match. And when the Queen of England could no longer prevent the ruin of the Protestants by her treaties, we see her assisting them with arms, in France, the Low Countries, Germany and Scotland. To her address therefore in a great measure is to be ascribed the establishing of the Protestant religion in Europe.

The Reform'd in France, the Low Countries, and Scotland had infallibly been crush'd in their
 infancy,

CHAP. P. infancy, if they had not been supported by the XXXIV. Queen of England: and as to her amusing the Dukes of Anjou, and keeping them long in suspense to obtain so glorious an end; this rather advances than lessens her character, in the opinion of all wise men. I don't find any thing criminal on her part in these transactions, as they are related by our own historians. It appears indeed, that there was once articles of marriage sign'd between the Queen and the last Duke of Anjou; but then they were to be void unless they were ratified by the French King, and that Prince refus'd to ratify them. 'Tis admitted also, that she did once, in a merry mood, put a ring upon the Duke's finger, but us'd no such words as the French recite, That she betrothed him with it, or indeed any other words, that were serious, on that occasion. It is ridiculous to think, that the Queen should seriously use the words of espousal, without the Duke's reciting his part of the contract, which it is not pretended he did; and consequently since it was not reciprocal, by their own account, very little stress could be laid upon it. The Roman Catholics no doubt, were sufficiently exasperated against her, and did all that was in their power to blast her memory; she prevented their religion becoming universal, and 'tis natural to expect they should frame ten thousand falsehoods in relation to this transaction; but those who are of opinion that the world was at all better'd by the reformation, must for ever applaud her conduct.

1582.
The D. of
Anjou de-
clared D. of
Brabant and
Earl of
Flanders.

The Duke of Anjou returning to the Low Countries, was met by the Prince of Orange and the States at Flushing, and being conducted to Antwerp, was there declar'd Duke of Brabant, and afterwards at Ghent, Earl of Flanders. In the mean time, the King of Spain set a price upon the Prince of Orange's head, promising a reward of twenty-five thousand crowns to the person (or his heirs) that should destroy him; whereupon JOAUNAEL JAUREGNI, a Biscayner, undertook to assassinate him, and having obtain'd leave to present a petition to the Prince, fir'd a pocket-pistol close to his head while he was reading it, and one of the balls went through both his cheeks, and the assassin was immediately cut in pieces; but the wound not being mortal, the Prince of Orange soon recovered. It was reported immediately among the mob, that the Duke of Anjou had been the author of this attempt, in order to take off the Prince, who, he thought, had too much authority among the Flemings; whereupon all the French were seized and disarmed, and the Duke of Anjou himself was in danger of being pull'd in pieces, if the Prince of Orange had not sent a letter to assure the people, that neither the Duke, or any of the French were concerned in the attempt, but that the authors of it were discovered by papers found upon the assassin.

The Duke of Anjou, however, being join'd by CHAP. some re-inforcements from France soon after, was XXXIV. the author of another attempt, which quite ruin'd his interest among the Flemings. He was really piqu'd to see the Prince of Orange govern all in the Low Countries, while he himself had scarce any authority amongst them, to support the glorious titles they had given him of Duke of Brabant and Earl of Flanders. He determined therefore in a council he held with his own officers, to make himself master of the principal towns, and garrison them entirely with French forces; and on a day prefix'd, viz. the thirteenth of January, they were at one and the same instant to have seized Antwerp, Bruges, Dunkirk, Dendermonde, Vilvorde, and other places, and expell'd the Prince of Orange's troops. But at Antwerp, which he design'd to have seiz'd himself, and in most other towns, the French were overpowred by the Flemings, and great numbers of them killed. They were successful only at Dunkirk, Dixmude and Dendermonde, and these places they were forced to abandon soon after; whereupon the Duke of Anjou retir'd into France, and notwithstanding the French King sent Ambassadors to the States, and offer'd his mediation to reconcile these differences; the Flemings were so alarm'd at the attempt to seize their towns, that they would not admit the French among them again. This dissension between the French and Flemings was an advantage to the Duke of Parma the Spanish General, as if he had obtain'd a victory: he took Dunkirk, and many other places, and prevail'd on the provinces of Flanders, Artois and Hainault, to return to the obedience of their Sovereign the King of Spain; and the ill success of the Duke of Anjou, together with his disappointment in England, 'tis said, had such an effect upon him, that it broke his heart. But however that was, certain it is, the Duke died at Chateau Thierry, on the tenth of June 1583; upon whose death the King of Navarre, the next Prince of the blood, became presumptive heir to the crown of France, to the no small mortification of the leaguers, this Prince being a Protestant.

The Heads of the League therefore assembled on this occasion, under pretence of preserving the Catholick religion, and resolv'd that in case of the King's death, the Cardinal de Bourbon, brother to the Prince of Condé, should be acknowledg'd King of France; and that in the mean time all those who had signed the League should be ready to take up arms. They applied also to the Pope, the King of Spain, and other Catholick Princes, who promised them their assistance; the Pope particularly declar'd, that the Catholick Princes might take up arms for the defence of the Catholick religion in France: That a war against the Hugonots was just and lawful; and that it was not

The D. of
Anjou at-
tempting an
unlimited
power is ex-
pelled the
Low Coun-
tries.

1583.

1584.

1585.
The Pope
declares it
lawful to
take up arms
against the
King.

CHAP. not only allowable to make war upon them, but
 XXXIV. upon all those who favour'd and assisted them, e-
 ven tho' they bore the royal character ; (meaning
 the French King). The Duke of Guise also put
 the Cardinal of Bourbon upon publishing a decla-
 ration, wherein he and his associates say, that the
 King having no children, they were in danger of
 seeing an heretical and apostate Prince King of
 France, notwithstanding the oath of their Kings
 at their coronation oblig'd them above all things
 to maintain the Catholick Apostolick and Roman
 Religion. Then they proceed to villify and asperse
 the King and his administration in a most scanda-
 lous manner, insinuating, that he was a debau-
 chee and favourer of hereticks ; and for these
 weighty reasons, adds the Cardinal, We CHARLES
 of Bourbon, first Prince of the blood, assisted by
 the Princes, Cardinals, Peers, Prelates, Gover-
 nors of provinces, cities, and others the soundest
 and best part of the kingdom, do declare and have
 sworn not to lay down our arms till our religion
 shall be secured, the taxes taken off, which have
 been introduc'd since the reign of CHARLES IX,
 &c. The names of the King of Spain and a great
 number of Catholick Princes, who had enter'd
 into this association, being placed at the head of
 the declaration. This made an impression on the
 minds of the Catholicks of all conditions ; many
 of whom left the court to repair to the Heads of
 the League, who proceeded immediately to action,
 and besides the towns that their friends were al-
 ready masters of, they surprized Lyons, and se-
 veral others.

The King
 seeks peace
 with the
 Leaguers.
 The Pope
 deposes the
 King of Na-
 varre, and
 deprives his
 subjects from
 their alle-
 giance.
 The poor indolent King was so frightened at these
 proceedings, that he empower'd the Queen-mo-
 ther, who, at bottom, was a friend to the Lea-
 guers, to make peace with them on any terms :
 and it was agreed between them, that there should
 be but one religion in France ; that the Hugonot
 preachers should leave the kingdom within a
 month, and all other hereticks within six months ;
 that they should be incapable of any office or dig-
 nity, and that they should be deprived of the ci-
 ties that had been yielded to them ; that the King
 and all the societies and corporations in the king-
 dom should confirm it by their oaths, and that
 the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Duke of Guise, and
 other heads of the League, should have cities and
 guards assign'd them for their security, which the
 King should maintain, and also advance them a
 considerable sum of money. And Pope SIXTUS V,
 tho' he is represented as no friend to the League,
 publish'd a bull, whereby he excommunicated the
 King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, and
 deprived them and their heirs of all their estates,
 particularly of their right of succession to the
 crown of France, and absolv'd their subjects and
 vassals from their oaths and allegiance.

The Leaguers at the same time compell'd the
 VOL. II.

King to enter into a war with
 recover the towns they were possess'd of ; but the XXXIV.
 King of Navarre defended them so well, that the
 leaguers gain'd few advantages of them this cam-
 paign ; one reason might be, that the King was
 not very desirous at this time of seeing the Hugo-
 nots exterminated, and therefore carried on the
 war but faintly. The year 1586 was as favour-
 able to the Protestants. And the following year,
 1587, the King of Navarre obtained a compleat
 victory over one of the armies of the Leaguers near
 Coutras ; he is extremely blamed however, that
 he did not afterwards endeavour to meet the Ger-
 man auxiliaries ; who, to the number of thirty
 thousand and upwards, were marching to join
 him, but suffer'd them to be surrounded and dis-
 persed by the leaguers, and rendred perfectly use-
 less, without ever coming to a battle. About this
 time the Prince of Condé died, whose ambition
 and jealousy of the King of Navarre, it is obser-
 ved, prevented his doing his party the service he
 was capable of.

Besides the general League, there was a parti-
 cular league or association entered into by the ci-
 tizens of Paris, who were ten times more zealous
 for the destruction of the King and the Protestants,
 than the rest of the Catholicks in the kingdom.
 The university and preachers there maintain'd pub-
 lickly, that Princes might not only be depos'd for
 heresy, but for male-administration, with which
 they made no scruple to charge the King ; and
 his Majesty shewing some resentment at these pro-
 ceedings, they sent for the Duke of Guise, and,
 by his assistance, fairly drove his Majesty out of
 Paris, who thereupon retir'd to Rouen. The
 Queen-mother was again employ'd to negotiate a
 peace between the King and the Leaguers, which
 she soon effected, by granting them whatever they
 demanded. After which the King went to re-
 side at Chartres, refusing to return any more to
 Paris, where he had been so notoriously insulted,
 and his authority trampled upon : tho' he gave
 them no other reason for his residing at Chartres,
 but that he should be nearer Blois, where he had
 order'd the States of the Kingdom to meet the
 September following. The Queen-Mother, the
 Cardinal de Bourbon, and the Duke of Guise went
 to pay their compliments to him at Chartres ; he
 received them with all the outward marks of es-
 teem imaginable, declar'd the Cardinal first Prince
 of the blood, and heir to the crown, and the Duke
 of Guise Lieutenant-General of the kingdom ; af-
 ter which he set out for Blois to meet the States,
 being followed thither by the Duke of Guise.

The King, notwithstanding the favours he had
 so lately heaped upon the heads of the League,
 hated them heartily, and having chosen a select
 council at Blois, the first thing he determin'd (af-
 ter opening the assembly of the States) was the
 death

1586.

1587

The Protec-
tants obtain
a victory over
the Leaguers.The leaguers
drive the K.
from Paris.

1588.

He studies
the destruc-
tion of the
Leaguers.

CHAP. death of the Duke of Guise. The most convenient time to dispatch him was held to be as he came into the council-chamber, when he would have discharg'd his domesticks of course. The King committed the execution of it to an officer and fifteen or twenty of his guards. On the morning he summon'd the Duke to council he told them, that that day either the Duke of Guise or he must perish, that his own safety and that of France was in their hands, that he should owe his crown and his life to them if they succeeded, and that his gratitude should be stinted by no bounds.

They all assur'd him, they would act answerably to the trust he had honoured them with; whereupon he sent for as many daggers as there were men, and on delivering them into their hands said, That this was an execution of justice, which he committed to them upon the most criminal person in his kingdom, whom he had a right, both by the laws of God and man, to punish; and since it could not be done by the ordinary methods of justice, he authoriz'd them to do it by virtue of his royal prerogative.

The Duke of Guise had some intimation, that there was a design upon his life, and was advis'd by his friends to retire; but he answer'd, he was too far advanc'd to go back, that the King and he were like two great armies facing one another, and that if one retreated, the other would have the victory. The very day before the execution, sitting down at table, he found a note under his napkin, advising him to take care of himself, for that there was some treacherous design formed against him; which when he had read, he took his pencil and wrote underneath, *They dare not*, and threw it under the table. At other times, he declar'd to his friends, that he laid no manner of stress on the professions of kindness the King made him, he was sensible of his dissimulation; but the King knew very well, that if any attempt was made upon his person, it would infallibly destroy himself.

The D. of Guise murder'd.

But to proceed: The Duke of Guise being come to court, and attending in the antichamber, one of the Secretaries of State came to acquaint him that the King wanted him in his closet, and in his way thither, being to pass through a door where he was obliged to stoop, as he was lifting up the hanging to enter it, he receiv'd six stabs from the guards, who were rang'd on each side under pretence of doing him honour, and had only time to say, *Lord have mercy upon me*. The King, having notice he was dispatch'd, went out of his closet, and the Lords about the court being assembled, he told them, that he was now King, and would have his enemies learn by the example he had just made, that the same vengeance hung over their heads, if they durst attempt to lessen his autho-

I

CHAP. XXXIV. rity. He afterwards went down to the Queen-mother's lodgings, who lay dangerously ill, and acquainted her with what had happened; in answer to which she only demanded, if he had considered the consequences of the Duke of Guise's death, and made provision for all events. He afterwards order'd the Cardinal de Guise to be dispatch'd; which made the court of Rome set all their engines on work to destroy him. He afterwards endeavour'd to seize the Duke of Maine, brother to the Duke of Guise; but this gentleman had the good fortune to escape to Paris, where he was ador'd by the leaguers, as well on his brother's account as the zeal he had shewn for the cause. About this time died the Queen-mother, who had had a very great share in the administration, in this and the two former reigns; tho' 'tis said, that the King, for some time before, did not shew that regard to her advice as he used to do; which proceeded possibly from the discoveries he made of her promoting the designs of the leaguers underhand.

The death of the Duke of Guise was so far from terrifying the Parisians, that their council of sixteen, and their bigotted preachers, incited the mob to revenge themselves on their Sovereign by all the ways imaginable: they defaced his statues and pictures, publish'd the most scandalous invectives against him, and proposed it to the faculty of theology as a case of conscience, whether the people of France might not take up arms, raise money, and unite in the defence of the Catholick religion, against a Prince who had violated the publick faith at the assembly of the States, and whether this did not discharge them from their oaths of allegiance? which was resolv'd in the affirmative. After this, they no more gave him the title of King, or mention'd him in their publick prayers, but as a perjur'd, excommunicated person, an heretick, and the most detestable of mankind. They swore upon a crucifix never to depart from the League, but to pursue, with the utmost vengeance, all that had been concern'd in the death of the Duke or Cardinal de Guise. They declared the Duke of Maine Lieutenant-General of the royal state and crown of France; and vested him with almost sovereign authority. The King hereupon found himself under a necessity of uniting his forces with the King of Navarre and the Protestants, who received him with open arms. The two Kings, after having secur'd the Cardinal de Bourbon in the castle of Chinon, and made themselves masters of some towns in their way, march'd and invested the city of Paris, into which the Duke of Maine had thrown himself (after some conquests he had made in Normandy) with a numerous garrison. The King took up his quarters during the siege at St. Cloud, and the King of Navarre at Meudon; and it was very likely,

The fury of the Leaguers against the King.

1589.

Paris besieged by the King.

CHAP. likely that the city of Paris would have been ob-
XXXIV. lig'd to surrender in a short time for want of pro-
visions; but JAMES CLEMENT, a young do-
minican fryar, who had been work'd up by the
preachers of Paris to a belief that it was lawful, and
even meritorious to deprive a tyrant of his life, and
especially a favourer of hereticks, as they had re-
presented his Majesty to be, found means to be ad-
mitted to the King, by virtue of credential letters
which he pretended he had brought from HAR-
LAY the first president of the parliament of Paris.
While his Majesty was examining these credentials,
having only two persons with him in his closet,
from whom he withdrew to a little distance on
the monk's telling him that he had something to
say to him in private, the villain, at that instant,
drew a knife out of his sleeve, and having stabb'd
the King in the belly with it, left it there: his
Majesty took the knife out of the wound himself,
and struck the assassin in the eye with it, who was
immediately knock'd down and cut in pieces by
the guards, who came running in on hearing the
noise, and he was afterwards thrown out of the
window.

The King
assassinated.

He leaves
the crown to
the King of
Navarre.

The surgeons were immediately sent for, and
found the wound four fingers below the navel,
and about a finger's length, the gut, part of which
came out at the orifice, not being hurt; but the
pain, and a cold sweat which succeeded, with the
alteration of the King's pulse, gave little hopes of
his life. The King of Navarre therefore coming
to wait on his Majesty, he told him he left the
crown of France to him as his lawful successor,
but assur'd him he never would enjoy it quietly un-
less he became a Catholick, which he exhorted him
to be: after this he called for the Lords about the
court, and commanded them to acknowledge the
King of Navarre for their lawful Sovereign if he
did not recover, which they all swore to do. His
Majesty's fever increasing, he received the Viati-
cum, declaring he died in the faith of the catho-
lick apostolick Roman church, and afterwards
expired on the second of August about four in the
morning; in whom ended the branch of Angou-
leme, which was a part of the house of Orleans,
and all the race of Valois, who had sway'd the
scepter for two hundred and sixty years, and now
left it to HENRY King of Navarre, of the family
of Bourbon, stiled HENRY the Fourth.

Henry IV,
1589.

HENRY of Bourbon deriv'd his pedigree from
ROBERT Count of Clermont, Lord of Bourbon,
the fifth and youngest son of ST. LEWIS. He
was the head of the branch of Bourbon-Ven-
dome, and nearest in blood to the crown after
the extinction of the house of Valois, by the death
of HENRY III.

The late King was no sooner dead, but the
popish Lords about the court came to his Majesty
with the Duke of Longueville at their head, and

press'd him to profess the Roman catholick reli-
gion: to whom the King answered, that he was
not obstinate in his present persuasion, but that so
sudden a change would induce all considering men
to think that he had in reality no religion at all,
and that they must give him time to consider of
a point of such importance; with which answer
many of the popish Lords were satisfied, and took
the oaths of allegiance upon his Majesty's promiss-
ing to support the catholick religion: but there
were others, of whom the Duke of Espernon was
the chief, who retir'd with their troops in discon-
tent into their respective provinces, and left the
King's army so thin that he was soon obliged to
raise the siege of Paris; and had not the body
of Swiss been kept in good humour by the address
of the Marshal DE BIRON, he would have run
a great risk of falling into the hands of his enemies.

Some of the
King's
troops desert
him on ac-
count of his
being a Pro-
testant.

The Parisians were so elated at the desertion
they observed among the King's troops, that they
talk'd of nothing less than setting up another upon
the throne. They look'd upon JAMES CLE-
MENT as a martyr to their cause, comparing
him to EHUD, and others whom God had rais'd
up to deliver his people the Jews from the tyranny
of their oppressors. The Duke of Maine made his
advantages of the fury he saw the people in.
He wrote to the towns and governments devoted
to the League, exhorting them to improve the op-
portunities that providence had put into their hands
for the advancement of religion, which he in-
sinuated was upon the point of being extirpated.
He wrote also to the bigotted King of Spain,
desiring him to support them with his forces,
whereby he might prevent heresy gaining a supe-
riority in France, as it had done in England and
Germany.

The King in the mean time finding his army
so much weaken'd by desertion, put garrisons into
the most considerable towns in his interest, and
with a very small body of horse and foot, bent
his march towards Diep in Normandy, to wait
for a reinforcement that was promis'd him by the
Queen of England. The army of the League
being increas'd at this juncture to thirty thousand
men, the Duke of Maine follow'd his Majesty
into Normandy, and finding him intrench'd a-
bout a league from Diep, attack'd him very brisk-
ly, but was repuls'd with very great loss. It is
not to be conceiv'd what a reputation this success
gave his Majesty at the beginning of his reign:
his friends magnified his courage and conduct to
the last degree, and his enemies were sufficiently
terrified, when they had seen him with an army
of seven or eight thousand men defeat one of four
times that number. Soon after this battle the
King being join'd by four thousand English and
some national troops, march'd and invested Paris
again, to the no small surprize of the citizens,

The Lea-
guers defeat-
ed near Diep.

Queen Ell-
zabeth sends
a reinforce-
ment to the
French K.

H A P. who had been made to believe that if he was not
 XXIV. fled beyond sea into England, they should have
 seen him at this time led as a prisoner through
 their streets in triumph by the Duke of Maine.
 The King attack'd the suburbs and carried them,
 and was very near entering the town itself with
 the flying enemy; but the Duke of Maine throw-
 ing himself into the city with an army equal,
 if not superiour to the King's, his Majesty drew
 off his troops, and marching to Touraine, and
 from thence into Normandy, made himself master
 of a great many considerable towns. This Prince's
 moderation, (says my author) the exact discipline
 he made his soldiers observe, the care he took to
 prevent the plunder of the churches, and preserve
 the privileges of the clergy, contributed very much
 to those sudden conquests he made.

The Lea-
 guers pro-
 claim Car-
 dinal Bour-
 bon King.

In the mean time the Leaguers observing that
 the want of royal authority was a considerable dis-
 advantage to their cause, proposed the setting up
 a King in whose name they might act. But in
 this they were very much divided. The Spaniards
 proposed the marrying some Prince to the Infanta,
 and declaring them King and Queen of France;
 the Duke of Lorraine made interest for his son,
 and the Duke of Guise would gladly have usurp'd
 the throne himself, but he did not think his in-
 terest strong enough to carry that point, and there-
 fore set up CHARLES Cardinal of Bourbon, the
 next in blood to the crown, if the Protestant
 Princes were excluded. He was a poor decrepid
 old man, and imprison'd by the royal party at that
 time, and therefore could be of no other use to
 the Leaguers than by affording them his name,
 and keeping out a foreigner, whom the Spaniards
 and some of the most furious of that party had
 agreed to set up. The Cardinal was accordingly
 proclaim'd, all publick acts run in his name, and
 he is by some historians stiled CHARLES the
 Tenth, but not generally placed in the catalogue
 of their Kings; this perhaps would have been dis-
 agreeable to the present royal family, who look
 upon themselves to have been possess'd of the throne
 of France ever since the death of HENRY III.

Misunder-
 standings be-
 tween them.

This struggle about the choice of a Sovereign a-
 mong the Leaguers, set the King of Spain and the
 Duke of Maine at variance. The council of six-
 teen at Paris, and all the furious part of the Lea-
 guers, were in the interest of Spain; while the par-
 liament and the politicians, as the more moderate
 were call'd, follow'd the directions of the Duke.
 The King of Spain made large promises of assist-
 ance to the Leaguers, but afforded them no more
 from time to time than he thought was necessary
 to keep them from sinking, that they might find
 themselves under a necessity at last of throwing
 themselves under his protection; and by this means
 he propos'd, either to give France a sovereign, or
 to unite that kingdom to his own. The Duke

of Maine, on the other hand, endeavour'd to CHAI
 strengthen himself against the King by the re-in-XXXIV
 forcements he receiv'd from Spain, but never de-
 sign'd to put himself or the kingdom in the power
 of this Prince: and these different views occasion'd
 both parties to have a jealous eye on each other.
 The Duke found means at length to dissolve the
 Council of Sixteen, which had given him the
 greatest uneasiness, and took upon himself the ex-
 ercise of the whole regal power, under colour of
 his being elected Lieutenant of the kingdom at the
 same time the Cardinal DE BOURBON, in whose
 name he acted, was proclaim'd King. His au-
 thority being thus establish'd, in order to procure
 the esteem of the Parisians, he took the field and
 made himself master of Pontoyse, the castle of Vin-
 cennes, and Meulan; and the King having be-
 sieg'd Dreux, a town of importance, he imme-
 diately march'd to its relief; whereupon a battle
 was fought on the fourteenth of March, 1590,
 near Ivry, in which the Duke of Maine was en-
 tirely defeated, and the King gain'd abundance of
 honour, as his army was much inferiour in numbers
 to that of the enemy. The same day the King's
 troops in Auvergne obtain'd another victory over
 the Leaguers.

Upon these repeated successes, several towns
 open'd their gates to his Majesty, and 'tis thought
 if he had march'd immediately to Paris, that city
 would have surrendered; but the Swiss mutinying
 for want of pay, he was forc'd to remain inactive
 for some time, and the people had pretty well re-
 cover'd their consternation before his Majesty in-
 vested the town: it was, however, at length block'd
 up, and the Royalists having made themselves
 masters of all the rivers above and below Paris,
 so that no provision could be brought thither, the
 place was reduc'd to great extremity by famine;
 for the King's army not consisting of above fifteen
 or sixteen thousand men, and there being eight
 thousand foreign soldiers in the place, besides a
 great many thousand citizens who were so well
 disciplin'd by the continuance of the civil war,
 that they were not much inferiour to regular forces,
 the King did not propose to make himself master
 of the city itself any other way than by starving it,
 tho' he had carried the suburbs and quarter'd his
 soldiers in them. The besieged, to supply the
 want of other food, eat dogs, cats, rats and lea-
 ther, and, 'tis said, made a kind of paste of dead-
 men's bones ground to powder; so zealous were
 they in defence of their superstitions, which,
 they imagined, would be abolish'd if the King
 should take the town. The Duke of Nemours,
 the Governour, is much admir'd for the many
 expedients he found out to keep up the spirits of
 the people in this distress; notwithstanding there
 was so great a scarcity of provision, he took care
 to see those supply'd who were in the greatest re-
 putation

CHAP. XXXIV. putation among the people, that they might keep up the courage of the rest. The Governour also persuaded the nobility and wealthy citizens to sell their plate and jewels to supply the soldiers wants, and the Spanish Ambassador imitated them; nor did the Duke of Nemours fail to make his advantage of the madness and bigotry of the clergy and religious, the preachers were extremely useful to him in declaiming against heresy, and the King as the great supporter of it; they assured the people that they fought in the cause of heaven, that those of them who surviv'd would infallibly be conquerors, and if they died under their sufferings, they would be rewarded with the crown of martyrdom: in short, according to the Turkish doctrine, they might depend upon glory in this world or paradise in the next. And thus the courage of the Parisians was buoy'd up by their leaders, till the Duke of Parma, the Spanish General, came from the Netherlands with an army of veterans to their relief, who being join'd by the Duke of Guise, the army of the Leaguers was much superiour to that of the Royalists, and his Majesty found himself under a necessity of raising the siege; after which he divided his forces, sending detachments into the several provinces to support his interests, and only kept a flying army about his person, to march wherever his presence should be most necessary, and harass the enemy. The Duke of Parma having introduc'd a sufficient quantity of provisions into Paris, and taken some towns upon the Seine which open'd their communication with the neighbouring country, return'd to Flanders, leaving a large detachment of his forces with the Duke of Guise and the Leaguers.

While the two principal armies were employ'd in the attacking or relieving Paris, the civil war was carried on with great fury in other parts of the kingdom: the Royalists had generally the advantage in Maine, where several bloody engagements happen'd: on the other hand, the Duke of Mercœur, one of the heads of the League, having married a lady whom he pretended to be a descendant of the antient Dukes of Britany, attempted to make himself Sovereign of that province in her right, and being assisted in his pretensions by the Spaniards, the Leaguers became much superiour to the King's forces there. At the other end of the kingdom, the Duke of Savoy made himself master of great part of Provence, and attempted the conquest of Dauphiné, but was defeated in several engagements by LESDIGUIERES the King's General. The Duke at first only assisted the Leaguers, but having got footing in France, claim'd the sovereignty of what he possess'd himself of. So that there were three armies in this part of the kingdom in as many different interests, and consequently, the inhabitants miserably harass'd amongst them.

About this time died the Cardinal DE BOURBON, whom the Leaguers had acknowledged for their King by the name of CHARLES the Tenth, and notwithstanding the Duke of Maine deriv'd his authority from this pretended Prince, his death made no alteration in their affairs, the Duke of Maine continued to exercise sovereign authority over his party as before. The same year died Pope SIXTUS V, who was succeeded by URBAN the Seventh; but this Pontiff not living above thirteen days, GREGORY the Fourteenth was advanc'd to the papal chair, a person entirely devoted to the Spanish interest and the League: he sent them forces and money, excommunicated the King and all that adher'd to him, depriv'd him of his dominions, as far as lay in his power, and absolv'd his subjects from their allegiance. These violent proceedings of his Holiness gave the Royalists some disturbance, but the divisions among the Leaguers made them an ample amends: the council of Sixteen, after the siege of Paris and the absence of the Duke of Maine, had regain'd their former authority and influence, and were become so arbitrary, that they hang'd up the first President of the parliament and two other members of that body without bringing them to a trial; which so terrified the principal citizens, who began to look upon their lives as very precarious under such a tyranny, that they sent to the Duke of Maine to march to their relief. The Sixteen did design to have oppos'd his entrance into Paris, but he was so expeditious, that he arriv'd before they had taken their measures to prevent it; and having call'd an assembly in the Hotel de Ville, and heard the complaints of the citizens on this head, he caus'd four or five of the principal members of the Council of Sixteen to be apprehended that night, and hang'd them in the hall of the Louvre; some others who had been equally criminal escap'd out of town: and tho' the Duke establish'd his authority for the present by this act of justice, the greatest advantage accrue'd to the Royalists, who gathered strength by the misunderstandings among the Leaguers.

In the mean time both parties having call'd in foreign troops to their assistance, the Pope's nephew, the Duke of Monte Marciano, march'd from Italy at the head of ten thousand Italians and Swiss to join the Leaguers. The Queen of England on the other hand sent the King a supply of money, ammunition, and six thousand men, and the Protestant Princes of Germany furnish'd him with another body of troops; whereupon his Majesty laid siege to Rouen, but was oblig'd to raise it by the Duke of Parma, who again march'd into France at the head of a powerful army of Spaniards and Walloons on this occasion. The King's forces under the command of LESDIGUIERES in Dauphiné

CHAP. XXXIV. The Cardinal de Bourbon dies.

1591.

Both parties call in foreign forces.

1592.

The King forc'd to raise the siege of Rouen.

CHAP. phiné and Provence had much better success, driv-
XXXIV. ing the Duke of Savoy out of those provinces, and
carrying the war into his own country.

1593.

The King
declares
himself a
Roman Ca-
tholick.

The year 1593 was more memorable for the meeting of the States at Paris than for military exploits. The King of Spain had oblig'd the Duke of Guise to assemble them (at least such of them as were not in his Majesty's interest) in order to chuse a Sovereign, or rather to confirm one of his nomination; for he insisted that the person whom the Infanta of Spain married should be their monarch, and afterwards let them know that he design'd the Archduke ALBERT for her husband: but most of the chiefs of the League oppos'd him. The King so far acknowledg'd this assembly of the States, (though no such body could be legally conven'd without his summons) that he permitted the Catholicks of his party to invite those at Paris to a conference upon the affairs of religion and the state; which being agreed on accordingly, the commissioners on both sides met at Surienne, a village about a league and half from Paris; and the King, to facilitate matters, thought fit about this time to declare himself a Catholick, at which the Protestants being alarm'd, he gave them a promise under his hand, that whatever the necessity of his affairs might oblige him to, they should be secur'd in the profession of their religion and liberties pursuant to former edicts. A truce was soon after concluded between the Royalists and the Leaguers, and the King made his abjuration of the Protestant religion openly in the abbey of St. Dennis, on the twenty-fifth of July 1593, of which he sent advice to all the parliaments in the kingdom. He also sent an Ambassador to the Pope, to desire absolution, and to be reconciled to the church. His Holiness was extremely pleas'd with the news of his conversion, but refus'd to give the Ambassador audience for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Spaniard.

Whereupon
many towns
declare for
him.

1594.

The King's declaring himself a Catholick had a mighty effect on the people in general, and the cities of Meaux, Lyons, Orleans, Bourges, and many others, soon after surrender'd to him; upon which success the King was crown'd, or consecrated, in the French phrase, at Chartres, on the twenty-seventh of February 1594; and instead of the holy oil of Rheims, which was then in possession of the Leaguers, they made use of that which is kept in the convent of Marmoutier, and suppos'd to confer equal blessings on the Sovereign. Soon after this solemnity, the gentlemen of the other party deserted over to him in troops, and all the great towns seem'd ready to declare for him. The Duke of Guise observing the like inclinations in the people of Paris, thought it no longer safe to reside amongst them, and therefore retir'd from thence with his family to prevent his being deliver'd up to his enemies; but before he left the town, he

procur'd a promise from the Count DE BRISSAC CHA the Governour, to have a watchful eye over the XXXII Royalists, and do all that was in his power to defend the place against them. BRISSAC notwithstanding observing that the kingdom was generally dispos'd to submit to his Majesty, and that it would not be in his power long to hinder the revolt of the city, agreed with the commissioners appointed to treat with him to deliver it up into the King's hands, which was effected on the twenty-second of March, with some little resistance from the Spanish forces who were in garrison here, of whom there were about three or four-score kill'd, the rest were permitted to return to their own country. VILLARS, Governour of Rouen, follow'd the example of BRISSAC, and surrender'd that city to his Majesty, making advantageous terms for himself, as the Governours of the rest of the great cities had done who were so wise as to submit in time. The great men in such revolutions as these generally have foresight enough to make their own fortunes, whatever becomes of the cause or the people they have deluded. The young Duke of Guise came to an accommodation with his Majesty the same year. There were some desperado's however left among the malecontents, who could never patiently submit to a Prince whom they were perswaded was still a heretick in his heart, and whom they had been taught it would be meritorious to destroy. One of these having got into the presence-chamber while his Majesty was surrounded by the Lords of the court, made his way through them, and stabb'd his Majesty in the mouth with a knife, and had he not stoop'd forward at that very instant to salute a Nobleman, the knife had been in his breast; but the greatest damage he receiv'd by the blow, as it happen'd, was the loss of one of his teeth. The assassin was a draper's son of Paris, who being examin'd concerning the fact, confess'd that he had receiv'd his education among the Jesuits; from whence and other circumstances, it was concluded he had been encourag'd to commit this villainous attempt by that order; at which the King's friends were so exasperated, that they procur'd an edict for banishing them the kingdom. One, of whom they had the greatest suspicion, was put to death, and others were imprison'd, without ever having been heard in their defence, if we may believe their friend DANIEL.

Paris deli-
vered up to
the King by
Brissac the
Governour.

An assassin
attempts to
murder the
King.

The King receiving very little hurt by the blow 1595.
the assassin gave him, soon after took the field in order to reduce the Duke of Maine, who was still at the head of an army in the province of Burgundy, of which he was Governour; and the Duke declining to come to an engagement, most of the towns revolted to his Majesty. The King afterwards march'd into Provence, where the Leaguers were still in arms, and met with the like success.

CHAP. XXXIV. The Pope apprehending that the whole kingdom was upon the point of submitting to his Majesty, thought fit to send him his bull of absolution, which was publish'd with great solemnity, and the King from that time esteem'd a true son of the church.

In the mean time the King's arms were unsuccessful in the Netherlands; the Spaniards made themselves masters of Cambray, Dourlens, and several other fortresses; and the Duke of Mercœur still maintain'd himself in Britany, against the utmost efforts of the Royalists. On the other hand, a peace was concluded this year between the King and the Duke of Lorraine, whereby France was deliver'd from the miseries of war on that side. The Protestants could not conceal their uneasiness, however, at the partiality that was shewn the Catholics, and what made them more so was his Majesty's taking the young Prince of Condé out of their hands, who was the presumptive heir of the crown, in order to breed him up a Papist; but this, it seems, was one of the conditions on which the church of Rome was reconcil'd to him, and granted him absolution.

1596.
The D. of
Maine
and other
Princes sub-
mit. The year 1596 was remarkable for the submission of the Duke of Maine, the Duke of Joyeuse, the Duke of Nemours and several other great men, to whom the King was pleas'd to grant very advantageous conditions, in order to restore peace to his dominions. He seems to have been govern'd by the same principle the court of England was at the restoration, of forgiving and preferring his enemies, while his friends, many of them, were left in a starving condition. It was thought sufficient for the Protestants, who had run all hazards for him, and supported him in the most calamitous circumstances with their lives and estates, that they were permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and that but for a little time. That very house of Bourbon, which they rais'd to the grandeur we see it at this day, in a few years ungratefully destroy'd that people which had advanc'd them to the throne, and lavishly squander'd away their possessions upon those men that had been the most obstinate rebels to their family. From this, and many other instances of the like nature, methinks men would do well to consider before they engage in the quarrel of any Prince upon earth; and if they do it out of principle rather than affection or interest, let them expect no other reward than what usually attends on such uncommon virtue. But to proceed: The city of Marseilles, which had, during the civil war, set up for an independent State under the protection of the King of Spain, and had a Spanish garrison in it, was about this time reduc'd to the King's obedience by the conduct of the Duke of Guise, who kept a correspondence with some of the leading citizens; whereupon the Duke of Es-

pernon, who was at the head of a body of male-contents in that part of France, was induc'd to lay down his arms, and was receiv'd into favour, notwithstanding he had continued long obstinate to all the offers of peace the King had made him.

The Spaniards were still superiour to the French on the side of the Netherlands and Picardy, and took from them this campaign the towns of Calais and Ardres, which occasion'd an offensive and defensive alliance between France, England, and Holland against Spain. The King's ill success in Picardy is charg'd upon the obstinacy of the Hugonots (by their enemies) who refus'd to assist him in that war; but admitting this to be true, they seem to have had sufficient reason for their discontents; they found themselves under great discouragements, while those who had been the greatest enemies to the crown, were possess'd of the most considerable employments in the State: but from what occasion soever the King's ill success proceeded, the Spaniards remain'd masters of the field in the year 1597, and took Amiens the capital of Pi-
1597. cardy, though 'tis true the King had the good fortune to retake it the same campaign; and about this time LESDIGUIERES obtain'd a victory over the Duke of Savoy, who still refus'd to hearken to proposals of peace.

The following year the King march'd at the head of his army into Britany, and reduc'd that province to his obedience, obliging the Duke of Mercœur, who had commanded the forces of the League, and made some pretensions to that duchy in his wife's right, to surrender to him in form; whereupon the King was pleas'd to marry CÆSAR, one of his illegitimate sons, to the Duke's only daughter, and give him the government of that province. By the submission of Mercœur the League was entirely destroy'd; and while the King remain'd at Nants the capital of Britany, to satisfy the Hugonots in some measure, he pass'd that famous irrevocable edict, as the French Protestants term it, call'd THE EDICT OF
The edict
of Nants
pass'd. NANTS; whereby they were secur'd in the free exercise of their religion in all parts of the kingdom, except Paris and the neighbourhood of it.

This year also a peace was concluded at Ver-
vins in Picardy between France and Spain, whereby the Spaniards restor'd Calais, Ardres and the rest of the towns they had taken on the frontiers of France, and Spain was confirm'd in the possession of the county of Charolois in Burgundy. The Duke of Savoy thought it time also to conclude a truce now France had no other enemy; and was content to relinquish all the conquests he had made during the civil war in Provence and Dauphiné; whereby HENRY the Fourth became entire master of all the French dominions.

The King was now at leisure to indulge his pleasures, especially with the ladies; and indeed
1598.

CHAP. he was never without a variety of mistresses, even
 XXXIV. in his most calamitous circumstances. This seems
 to be a foible which most of his predecessors were
 guilty of; but he proceeded farther, and solicited
 the court of Rome for a dissolution of his mar-
 riage with Queen MARGARET, sister to King
 HENRY the Third, with whom he had lived for
 many years, under pretence she was forced to marry
 him by her brother CHARLES the Ninth, and
 as she was prevail'd upon to give her consent to it,
 the Pope made no scruple to declare the marriage
 null; whereupon the King found himself at li-
 berty to look out for another, by whom he might
 have issue, for he despair'd of having any by this.
 The Duchess of Beaufort, his mistress, dying a-
 bout the same time, he drew up with Madam
 D'ENTRAGUES, and proceeded so far as to give
 her a promise of marriage under his hand, which
 created him very great difficulties afterwards, for
 he married MARY of Medicis, daughter of FRAN-
 CIS late Duke of Tuscany, and niece to FER-
 DINAND the reigning Duke, the following year;
 and having children by her, their legitimacy was
 disputed by some on account of the pre-contract
 with Madam D'ENTRAGUES. In the mean time
 the truce with the Duke of Savoy was turn'd into
 a peace, whereby he yielded Bresse, comprehending
 Bugey and Le val Romey to the King, in ex-
 change for the marquisate of Saluces, which he re-
 tain'd; whereby France was entirely freed from
 foreign as well as civil wars, with which she had
 been afflicted for many years.

1600.

1601.
 A Dauphin
 born.

Marshal Bi-
 ron's conspi-
 racy.

A Dauphin being born on the twenty-seventh
 of September 1601, it occasion'd a great deal of
 joy in the French court, which was however in-
 terrupted by a conspiracy form'd by the Marquis
 of Biron, the Duke of Bouillon, the Count
 d'Auvergne, and several others of the prime no-
 bility, who had laid a scheme to erect the great go-
 vernments of France into so many principalities,
 which were to be no further dependent on the
 King, than the Princes of the Empire are on the
 Emperor. And 'tis said, they had agreed to depose
 the present King, and set the Count de Soissons, a
 Prince of the blood, upon the throne: and they
 were to have been supported in this enterprize by
 the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy.

1602.

LA FIN, a confidant of Marshal BIRON, dis-
 cover'd the whole matter to the King; where-
 upon his Majesty sent for the Marshal to court, and
 told him that if he would make a full confession,
 it should cost him nothing but the repentance of
 his faults: but he having been assured by LA FIN
 that there was no evidence against him, answer'd
 in a haughty manner, that he had no need of a
 pardon for he had committed no fault. The King,
 'tis said, having no mind to destroy him, spoke to
 him in the same manner the next day, after he
 had given him time to consider of it, but could

obtain no other answer; whereupon he order'd him
 to prison, where he was put to the torture, and
 afterwards condemn'd and executed. The King
 pardon'd the Count d'Auvergne, as 'tis said he
 design'd to have done the Duke of Bouillon;
 but he not caring to venture it, fled first to Ge-
 neva, and afterwards to the court of the Elector
 Palatine, for he was a Protestant. The crime
 must certainly have been very great, and the evi-
 dence exceeding plain, or the King could never
 have taken away the life of BIRON, a man who had
 done him more service than any person in the king-
 dom; he had commanded his armies from first to
 last, and generally been successful: but great men
 frequently take disgust unaccountably; and Princes
 as often take an occasion to ruin their officers and
 ministers who have been most serviceable to them,
 either thro' pique, or an apprehension that they as-
 sume too much, when in reality they have been guilty
 of no more than common failings. But however
 the fact was, 'tis impossible to read this piece of hi-
 story, without being sensibly griev'd to see the man
 who had the greatest share in fixing his Prince
 upon the throne, and had accomplish'd it by innu-
 merable hazards and hardships, ruin'd in a mo-
 ment by that very Prince, and those who were
 his Majesty's greatest enemies, loaded with all the
 favours and honours he could bestow upon them.

The year 1603 was most remarkable for the res-
 toration of the Jesuits in France, and the death of
 the Queen of England, who was succeeded by
 JAMES the Sixth of Scotland, and First of England,
 by virtue of an instrument (if we may credit the
 French historians) in which Queen ELIZABETH
 appointed him her successor: but this instrument
 I believe no Englishman ever saw. The French
 and Dutch renew'd their alliances with England
 on this occasion, in order to put themselves in a
 condition to oppose the power of Spain, which was
 then look'd upon to be as exorbitant and dangerous
 as that of France prov'd afterwards.

Not long after another conspiracy was discover'd
 against his Majesty, in which the Spaniards had,
 'tis said, engag'd the King's mistress Madam D'EN-
 TRAGUES and her father, with the Count d'Au-
 vergne and others; but he pardon'd them all,
 which gave some people occasion to suspect it to be
 a sham plot, especially since the King contented
 himself with only taking away the written instru-
 ment from Monsieur D'ENTRAGUES which he
 had given him, containing a promise to marry his
 daughter, and which the Spaniards gave out they
 would one day make use of against the issue he had
 by his Queen. But there were another set of con-
 spirators who had agreed to deliver up Guienne and
 Gascony to the King of Spain, who did not expe-
 rience so much mercy, for he order'd ten of the
 principal of them to be beheaded. The Baron de
 Mairargues also, one of the most considerable
 Lords.

1604.
 Several con-
 spiracies a-
 gainst the
 governm.

CHAP.
 XXXIV.
 He is exe-
 cuted.

CHAP. XXXIV. Lords in Provence, was the next year beheaded for treating with the Spaniards to deliver up Mar-seilles to them. Thus was this Prince exercis'd with continual plots after the conclusion of the civil war till the year 1604: from that time to the end of this reign the nation seems to have enjoy'd perfect tranquillity; unless it be that in 1609 the King enter'd into a confederacy with the Dutch, to prevent the Archduke ALBERT's possessing himself of the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. But his Majesty pursu'd his amorous intrigues to the last moment of his life. The Prince of Condé was so alarm'd at the complaisance he shew'd his spouse, daughter to the Constable MONTMORENCY, that he carried her away with him on a sudden to the Low Countries, and afterwards to Milan, and did not think fit to return into France till after the King's death.

1610.
The King
assassinated. The latter end of this year and part of the next was taken up with raising a numerous army, suppos'd to be design'd against the house of Austria; but the villain RAVAILLAC, a monk, put an end to this and all other designs of this great King, by stabbing him to the heart in his coach in the streets of Paris, on the fourteenth of May 1610. The assassin was taken with the knife in his hand, and afterwards put to the torture in order to compel him to discover his accomplices; but his confession was part of it made a secret: some charge the Spaniards, and even the Queen with being concern'd in it, to which they tell us she was provok'd by his being false to her bed; but this seems to be mere conjecture. It is much more probable to be done by this enthusiastical friar on the score of religion, to which he apprehended the King an enemy; for it is observ'd that he had escap'd from above fifty conspiracies, most of them contrived by priests or votaries of popery, who question'd the sincerity of his conversion. He died in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign, as King of Navarre; and in the twenty-first year after his accession to the throne of France.

His issue. He had no children by Queen MARGARET, sister of HENRY the Third; but by his second wife MARY de Medicis he had three sons, viz. LEWIS the Thirteenth, who succeeded him; the Duke of Orleans his second son, who died at four years of age; and GASTON-JOHN-BAPTIST, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Duke of Orleans, who surviv'd him many years. He had also three daughters, namely, ELIZABETH, married to the Prince of Spain, afterwards PHILIP the Fourth; CHRISTINA, married to VICTOR-AMADEUS, afterwards Duke of Savoy; and HENRIETTA, married to CHARLES the First, King of England. He had besides these, natural children in abundance by his several mistresses.

CHAP. XXXIV. LEWIS the Thirteenth was almost nine years of

age at the death of his father, being born on the 27th of September, 1601. The Queen Dowager his mother was advis'd by her friends in the ministry to dry up her tears as soon as possible, and procure herself to be declar'd regent during the minority of her son in the absence of the Princes of the blood. The Dukes of Guise and Espernon, noblemen of an unbounded ambition, thought that in doing the Queen so singular a piece of service, as she was a stranger, and unacquainted with the art of government, they should thereby entirely engross the administration of affairs in their own hands. Having assembled therefore the prévost of the merchants, the sheriffs, and other magistrates of Paris, they harangu'd them in such a manner, that they gave their consents to the Queen's being declar'd regent, and the parliament follow'd their example; though there were some in the assembly who lamented the misfortune of their country, in being left at the discretion of an Italian, a profuse and unexperienc'd regent, who would probably be influenc'd by GALIGAI and CONCHINI her husband, the Queen's chief confidants, and creatures of the court of Spain, and who were suspected of suborning RAVAILLAC to assassinate his late Majesty.

The Count de Soissons, second Prince of the blood, was extremely surpriz'd to find the regency dispos'd of on his arrival at Paris; but the Queen gave him the government of Normandy to pacify him. The Dukes of Guise and Espernon, who had been so serviceable at this juncture, she rewarded according to their respective inclinations and circumstances. To Guise, who wanted money to pay his debts the most of any thing in the world, she gave two hundred thousand crowns. The haughty Espernon she loaded with honours, order'd him an apartment in the Louvre, and that the Secretaries of State should communicate all their dispatches to him.

In the mean time the parliament were taken up with the trial of RAVAILLAC. The trial of Ravallac. By the interrogatories and depositions that are left upon record, it appears that he was an enthusiast, and apprehending that the King was about to make war on the Pope, and encouraged the Hugonots, he took up the resolution of killing him. He had imbibed an opinion, that it was lawful for any private man to kill his Prince if he was an enemy to his Holiness. He told the judges that to make war against the Pope was to make war against God, because the Pope was God, and God was the Pope. He constantly averr'd to his last breath, that no man, neither French or foreigner, had incited him to commit this murder. He was broke alive upon the wheel on the 27th of May, in pursuance of his sentence. The same day the parliament order'd the faculty of Paris to revive their censure against those who teach, That a private subject may and ought

CHAP. XXXIV. ought to destroy tyrants by all the ways they can, and that such an action is not contrary to the oath of allegiance the subject takes. And however clear the Jesuits may be of the late King's murder, the preachers at Paris inveigh'd severely against them at the time of his funeral.

The match with Spain propos'd.

It was propos'd at the beginning of this reign to proceed in the double match with Spain, that had been concerted in the time of HENRY IV; namely, of the present King with the Infanta, and of the Prince of Spain with the eldest daughter of France: The Queen being prepossess'd by the Italians about her, whom the Court of Spain had corrupted, laid it down as a maxim that the establishment of her authority depended on a good understanding with the Pope and King of Spain. The court of Rome did not doubt to find their account in this double alliance, as believing it the most effectual way to ruin the Protestants: as the one destroy'd them in Germany and the Low Countries, they projected that the other might extirpate the Hugonots in France, if they were united in their councils. The Queen however in order to keep all quiet in the beginning of her administration, thought fit to issue a proclamation confirming the edict of Nants, and to relinquish or lessen several of the taxes which were grievous to the subject, particularly that of salt was abated a fourth part.

While things were in this situation, the Prince of Condé return'd to court from Milan, whither he had retir'd with his wife to prevent the late King's abusing his bed. The Spaniards upon the death of HENRY the Fourth would have persuaded him to take the title of King, insinuating that the marriage of his late Majesty with MARY of Medicis was void, on account of his former marriage with the Princess MARGARET, who was then living, and his contract with Madam D'ENTRAGUES, and consequently his issue by MARY were illegitimate: but the Prince slighted the proposal, chusing to rest satisfied with his present circumstances rather than hazard all in the uncertain pursuit of a crown. He shew'd the same moderation or meanness of spirit, as some were pleased to term it, on his arrival at Paris; when the Dukes of Bouillon and Sully, and other chiefs of the Protestants, offered to assist him in obtaining the regency, and removing his enemies from about the King, he suffer'd the Queen quietly to enjoy the regency he found her possess'd of. It is observed of him, that his avarice much exceeded his ambition. He continued however for some time head of a party, in opposition to Count Soissons; CONCHINI, now Marquis d'Ancre, the Queen's favourite, playing one of these Princes against the other, that they might not be at leisure to animadvert on his conduct, and made himself the umpire of their differences: however, he seem'd to court the favour of the Prince of Condé most.

Conchini sets the Princes of the blood at variance.

The Emperor, upon the death of the last Duke of Cleves and Juliers, designing to annex those countries to his hereditary dominions, had sent the Archduke LEOPOLD to take possession of them, under pretence of sequestering them till the several claimants should have made out their respective titles. He possess'd himself accordingly of the strong city of Juliers; but the French and Dutch, whose interest it was to prevent the aggrandizing of the house of Austria, laid siege to Juliers, and took it, delivering it into the hands of the Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Newburgh, who pretended to it by virtue of their having married two of the daughters of that house: and thus these countries became involv'd in the war of the Netherlands, to which they lie contiguous. But to return to the French court: The favourite CONCHINI took care to keep the principal nobility at constant variance, to prevent their intermeddling too much in the administration; however, both Condé and Soissons united in getting the Duke of Sully disgrac'd, and Marshal DE BOUILLON, tho' a Protestant, contributed all he was able to have that great man remov'd from his posts of superintendant of the finances, &c. It was the misunderstandings between these Protestant Lords that at length proved their ruin. Their numbers and their quality were so considerable, that they could never have been depress'd, if they had not by their unseasonable quarrels done their enemies work for them.

The Protestants had been allow'd their general assemblies in the reign of HENRY the Fourth, where they used to draw up representations of their grievances, and elect six deputies, of whom the King chose two: these were constantly to attend the court, and take care that nothing pass'd to the disadvantage of their religion. Such an assembly was permitted to meet this year at Saumur by the Regency, at which the Dukes of Sully, Rohan, Trimouille, Soubize, Chatillon, la Force, and the Marshal BOUILLON were present, the last of which noblemen expected to have been chosen president; but being opposed by the rest, the choice fell upon the celebrated DU PLESSIS MORNAY, at which BOUILLON was so disgusted, that he is said to have done the Protestants many ill offices at court afterwards. This gentleman seems to have been more concern'd to render himself the head of a party, than to promote the interests of the religion he profess'd. The general assembly were so sensible of the ill consequence of these divisions among their chiefs, that they propos'd a reconciliation, and in outward appearance effected it between SULLY and BOUILLON, who seem'd to be the most exasperated against each other; but it did not prove sincere, at least on BOUILLON's part. This assembly not receiving any satisfactory answer to the representations they made of their grievances,

An assembly of the Protestants at Saumur.

The French and Dutch take the city of Juliers.

CHAP. XXXIV. grievances, renew'd their usual oath, namely, That they would die in defence of their faith, and never depart from their allegiance due to the King; with which they were afterwards reproached, as entering into a seditious engagement.

In the year 1612, the double marriage between France and Spain was agreed on. The Queen squander'd away incredible sums at the rejoicings that were made on this occasion, while the Protestants were under the utmost consternation, believing their ruin to be chiefly intended by this union of the two crowns. They endeavour'd therefore again to reconcile the Lords of their communion, and procur'd a promise from them to forget their former quarrels, and to assist each other as far as religion and their allegiance to their Prince would allow, and to do nothing that might prejudice the union and uniformity of the doctrine and discipline establish'd in the reformed churches of France. The Dukes of ROHAN and SULLY, the Marshals BOUILLON and LESDIGUIERES, CHATILLON, SOUBIZE, LA FORCE and DU PLESSIS MORNAY sign'd this agreement, and sent it to the Governours of the towns given them for their security, and to the gentlemen of distinction of their persuasion in the several provinces; who all subscrib'd this engagement.

The national assembly held in the year 1610, having been dissolv'd before they could obtain any redress of their grievances from the court, provincial assemblies were afterwards held without a license from the court, and two deputies from each of the eight provinces were sent to Paris, to solicit for favourable answer to the representation that had been made by the last national assembly; but the court refus'd to give them audience, under pretence that these provincial assemblies were illegal, not having been conven'd by the King's authority; and did not only prohibit the holding such assemblies for the future, but also national synods, where any other persons besides their preachers and elders should be present, or any thing treated of but what concern'd the doctrine and discipline of the reformed churches of France; and the general assemblies held since that of Saumur were declar'd unlawful. However, that those who had been at them might not be under any uneasiness, the King declar'd, that as he did not believe they had any ill design in attending those assemblies, he would grant them a pardon for it. The Protestants were more offended than pleas'd with this pardon: they insisted they had committed no crime; and at a national synod that was held this year at Privas, they made a solemn protestation, that the provincial assemblies had not been held illegally, and that the Reformed look'd on the pardon his Majesty had granted them as a disgrace, that they should never make use of it, and would disown such Protestants as did.

And the regency not caring to irritate the Hugonots at this time, publish'd another declaration in softer terms, which was call'd an explanation of the former.

The Prince of Condé finding himself slighted at court, and that CONCHINI had the administration solely in his hands, retir'd in disgust, and was follow'd by the Dukes of Nevers, Maine, Vendosme, Longueville, &c. The reasons they gave for their discontents were the wasting of the public revenues, the bestowing the highest dignities on foreigners and worthless persons, the arbitrary power of the ministry, the little regard had to the Princes of the blood and Peers of the kingdom, the controlling the parliaments in the exercise of their jurisdiction, the excessive price demanded for offices of judicature, the destruction of the nobility and oppression of the people, and the precipitate conclusion of the King's marriage before his coming of age. To these complaints, which were most of them just, were added some demands, such as the calling a convention of the Estates within three months, the suspending the King's marriage and his sister's, and the employing men of integrity about the King's person.

The Queen, in answer to this declaration, publish'd a manifesto, wherein she observes, that the covetousness of the Prince of Condé and the other great Lords, had forc'd her to consume a great part of the treasure left by the late King; that they continually form'd cabals and fomented insurrections, which oblig'd her to distribute money amongst them to keep them quiet; that the irresolution and softness of the Prince made him the tool of all the factious at court; that she was ready to assemble the States of the kingdom, and redress whatever was amiss; and in the conclusion, offer'd the malecontents terms of accommodation. She did not neglect, however, to raise a body of troops and strengthen herself, in order to give her commissioners the greater weight at the treaty which was agreed on. The Prince of Condé, on the other hand, assembled his friends, and invited the Protestants to join him; but they had no great opinion of his conduct, and generally excus'd themselves. At length a peace was concluded between the Court and the Prince of Condé; some of the malecontents accepted money and others preferments: as to the publick good, which was the pretence of the insurrection, that was neglected as usual. The convention of the Estates, which was the only thing of moment this treaty produc'd, was so modell'd and manag'd by the ministry, that they effected little of any moment. It was in this assembly that the famous RICHIEU, Bishop of Lucon, first appear'd upon the stage, being one of the representatives of the clergy, and had a commission to present a paper to the King

CHAP. XXXIV. 1614. The Prince of Condé, &c. cabal against the court.

An accommodation between the Court and the Prince.

Richieu first appears upon the stage.

CHAP. XXXIV. on the breaking up of the States, at the delivery whereof he made a speech of an hour long, and was heard with great attention.

1615. The people remain'd still generally discontented that none of their grievances were redress'd in the assembly of the States, and murmur'd that the Marshal d'Ancre had still the disposal of every thing. The parliament of Paris also publish'd an arret, wherein they invited the great men, and all that were well-affected to their country, to join them in maintaining the liberties of the nation. Whereupon the council issued a declaration in the King's name, making the said arret of parliament void, and prohibiting all people under severe penalties to intermeddle with affairs of state. The parliament not then used to such haughty treatment, presented a remonstrance to the King, wherein they took a great deal of freedom, and advis'd him not to make use of absolute commands in the first year of his majority; (for he was now in his fourteenth year.) The Prince of Condé, Marshal BOUILLON, and the rest of the malecontents also had again recourse to arms; but laid them down soon after upon advantageous conditions offer'd them by the court, leaving the Protestants who were their principal support to shift for themselves. This peace was called the treaty of Loudun, from its having been concluded there.

The court still remain'd in great confusion, and several removes were made of the great officers. Bishop RICHLIEU took this opportunity of soliciting the Marshal d'Ancre for some preferment, and having contracted a friendship with one of his creatures, procur'd the place of grand almoner to the Queen-confort ANNE of Austria. The Marshal finding him to be a man of parts, consulted him on the most important affairs, and at length advanc'd him to the degree of a privy counsellor and secretary of state. And it was by his advice, 'tis said, that he resolv'd to seize the Prince of Condé, and all the disaffected Lords; in pursuance of which, the Prince was actually made prisoner, and confin'd in the castle of Vincennes; but the rest had notice of the design against them, and made their escape.

1617. The Marshal had still so many enemies left, that by means of LUINES, who used to attend the King in his sports, and had some influence on him, they gave his Majesty a jealousy of this minister, and procur'd an order to take him off; though some say they were only to have apprehended him, and that the captain of the guards, who had a commission to seize the Marshal, shot him under a pretence of the resistance he met with. Thus fell CONCHINI, Marshal d'Ancre, a Florentine, after he had tyranniz'd over the French nobility and parliaments for near seven years, and inspir'd that court with arbitrary views; which his successors in the ministry so improv'd, that before

the end of this reign the French were in a manner depriv'd of their liberties.

Upon the death of Marshal d'Ancre all his creatures were turn'd out, particularly RICHLIEU: the old ministers resum'd their places. The Queen-mother was order'd to retire to Blois, where she was confin'd; and RICHLIEU serving her there in quality of steward of her house, LUINES, who succeeded CONCHINI in the King's favour, being apprehensive of the busy active genius of this prelate, order'd him to retire to Avignon. In the mean time he entertain'd the King with childish diversions, or exercises of devotion, to which this Prince was naturally addicted, while he govern'd the State in as despotick a manner as his predecessor CONCHINI had done, not suffering any person to approach his Majesty till he was acquainted with their business.

The year following the Queen-mother, by the assistance of the Duke of Espernon, made her escape from Blois; which gave LUINES great uneasiness, apprehending she would one time or other ruin him by her intrigues. RICHLIEU sending him a submissive letter about this time, and offering to serve this minister without reserve, he laid hold of the opportunity, and order'd him to attend the Queen again, and acquaint him from time to time with the measures she was about to take, but not to let her Majesty know he had any correspondence with the court; and according as he discharged this trust, gave him hopes of preferment.

This order RICHLIEU very readily obey'd, and play'd his game so well, that he was relied on by both parties, of which he afterwards made his advantage. The Queen particularly look'd upon him as her most faithful servant: that he had hazarded every thing to attend her in her distress, and therefore communicated her most important secrets to him. A treaty was soon after set on foot between the King and his mother, and all their differences in a manner adjusted; but RICHLIEU dissuaded her from going to Paris, unless she could be admitted into the administration as formerly. In the mean time LUINES apprehending he might want a support if the Queen-mother return'd, propos'd the making a friend of the Prince of Condé, by restoring him to his liberty; and accordingly procur'd it for him of the King, after he had been a prisoner upwards of three years: whereupon the Prince in gratitude promis'd to support his interests, and gave him all the assistance that lay in his power in the administration of the government. LUINES about the same time procur'd a patent to be made a Duke and Peer of France.

The Queen still remaining at a distance from court, was apply'd to by the Hugonots and disaffected Lords to oppose the arbitrary proceedings of the ministry; and her party at length became so numerous,

CHAP. XXXIV.

1618. Richlieu turn'd out.

The Queen-mother confin'd.

Luines prime minister.

1619.

Richlieu employ'd by Luines to discover the Queen-mother's intrigues.

The P. of Condé's liberty.

The Queen and disaffected Lords take the field.

CHAP. numerous, that it made the prime minister trem-
XXXIV. ble: nor was it long before they took the field.

As to the King, their historians inform us that he was an indolent Prince, and apply'd himself to nothing. That he had neither resolution to undertake any thing himself, or constancy to pursue good advice when it was given. That he wanted an able minister possess'd of the royal qualities of which he was destitute: whereupon every great man about the court knowing his weakness, pretended to the direction of affairs, and this occasion'd those divisions that frequently distracted the state.

1620.
The King
marches a-
gainst them.

While LUINES, who was more a sportsman than a soldier, was confounded at the repeated advices he receiv'd of the strength and numbers of the malecontents, the Prince of Condé advis'd the King to take the field as soon as possible, and attack his enemies before they had assembled their whole force. He assur'd his Majesty that if this conduct had been observ'd in those insurrections in which he was concern'd, he must have submitted. The King it seems at this time was so wise as to follow the Prince's advice; and giving him the command of the army, march'd with him in person into Normandy, where the Duke of Longueville and the malecontents were reported to be very strong; but they retir'd upon his approach, and the King with very little difficulty made himself master of Rouen, Caen, and most of the towns in that province. From hence he continu'd his march against the Queen, who had assembled a great body of troops in Anjou. At the same time he sent to offer her terms of accommodation, and a treaty was actually set on foot between them. The King still advancing, the Queen was advis'd to send to the Dukes of Maine and Espernon to join her with their forces; but RICHLIEU apprehending that if those two noblemen were about the Queen, he should lose that influence he had on her Majesty's affairs, and not be able to play the game he intended, persuaded her that she was secure with the forces she had at Angers, and procur'd an order from her that those Lords should remain in the provinces where they were; and by this means ruin'd the affairs of her Majesty and her confederates: for the King's troops having a great superiority, soon after fell upon a body of the Queen's, and defeated them; which so terrified her, that though she had insisted on very extravagant terms before, she was now content with such as the King was pleas'd to grant. There was one secret article however consented to in favour of RICHLIEU, which let people into the mystery of the matter: he had made a merit of betraying his mistress, and thereby obtain'd a promise from the King to procure him a Cardinal's cap of the Pope. When people saw therefore the whole body of malecontents ruin'd by the advice of this Prelate, the Queen oblig'd to

The Queen
compell'd to
accept a dis-
advantageous
peace by the
treachery of
Richlieu.

return to court, and several Princes and great Lords excluded out of the treaty, and none of them any gainers by it but himself, they made no doubt of his having betray'd the Queen, to whom he was so infinitely oblig'd, both before and afterwards. They were further confirm'd in this conjecture, when they saw the Bishop's niece married to the son of the Duke of Luines the prime minister: but the Queen was still so far from believing him false to her, that she made a considerable addition to his niece's portion.

To proceed: The Dukes of Espernon and Guise, and the rest of the malecontents, having laid down their arms, the Pope's nuntio used all his interest with the Duke of Luines to fall upon the Hugonots: and though this minister seem'd to disapprove of it, yet there were so many persons about the court for suppressing them, that it was resolv'd about this time to strike at the whole body. They determin'd to begin with the province of Bearn, where the Protestants were most numerous: accordingly the King march'd thither from Poictiers, where he then was with his army; but meeting with no resistance, he contented himself with ordering mass to be said in the principal churches of the province, after it had been abolish'd about fifty years.

Papery esta-
blish'd in
Bearn again.

The Duke of Luines the following year procur'd a patent to be Constable of France; and the people of Bearn making an insurrection on account of their religion, he sent the Duke of Espernon, who was a mortal enemy to that persuasion, to suppress them. He found on his arrival that they had abandon'd all their towns and villages, and were fled to the mountains: but the General ordering his soldiers not to hurt any of them, and observing an exact discipline, many of the people return'd to their houses again. However, these two attempts alarm'd the Protestants pretty much; and as their churches at Tours, Poictiers and other places had been burnt by the popish mob with impunity, they were pretty well assur'd there was a design form'd against them to divest them of those privileges they enjoy'd by the edict of Nants.

1621.
An insurrec-
tion by the
Protestants
of Bearn.

An army
sent against
them.

The Protestants hereupon call'd a general assembly to consult of their defence: the King order'd them to break up, but they refus'd, which was interpreted an overt act of rebellion, and the court determin'd to seize on those cities and towns which had been given them for their security. The Protestants on the other hand had recourse to arms, and did not fail to retaliate the injuries they receiv'd. Towns were taken and retaken, and thus a war was on a sudden commenc'd on all sides. The first place that made any considerable defence against the Royalists was that of St. John de Angeli, which held out a siege of two months, and then surrender'd on condition of preserving their religion,

A war com-
mences be-
tween the
Papists and
Protestants.

CHAP. lives, liberties and estates ; but the houses had been **XXXIV.** in a manner destroy'd by the besiegers, and the King raz'd their fortifications. After this the royalists took several other places, and being encouraged by their success, laid siege to the strong town of Montauban, but were forc'd to raise it after they had lain three months before the place, and lost an incredible number of men; the disgrace whereof is said to have affected the Duke of Luines to that degree, that it threw him into a fever, of which he died.

Luines the prime Minister dies.

1622.

The Queen-mother comes into the administration again.

The Chiefs of the Hugonots forsake them.

The parliament compell'd to ratify the acts of the council.

The civil war very bloody.

A peace concluded.

The Queen-mother was about this time re-admitted into the council, in order to balance the Prince of Condé, who was thought to bear too great a sway in it. Both of them were very zealous in prosecuting the war against the Hugonots, who being deserted by most of their Chiefs, had the worst of it every where. SULLY, BOUILLON, LESDIGUIERES and CHATILLON, all went over to the court: they alledg'd, that their party would be under no government; that their general assemblies, and even synods of the clergy, pretended to direct their military operations; and that it was impossible to hope for success where anarchy and confusion reign'd. However, a great part of the country was destroy'd by the continual ravages of the one or the other party, the taxes consequently fell short, and the King was forced to take some extraordinary ways to raise money; some of which appear'd so illegal and oppressive, that the parliament of Paris refus'd to ratify them, till the King coming thither in person, with the Princes of the blood and great officers of State, terrified them into a compliance. In this reign, it is observ'd, their parliaments had but very little authority; the court made no other use of them than to record the acts of the King and Council.

The royalists went on successfully, taking one place after another from the Hugonots. The Marquis de la Force also, who commanded their troops in Guienne, thought fit about this time to reconcile himself to the court, receiving of the King a Marshal's staff, and a considerable sum of money, in consideration of his deserting his party, and delivering up the town of St. Foy. The war yet continued very bloody: the town of Negrepelisse particularly having been taken by the royalists, and the garrison afterwards over-power'd and put to the sword by the inhabitants; the King, upon the retaking it, order'd all the people in the town and castle to be massacred, except the women, who were nevertheless exposed to the brutality of the soldiers. Cruelties of this kind were exercised in several other places; no wars, 'tis observ'd, being ever carried on with that rage and violence as those which are occasion'd by difference in religion: murder and rapine are sanctified in the opinion of both sides, by the righteousness of the cause.

About this time LESDIGUIERES was made

Constable of France, on account of his skill in military affairs, and his complaisance to the court in turning Papist: and the Protestants being induc'd by their ill success to desire peace, the Constable procured them a pardon and liberty of conscience, which put an end to the war; though there were some of the Ministers whom nothing would satisfy but a total extirpation of the Hugonots.

RICHLIEU this year receiv'd his Cardinal's cap by the solicitations of the Queen-mother, for which he promis'd everlasting gratitude; tho' it is observ'd, his gratitude and acknowledgments lasted no longer than her friendship was advantageous to him. She would have procur'd him also a place in the council, but was not able to effect it till near two years after, the Ministry had such a jealousy of him; whereupon he still continued to exercise the office of Steward of the Queen's house, and made his court to her with his usual diligence.

The kingdom now enjoying peace at home and abroad, nothing remarkable happened this year, unless some changes in the Ministry; Count SCHOMBERG was turned out of his places of Superintendant of the finances, and Grand Master of the ordnance, and the old Chancellor SILLE- R Y was oblig'd to resign.

The year 1624 was propitious to Cardinal RICHLIEU, who, at the repeated instances of the Queen-mother, was admitted into the council of state, where there being scarce any person of great experience or capacity at this time, he soon obtain'd the entire disposal of publick affairs. One of the first things that fell under his management was the match between CHARLES Prince of Wales, and the Princess HENRIETTA the King's sister. The principal articles the French insisted on were liberty of conscience for the English Catholics; a church for the Princess's retinue, who were to be all Catholics, and the education of the children of this marriage in the same religion. The two first were absolutely refused by the English Ambassadors; and as to the last it was agreed, the children should remain in the hands of the Princess till ten years of age, and that she might have the direction of their education in the mean time. The French were to pay eight hundred thousand crowns for her marriage portion, one half at London the evening before the marriage, two hundred thousand crowns a year afterwards, and the remainder six months after that. Her jointure was agreed to be sixty thousand crowns per ann. which is but a trifle to that settled on the present Queen of England, tho' voluntarily granted after marriage, without any consideration had to the marriage-portion.

The affair of the Valteline came upon the carpet next: The Spaniards, it seems, in the reign

Richlieu made Cardinal.

1623.

1624.

Cardinal Richlieu admitted into the council of state.

Becomes prime Minister.

The match between the P. of Wales and the Princess Henrietta.

France and Spain dispute the possession of the Valteline.

CHAP. of HENRY IV, had built the Fort of Fuentes in
 XXXIV. the Valteline, which belongs to the Grisons, to
 preserve their communication between Germany
 and Italy, that they might not be always obliged
 to ask leave of the Swiss or the Grisons when they
 had occasion to march their troops that way.
 France and Italy were both alarmed at this step,
 imagining the house of Austria had some great de-
 sign in view; but the Spaniards pretended they
 had built this fort only to protect the Catholick
 religion in the Valteline, which they apprehended
 would be extirpated by the Grisons, who were
 Sovereigns of it. This appear'd afterwards only
 a sham to lull the Italian States asleep, the Spa-
 niards proceeding to build four other forts, in order
 to make themselves entirely masters of this valley,
 which is a country about thirty miles in length,
 and naturally so well defended by rocks and pre-
 cipices, that whoever possesses it, may, with a
 small force, prevent the greatest armies passing
 between Germany and Italy.

The French spent a great deal of time in trea-
 ties and negotiations to prevail with the Spaniards
 to demolish these forts, which they often promis'd
 to do, but never effected. An alliance was there-
 upon entered into between the French, the Duke
 of Savoy, and the Venetians, in the year 1623,
 to compel them to quit the forts, and restore the
 Grisons to the sovereignty of the Valteline. The
 Spaniards finding it would be difficult to maintain
 their ground, put their forts into the hands of the
 Pope, assuring his Holiness they had no other de-
 sign than the preservation of the Catholick religi-
 on; and by this artifice they avoided a war, and
 engaged the Pope on their side. In the mean time
 the passes remained open to their troops, and they
 did not doubt the getting the forts out of the
 hands of the Pope again, as soon as the alliance a-
 bove-mention'd should be dissolved. When the
 Cardinal came into the ministry, he determined
 to spend very little time in negotiations on this
 affair: the Spaniards and Pope refusing to demolish
 the forts, he immediately hired six thousand Swiss
 and Grisons, and sent them into the Valteline,
 under the command of the Marquis de Cœuvres,
 to endeavour to recover the possession of it. The
 Pope's troops were so terrified at their approach,
 that they abandon'd most of the forts, and gave
 the Marquis an opportunity of seizing the best
 part of the country, which he held a considerable
 time with the consent of the Grisons, who were
 glad to shake off the Austrian yoke, and recover
 their sovereignty. In the mean time, the Pope
 made loud complaints of the injustice and disho-
 nour that was done him at the court of France,
 which were not much regarded by the Cardinal.

1625.
 The French
 and the D. of
 Savoy at-
 tempt the
 conquest of
 the State of
 Genoa.

Another enterprize was concerted the following
 year between the Cardinal and the Duke of Savoy,
 which made a great noise. The French and the

Duke having each of them their pretensions on CHAP.
 the Republick of Genoa, it was agreed privately XXXIV.
 to raise an army of thirty thousand men, and at-
 tempt the conquest of that country; and if they
 succeeded, to divide it between them. The Genoese
 and the rest of the Italian Princes observ'd the
 preparations of war that were making on their
 frontiers, but imagin'd they were design'd to sup-
 port the French troops in the Valteline, till they
 saw them join and march directly for Genoa.
 The country being utterly unprovided against such
 an invasion, they made themselves masters of all
 the towns in the Genoese territories, except the
 capital and Savona: but the Constable LESDI-
 GUIERES, who commanded the French, and the
 Duke falling out about dividing the spoil, and the
 Spaniards sending an army of thirty thousand men
 at the same time to the assistance of the Genoese,
 the French and Savoyards were forced to abandon
 their conquests with the same speed that they made
 them. The French might have supported their
 troops in the territories of the Genoese indeed by
 timely re-inforcements, but they had no mind to
 enter into a formal war with the Spaniards, while
 the Rochellers and the rest of the Hugonots were
 in arms.

The French court, it seems, on the conclusion The war
 of the last peace with the Rochellers, had stipula- breaks out
 ted to demolish Fort Lewis near that city, which again be-
 was built in order to block them up on the land- tween the
 side. The government taking no care to put this Hugonots
 part of the treaty in execution, the Rochellers and Papists.
 presented a petition to his Majesty on that subject,
 and meeting with nothing more than fair words,
 were resolv'd to do themselves justice forthwith;
 whereas, says my author, had they waited till the
 King had been engaged in a war with Spain,
 which seemed almost inevitable at this time, ne-
 cessity would have oblig'd him to have kept his
 word with them; but being govern'd more by their
 passions than good policy, they assembled a fleet
 to make reprisals, and giving the command of it
 to SOUBIZE, he seized upon seven of the King's
 ships in the port of Blavet or Brest. They after-
 wards attempted to surprize Fort Lewis, in which
 they did not meet with so good success. How-
 ever, they made frequent excursions, and ravag'd
 all the country round in the possession of the roy-
 alists, which the Governour of Fort Lewis was not
 able to prevent. SOUBIZE also possessed himself
 of the islands of Rhee and Oleron, on the last of
 which he built three forts for the defence of it.
 The Hugonots also in Languedoc, being assembled
 by the Duke of Rohan, had frequent skirmishes
 with the royalists.

The French King about this time hired twenty The French
 or thirty ships of the Hollanders, and procured hire English
 seven or eight more of the court of England, to and Dutch
 be employed in the expedition against Genoa; ships against
 but the Rochellers.

CHAP. XXXIV. but the Rochellers being masters of all the sea-coasts, so that no ships could go in or out of their ports without danger of falling into their hands, the King determin'd to send the ships he had procured of the English and Dutch, to suppress the naval power of the Rochellers, and deprive them of the islands they had possessed themselves of. The English mariners understanding they were to fight against their friends the Rochellers, left their ships, of which seven were merchant-men, and the other a man of war, with the French Admiral, and returned to England, where great complaints were made to the government against the court of France for abusing the English, in employing their ships against Rochelle, which were lent for another service. The King of England however being just married to the Princess HENRIETTA a daughter of France, and entered into an alliance with that crown against Spain, did not think it proper immediately to break with his brother-in-law, till he had first expostulated the matter with him by way of negotiation.

The Hollanders were not so scrupulous as the English on this occasion; for tho' the Rochellers were Calvinists, of the same communion with themselves, yet in consideration of a pension of six hundred thousand crowns per annum, which they annually receiv'd of the French King, and in hopes of their entering into an alliance with them against their old enemy the Spaniard, they suffer'd their Admiral and his whole fleet to assist in the destruction of their Protestant brethren. They put themselves under the command of MONTMORENCY the French Admiral, and having assisted THOIRAS Governour of Fort Lewis, in his descent on the isles of Rhee and Oleron, out of which he beat SOUBIZE, they afterwards ruin'd the best part of the Rochelle fleet, and among the rest their Admiral, who perished bravely however; for three of the enemies ships being grappled with him, he set fire to his powder, which blew them all up into the air together.

1626.

The Rochellers being reduc'd to very low circumstances, block'd up on the land-side by the forts which had been built by the royalists, deprived of the supplies of Provisions they used to receive from the isles of Rhee and Oleron, and incapable of procuring supplies by sea on the loss of their fleet, sent deputies to the French King, imploring his mercy, and desiring peace on almost any terms. However, as nothing less would satisfy the court than the surrender of their town, and the demolishing the fortifications, they returned home without effecting any thing. But the court of England, about this time, demanding the restitution of the ships that had been lent the French King, which were refus'd, and resolving to assist the Rochellers, the Cardinal was inclined to grant that people better terms: He in-

CHAP. XXXIV. sisted on no more at this time, than that the Roman Catholicks should be allowed the free exercise of their religion in Rochelle, and that the estates and goods of the Ecclesiasticks should be restor'd to them: and, on the other hand, he agreed the Hugonots should have the benefit of the edict of Nants, and should not be molested by Fort Lewis, or any of the forts erected in the isles of Rhee or Oleron, but might peaceably enjoy the estates they had there. And when the Cardinal was reproach'd with being a friend to Hugonots on this occasion, because he would not extirpate them when it was in his power, he let those he was most intimate with understand, that he fully intended to destroy them, and only granted them this peace (which he design'd to break the first opportunity) till he had settled some foreign negotiations: and the Protestants themselves were so sensible of this, that they sent SOUBIZE to England, notwithstanding the peace, to solicit for a re-inforcement. The Cardinal had two great inducements for concluding this agreement with the Hugonots; one of them was, that he might make the better terms with Spain, which court remain'd very intractable while they found France engag'd in a civil war: the other was the breaking of the power of the Princes of the blood and great Lords, who, from the beginning, were uneasy to see the administration of the government entrusted solely in his hands by the King.

The peace with Spain he accomplish'd the same year; the principal articles whereof were, that the Valteline should be put into the same condition it was in the year 1617; that the sovereignty of that country should be left to the Grisons; that they should be masters of the passes as formerly, but that the Roman Catholick religion only should be exercis'd in the Valteline; that they should be at liberty to chuse a Catholick Grison Governour, and their Magistrates also be all Catholicks; that the forts in the Valteline should be immediately raz'd, and that neither party should give any assistance to their allies who refus'd to acquiesce in this treaty.

The Cardinal being arriv'd to such a degree of power at this time, that more court was made to him than to the King or the Princes of the blood, began to think how he might establish his grandeur, and prevent the cabals of the great men against him. The person he was most apprehensive of, was the Marshal d'Ornano, Governour to the King's brother the Duke of Orleans: for the King being infirm, and having no children at this time, the nation began to cast their eyes upon the Duke, as like to succeed to the crown; and as d'Ornano was observ'd to have no less influence over that Prince, than RICHELIEU had over the King, the Cardinal at first proposed the making d'Ornano his friend, not doubting, if he was supported

Peace with the Rochellers again.

Peace with Spain.

The Cardinal sets himself to depress the power of the Princes of the blood and great men.

CHAP. XXXIV. ported by the favourite of the first Prince of the blood, the presumptive heir of the crown, he need not be concerned at the envy of the rest of the Grantees. But RICHIEU not finding d'Ornano tractable, or disposed to support his tyranny, began to look upon him as his enemy, and it was not long before he resolv'd his destruction ; to effect which, he made use of Father JOSEPH a Capuchin, who pretending a great esteem and friendship for the Marshal, led him into discourses which render'd him obnoxious to the government. He also put him upon demanding of his Majesty, that Monsieur the Duke of Orleans might be admitted into the council, and made General of the army ; with which the King immediately acquainted the Cardinal, and demanded his opinion. This Prelate put the most odious constructions imaginable upon these propositions ; and as he knew his Majesty to be of a fearful jealous temper, he said the Marshal had inspir'd too ambitious thoughts into his brother, who was immediately to succeed to the crown, in case his Majesty had no children ; that he demanded the command of the army only to make use of it against him that gave it, or at least, that he might share the government with him ; and that the Marshal would infallibly, one time or other, draw Monsieur into some destructive scheme against the state. He acquainted the King also with some arguments which was reported d'Ornano had used to dissuade Monsieur from marrying Mademoiselle de Montpensier ; as that if he espoused one of the King's subjects, he would himself become more a subject than before, and his fortune would be absolutely in the hands of the King's Minister ; whereas if he made a foreign alliance, it might be of use to him if the King gave himself up to the haughty and violent spirit of the Cardinal.

The King giving credit to these insinuations, in order to take Monsieur out of the hands of d'Ornano, admitted him voluntarily into the cabinet-council ; whereupon the Marshal desir'd, that he might be admitted also, as had been promised him under the ministry of LUINES, or at least that he might stand by him in council as one of the Secretaries ; but both were denied him : whereupon 'tis said, he shew'd his discontent in terms very displeasing to his Majesty, and two days after he was arrested with some other of Monsieur's officers, and carried prisoner to the castle of Vincennes, being charg'd with conspiring against the King and the prime Minister, in order to render himself master of the government. But whether the Marshal and his friends were in any plot or not, 'tis certain, this violent proceeding against him occasion'd a plot against the Cardinal, which was very near being fatal to him.

For Monsieur having notice of the imprisonment of the Marshal, went to his Majesty and de-

manded the reason of it, and told him, if he put the Marshal to death, who was an innocent man, he would die with him ; that he saw he was fallen into the snare his enemies had long laid for him, and he hoped, that the justice of his Majesty would not abandon his brother, and an officer of the crown, to the fury of their enemies. That if he ever discover'd the authors of the Marshal's imprisonment, nothing but the arms of his Majesty should save him from his revenge. These transports only serving to augment the distrust, which the Cardinal endeavour'd to raise in the King's mind against Monsieur ; and there being no hopes of procuring d'Ornano's liberty, nine or ten persons of distinction, friends to the Duke of Orleans, enter'd into a resolution to assassinate the Cardinal at Fleury, where he then was. The Marquis de Chalais, who was one of the number, discovered the design to VALENCAY, one of his intimate friends, in hopes he would have engaged with them ; but VALENCAY on the contrary censur'd the enterprize, and assur'd him, that he would discover it to the Cardinal, unless he would do it himself, and thereby make his peace with that Prelate. Whereupon they went together to Fleury, where Chalais made such a discovery of the matter as he saw fit ; particularly he told the Cardinal, that Monsieur, under pretence of coming to dine with him the next day, would send his officers early in the morning in order to provide a dinner for him, but that the true design was to increase the strength of the conspirators. Accordingly at three of the clock in the morning, Monsieur's people came to Fleury, as if they were to prepare a dinner ; whereupon the Cardinal left his apartment, and with a numerous retinue came to Fontainebleau, where the King then was. He went immediately to Monsieur's chamber, who was just rising, and extremely surpriz'd to see him there ; he expostulated with him, that he would not permit him to get a dinner for him, and told him, that he had left his house to the Duke's people as soon as they appear'd. The Cardinal's enemies could not apprehend how he had discover'd the design, there being none concern'd in it but those whom they believed they might rely upon. The Cardinal, to conceal the person he had it from, pretended he had received the intelligence from abroad, and ordered Count Chalais to dissemble himself to be of the same party still, that he might the better penetrate into the depth of his enemies designs. Chalais accordingly deceived his friends a second time ; he confess'd he had made a discovery in part, to prevent VALENCAY's doing it before him, but that he would still be faithful to them, and assist in the execution of the matter.

Besides the Duke of Orleans, several others of the first Quality were accus'd, as Count Soissons another Prince of the blood, the Duke of Longue-

CHAP. ville, the Duke of Vendosme, the Grand Prior
XXXIV. of France, the Duke of Espernon, the Duke of
Chevreuse, the Marquis de Valette, and many
more; of whom the Grand Prior, the Duke of
Vendosme, and several others were apprehended
and carried to the castle of Vincennes. Monsieur
hereupon was about to withdraw himself from the
court; but the Cardinal apprehending this might
be to the disadvantage of his projects, employ'd
some of his agents to divert him from it; and
having sufficiently terrified him with the threats of
the King's displeasure, offered him at length, that
if he would desert the party, who had put him
upon the late attempts against his person, he would
become his fast friend, and procure him what-
ever he could desire of his Majesty. The Duke
of Orleans considering, that if he comply'd with
the Cardinal, he should not only escape a prose-
cution, which might be fatal to him, but be re-
stor'd to the King's favour, and might advance his
interest in many other particulars; let that Pre-
late know, that if he would stay the proceedings
against Marshal d'Ornano, and increase his reve-
nue an hundred thousand florins per ann. and ad-
mit him to marry whom he pleas'd, he would u-
nite his interests with him. The Cardinal, after
some consideration, agreed to indulge him in all
these particulars.

The D. of
Orleans be-
comes depen-
dent on the
Cardinal.

Richlieu
tries the great
men by an
extraordina-
ry commis-
sion.

In the mean time a special commission was issued
for the trial of Count Chalais; for tho' RICH-
LIEU had promised him his favour on making a
full discovery, and his testifying some particulars
which he had suggested to him, yet under pre-
tence he had not been ingenuous in his confession,
he resolv'd to proceed with the utmost severity;
and because he was apprehensive, that the parlia-
ments or ordinary courts of justice might not con-
vict him, or rather, says my author, to let the
great men see, that if they caball'd against him,
there was no way of avoiding his revenge, he in-
stituted this new method of trial, which the Mi-
nisters frequently made use of afterwards to de-
stroy those that oppos'd them. And it seems the
Cardinal had prevail'd upon the Duke of Orleans
himself to testify, that Chalais had advis'd him to
withdraw from court, and offered to furnish him
with the means of doing it. It was depos'd against
him also, that he had reconciled himself to the party
that were to destroy the Cardinal, and engaged
in that design a second time. To which the pri-
soner answer'd, He had indeed pretended to do so,
but it was in order to serve the Cardinal, and by
his and the King's particular orders. But however
that matter really was, it seems, he thought it
convenient to take Chalais off; and sentence be-
ing pass'd on him to lose his head, this Minister
suffer'd it to be executed. So dangerous is it to
play a double game; or rather, so little depen-
dence is there to be had on the promise of a Mi-
nister.

Among other discoveries that, 'tis said, were CHAP.
made on this occasion, it is reported, that d'Or- XXXIV.
nano had told the Queen-consort, that if the
King died, the Duke of Orleans might lawfully
marry her: nay, that they had talk'd of declaring
the King impotent, and putting him into a mo-
nastery, and even of marrying her to Monsieur
his brother, in his life-time. But these probably
were suggestions of RICHLIEU's, to render his
Majesty's nearest relations suspected, that he might
depend solely on the prime Minister. And in-
deed Count Soissons, one of the Princes of the
blood, having seen the fate of Chalais, and been
charg'd with a design of going to Rochelle, to put
himself at the head of the Hugonots, as many o-
ther of the Nobility were with other crimes, they
thought fit to leave the kingdom, or retire and
live privately on their estates: so that the Cardi-
nal had now a clear stage; scarce any of the Gran-
dees were left at court, except the Duke of Or-
leans, and him he had made dependant on him.
As to d'Ornano, he died in the castle of Vin-
cennes of a fever, as it was given out, tho' some
reported he was poison'd. In his last moments,
being about to take the sacrament, he swore
upon his salvation, that the Duke of Orleans had
never harbour'd a thought against the King's per-
son as he could perceive, and that those about
him had never given him any such advice; but that
the Duke seeing himself entirely excluded from
the government, which was pass'd into the hands
of the Cardinal, had only sought means to lessen
the excessive power of that Minister, and to ob-
tain a share of it himself. That whatever more
had been said was false, or never came to his
knowledge.

RICHLIEU having reconcil'd the King to his
brother the Duke of Orleans, and made him his
friend, in appearance at least, procur'd his Ma-
jesty's consent for his marrying Mademoiselle de
Montpensier. The King also gave his Highness
the duchies of Orleans and Chartres, with the
county of Blois, besides five hundred and sixty
thousand livres annual pension; and his wife
brought him an estate of three hundred and thirty
thousand livres per ann. and being possess'd of so
noble a revenue, this Prince now thought of no-
thing but indulging his pleasures, and seem'd to
have forgot the ill usage he had received: but he
was the only person, it is observ'd, that was con-
cerned in the conspiracy against the Cardinal, that
did not suffer either in his person, his fortune,
or reputation. Even the Queen-consort was
brought before the Council, and reproach'd by
the King, for entertaining thoughts of a second
husband in his life-time.

The D. of
Orleans
marries.

As the Cardinal had exasperated the Princes of
the blood, and acquir'd the hatred of most of the
Nobility by his arbitrary and contemptuous beha-
viour

A guard ap-
pointed the
Cardinal.

CHAP. XXXIV. viour towards them, he was sensible this would not be the last conspiracy form'd against him. He procur'd the Pope's Nuncio therefore to represent to his Majesty the danger he had incurr'd by the zeal he express'd for his service; whereupon the King appointed him guards like a sovereign Prince for his security, believing that his crown and government depended entirely on the life of this Prelate. He ordered also, that whoever had any business with him, should first apply to some other Minister, from whom he was to obtain a licence in writing to see the Cardinal, before the Captain of his guard might permit the person to enter his gates.

Thus having fortified himself against all surprize, he determined to render the King (or rather himself) absolute in his dominions. And first he summoned an assembly of the Notables, to approve and give a sanction to his administration. This assembly consisted of Monsieur the Duke of Orleans, President; the Cardinal de la Valette; the Marshals de la Force and Bassompierre; the first and second Presidents of the parliament of Paris; of the first Presidents of the eight other parliaments of the kingdom; of the Procurators, or Attorney-generals; of the first and second Presidents of the chambers of accounts of Paris, Rouen and Dijon, with their Attorney-generals, and those of the three courts of aids; the Lieutenant-civil of Paris; six Knights of the order of the Holy Ghost; six of the Council, and twelve Prelates.

Antiently when the state of the kingdom was to be consider'd, new laws made, or taxes raised, it had been usual to convene the three estates of the kingdom, that is, the representatives of the Clergy, Nobility, and great towns, without whose approbation nothing passed into a law. But the Cardinal despairing of having his measures approv'd by these, resolved entirely to disuse it, and convene the Notables, who were sometimes also called together upon emergencies, when there was not time or opportunity for a meeting of the States: and the court being at liberty to pick out whom they pleased to constitute these assemblies, seldom fail'd of having their conduct approv'd by them. These therefore the Cardinal did not doubt of modelling according to his wishes, and to make them ratify whatever he had transacted.

His Majesty being present at the opening of the assembly, acquainted them, that he had called them together to remedy the disorders of the state; and that the Keeper of the Seals would further declare his pleasure. The Keeper MURILLAC thereupon said, That the King had conven'd them to receive their advice on the important affairs of the government, in imitation of his predecessors, who sometimes assembled the three Estates, and sometimes the Notables (or Persons of Distinction)

CHAP. XXXIV. consisting of a less number: then having made a panegyrick on his Majesty, he thank'd heaven for the discovery of the conspiracies form'd against him, (or rather the Cardinal). He let them know that the government was greatly in debt, by the charges the civil war had occasioned, and the pensions given to the allies of the crown and the great men of the kingdom. That the King had been oblig'd to raise money by various means, and yet the treasury was above fifty millions in debt, from the constant deficiencies of those supplies. That his Majesty would endeavour to retrench his private expences, and regulate his finances; but still means must be found out to augment his revenues, and to put him into a condition to repress the frequent conspiracies and rebellions form'd against the government; and that his Majesty would order the estimates for these purposes to be laid before the assembly. The reader will forgive me reciting the heads of this speech for the resemblance it has to some more modern speeches, that have been frequently made in a neighbouring kingdom.

When money, the ultimate end of all speeches of this nature, was propos'd to be rais'd, it was with the greatest readiness agreed to be done by the creation of a multitude of new offices, or a charge upon those that were already in being; by customs and duties on goods, manufactures, and the produce of the earth, such as were never known before. And one design of assembling the Notables, no doubt, was, that the people might discharge their rage upon them for these oppressions, while the Ministry, who were the contrivers of them, escaped their censure. The Notables shew'd an equal zeal to raise what forces the court commanded for sea and land-service; and in short, like some other assemblies in these days, denied nothing that was demanded of them. Nor is it to be suppos'd they should, when most of them had places or pensions; and while they gave the King with one hand, received part of the supplies they granted with the other. The interest of the nation, we may be sure, was much studied by these mercenary creatures.

There was a great deal of talk, says my author, of re-establishing navigation and commerce, of which Cardinal RICHLIEU was made superintendant; but his projects produc'd very little fruit, any more than a great many others that were set on foot during his administration to amuse the nation and render him popular. The subjects were exhausted and impoverished by taxes, to maintain unprofitable wars while he was at the helm, and consequently foreign trade could not be carried on to any great advantage.

In the mean time there happened some misunderstandings between the courts of France and England, which at length broke out into an open war.

CHAP. war. The French had employ'd the English ships
 XXXIV. which were lent them to assist in the siege of
 Genoa against the Rochellers, and refus'd to re-
 store them, as has been observ'd already; where-
 upon the English made reprisals, by stopping se-
 veral French merchant-ships in the ports of Eng-
 land. The court of France on the other hand seiz'd
 the effects of the English merchants in that king-
 dom to the value of two or three hundred thou-
 sand pounds. But these differences had been ac-
 commodated, and the ships and merchandizes re-
 ciprocally return'd. A further breach however
 was made between the two nations the following
 year 1627, by the indiscretion of some of the
 Queen of England's servants, that did ill offices
 between the two courts. The Queen, as has been
 mention'd already, was allow'd by the articles of
 marriage to entertain French Roman catholicks
 and popish priests in her service; who were ever
 endeavouring to promote the interest of their
 country and religion, and making what proselytes
 they could to their faith; which gave great of-
 fence to some English Protestants, and occasion'd
 ill-natur'd reflections on his Majesty, as his be-
 ing inclin'd to popery, encouraging it, &c. But
 the priests in the Queen's retinue still gave the
 King greater occasion to complain, when they
 engaged her Majesty to walk to the common gal-
 lows at Tyburn to adore the saints and martyrs
 of her religion, who had been executed there in
 the two preceding reigns. This, and the diffe-
 rences they daily created between the King and
 her, occasion'd his Majesty to dismiss them all at
 once, to the number of two hundred and twenty;
 among whom was the Bishop of Mende. They
 receiv'd, however, in wages and presents, the
 value of two and twenty thousand pounds and
 upwards, before they were sent back.

Insolence of
 the popish
 priests in
 England.

The French King complain'd of this transac-
 tion as a breach of the articles of marriage, and
 order'd the English shipping in his ports to be de-
 tain'd, tho' the King of England sent over the
 Lord CARLTON to represent the necessity of
 proceeding in this manner for the peace of the
 nation, as well as that of the royal family.

The King
 of England
 sends relief
 to the Ro-
 chellers.

The French court remaining inexorable, the
 court of England hearken'd to the solicitations of
 SOUBISE in behalf of the French Protestants, and
 determin'd to send a fleet of ships to the assistance
 of the Rochellers, who were in a manner block'd
 up by the forts built about their town; and a de-
 claration was drawn up in the name of the Duke
 of Bucks, who was appointed both Admiral and
 General in the expedition, wherein there are three
 motives mention'd for entering into this war:
 1. That the French having enter'd into an alli-
 ance with the English for the restoration of the
 Elector Palatine, and agreed to join their forces
 with those of his British Majesty and march in

Declaration
 of war a-
 gainst
 France.

conjunction into Germany to his assistance, the CHAP.
 French did not only fail in furnishing their quota XXXIV.
 of troops for that expedition, but denied the Eng-
 lish forces that came over to Calais in order to
 join them, the liberty of landing there; whereby
 most of the forces perish'd on board, and the ex-
 pedition was ruin'd. 2. That the French King,
 contrary to his treaties with his Protestant sub-
 jects, of which the King of England was guaran-
 tee, had block'd up their towns and forts. And,
 3. That he had seiz'd all the English shipping and
 merchandize in his ports. But whatever were
 the declar'd or conceal'd reasons for assisting the
 Rochellers, the Duke of Bucks with a fleet con-
 sisting of an hundred sail of men of war and trans-
 ports, set sail from Portsmouth the seventh of
 June, and came before Rochelle about a month
 afterwards, when they refused to admit him or
 any of his people into the city, notwithstanding
 they had sent SOUBISE, brother to the Duke of
 Rohan, over into England to implore aid of the
 English court; nor could SOUBISE with all his
 importunity prevail with the Rochellers to act in
 concert with the English fleet. They said, they
 thank'd his British Majesty and the Duke for their
 kind intentions; but as there was a treaty of
 union between them and the rest of their brethren
 in the several provinces of France, they durst not
 accept of foreign succours till they knew their
 resolutions. But this surely should have been
 thought of before they had put the English to the
 charge of this great armament, and drawn them
 into a war against this kingdom; and no doubt
 the Protestants of the other provinces had long
 since been consulted upon the point: but the true
 reason of this abundant caution, was certain ad-
 vice they had received from their brethren the
 English sectaries, that King CHARLES either de-
 sign'd to make himself master of their city, and
 perhaps introduce episcopacy there, which they
 dreaded equal to popery; or that the King of Eng-
 land would make peace with France, and deliver
 them up to the mercy of their enraged Sovereign.
 The Duke might justly have been provoked at the
 fickleness and unkind suspicions of the Rochellers,
 and left them to shift for themselves; but because
 he was unwilling to return to England without
 effecting any thing, after the kingdom had been
 at such a vast expence to send relief to the French
 Protestants, he determined to land his forces on
 the isle of Rhee, which lies near Rochelle, to give
 the citizens time to consider their true interest.
 I don't doubt but SOUBISE represented to him how
 ungovernable the Hugonots generally were, even
 when they were commanded by those of their own
 nation of the first quality: that their preachers
 would frequently defeat the best-laid designs of
 their Generals, through their superstition and bi-
 gotry: that his father, the Duke of Rohan, who
 was

CHAP. XXXIV. was at that instant drawing their forces together to oppose the Prince of Condé, was far from being obey'd as he ought, and as the necessity of their affairs required; and that most of the heads of their party had gone over to the court, as despairing of success where the multitude were under no command; but that they were a well-meaning afflicted people, and it would be glorious to him if he should attempt to deliver them from the tyranny and oppression they labour'd under, even without their concurrence. These considerations, or something of the like nature, was probably suggested to the Duke by the French Protestants on board the fleet, or he would not have made a descent on the isle of Rhee, where there was a considerable body of French troops drawn together to oppose his landing. The French historians say he was repuls'd three times, in which he lost a great many brave men, but carried his point at last, and obliged THOIRAS, the Governour, to retire into the castle of St. Martins, and other forts upon the island, with his troops. Had the Duke immediately laid siege to the castle, it is computed he might have carried it in a fortnight's time: but he seems to have been totally unprovided for a siege, and therefore propos'd only to block up the forts, and prevent any supplies of ammunition and provision being thrown into them, till he could be furnish'd with materials proper for a siege from England or Rochelle. And indeed the Rochellers, when they had consider'd the advantage the possession of the isle of Rhee would be to them, that many of their estates lay there, and they had great part of their provision from thence, they did vouchsafe to supply the Duke with some forces and other necessaries towards the reducing of St. Martins. But it was now too late: Cardinal RICHLIEU had found means to transport such numbers of troops into the island, that the French were become much superior in numbers to the English. Whereupon the Duke, after having remain'd there three months, found himself under a necessity of raising the siege, and re-imbarking his troops for England; which was done with less loss than could have been expected, considering they were to retire in the face of a numerous enemy. According to the English account, which seems to be the truest, they lost two thousand men in this expedition; but the French say eight; which is near as many as they had when they made the descent. The Rochellers, now sensible of the sincerity of the English, parted good friends with the Duke of Bucks; and he promis'd to return with a more powerful reinforcement to their assistance the next spring.

One great occasion of the Duke's not carrying the castle of St. Martins, and making himself master of the isle of Rhee, was the dilatoriness of the Earl of Holland; who being intrusted to carry the

necessary stores and ammunition to the isle of Rhee for a siege, had got no further than Plimouth with them when the Duke return'd to England; and it was by no means advisable to hazard so great a fleet as the Duke had with him, longer upon the French coast in winter, if there had not been an army to oppose the operations: but as he began to want all necessaries, and the French troops were much superiour to those he had with him, the Duke's retreat does not seem to deserve any manner of censure, tho' the fanatics and the rest of his domestick enemies used him very scurrilously on this occasion.

The French continued the blockade of Rochelle after the retreat of the English fleet, and during the winter built forts on the lines of circumvallation at little distances, which entirely cut off all communication between Rochelle and the country on the land side; and as the mouth of the harbour was about a mile in breadth, they began an amazing work, a stone wall twelve fathom wide at the foundation, and strengthened with huge piles on each side, which was to be extended from either shore so far into the sea, as to leave only a small space for the flux and reflux of the tide, in which they design'd to sink so many vessels, as should render the entrance into the harbour impracticable. The Rochellers observing they were in danger of being shut up by sea and land, begg'd of the court of England to hasten their preparations, before these works were finish'd. They represented that if this should once be effected, no provisions could be got into the town, and all the strength of Europe would not be able to deliver them; they must be forc'd to submit to a victorious and exasperated Prince. Whereupon the King of England gave orders to work night and day on the fleet design'd for the relief of Rochelle, which actually set sail from Plimouth, under the command of the Earl of Denbigh, about the middle of April 1628, and arriv'd before Rochelle on the first of May. Notwithstanding the wall or barricado above-mention'd gradually decreas'd in thickness as it was rais'd in height, yet was it broad enough at the top to erect little works upon it, to shelter the soldiers who were plac'd for the defence of it, and they rang'd arm'd vessels along the side of this mole for its greater security. The French also had now so good an understanding with the Spaniards, that they procur'd a large squadron of men of war of them, which join'd with their own, compos'd a fleet of an hundred sail, that prevented a great convoy of provisions the English had got ready during the winter being put into the town. The Earl of Denbigh also found the works at the mouth of the harbour so far advanc'd, and the passage block'd up by vessels that were sunk in it, that if it had not been defended by the French fleet, yet would it have been impossible for his large ships to have

The Duke of Bucks makes a descent on the isle of Rhee.

He re-imbarks his troops.

CHAP. XXXIV. The French King continues the blockade of Rochelle.

1628. A second fleet sent to the relief of Rochelle.

CHAP. have enter'd it; whereupon after some fruitless at-
 XXXIV. tempts against the works, he was forc'd to return
 back without effecting any thing. The French
 Hugonots were very angry with the English that
 they had not sent ships of less burthen, which they
 observ'd might have got into the harbour at this
 time, tho' these great vessels could not; which
 possibly would have been comply'd with, if the Ro-
 chellers had given them a particular account of
 their circumstances: but it would not certainly
 have been prudent to have gone to the relief of this
 town only with small ships, when the English court
 had receiv'd certain advice that the French and
 Spaniards lay before it with a fleet of an hundred
 sail. But to return to the French army which
 block'd up Rochelle by land: The Cardinal to
 animate the soldiery, who were almost wearied out
 with the length of the siege, prevail'd upon the
 French King to remain with his army in person
 great part of the year; but the King having wait-
 ed seven months, and there being still no prospect
 of the town's surrendering suddenly, he pretended
 extraordinary business, and return'd to Paris, giv-
 ing RICHIEU a commission, though a Cardinal
 and a Bishop, to be Lieutenant-General of his
 armies, laying his commands on the Duke of
 Angouleme, the Marshals BASSOMPIERRE and
 SCHOMBERG, and the rest of his officers, to o-
 bey the Cardinal as they would his Majesty if he
 were actually present.

Richlieu
 made Com-
 mander in
 chief of the
 army.

The Cardinal, though he understood very little
 of the conduct of an army, yet as he was of an
 active penetrating spirit, was very capable of re-
 ceiving the advice of the Generals, and distin-
 guishing what was feasible and what not; nor
 would he refuse the being concern'd in person in
 the most difficult and hazardous enterprizes, tho'
 very foreign to his profession, if he might be indulg'd
 with the supreme command and superintendency
 of the affair. And how incongruous soever it might
 seem to make a Bishop General of an army, as he
 was apprehensive the siege might miscarry in his
 absence by the misunderstandings or private views
 of the general officers, those that saw farthest into
 things thought he could not more effectually ad-
 vance the service than by taking the command up-
 on himself. When the King left the army, he ex-
 press'd the greatest concern imaginable that his
 affairs would not suffer him to take the Cardinal
 with him and charg'd him not to be too prodigal
 in exposing his person in the trenches every day as
 he was us'd to do, intimating that he cou'd not
 live without him.

RICHIEU apprehending that the army would
 suffer pretty much by a winter's campaign, took
 care that they should be well paid and cloath'd,
 and the camp always abounded with plenty of pro-
 visions which were brought in from the neighbour-
 ing country; his troops observ'd so exact a disci-

pline, that the peasants brought corn, wine and
 flesh thither with as much security, and were bet-
 ter paid for it than they could expect to be in a
 another market.

At the time the English fleet was expected un-
 der the command of the Earl of Denbigh, (as has
 been mention'd already) the Cardinal thought it ad-
 visable that the King should return to the camp for
 the encouragement of the soldiers, and his Majesty
 accordingly arriv'd before Rochelle again on
 the 24th of April. When they saw the English
 squadron, and observ'd they were compos'd of large
 vessels, they soon conjectur'd they would be able
 to do them very little hurt, because there was not
 water enough at the entrance of the harbour for
 vessels of that burthen to ride in: and so it prov'd;
 the English were oblig'd to retire without intro-
 ducing any supplies of men or provisions into the
 place, as has been related above.

The Duke of Buckingham, notwithstanding this
 disappointment, was determin'd to attempt the
 relief of Rochelle in person once again: ac-
 cordingly he gave orders for a greater sea-arma-
 ment than ever; he look'd upon his reputation
 to be at stake, and seems resolv'd to carry his point
 or perish in the attempt; and as he apprehended
 it to be an enterprize of infinite difficulty and ha-
 zard, since such stupendous works had been rais'd
 both on the sea and land-side of the town, he took
 leave of his friends, as our historians inform us, as
 if he never expected to see them any more: parti-
 cularly when he parted from Bishop LAUD, it is
 reported that he desir'd him to put his Majesty in
 mind to be good to his wife and children; soon af-
 ter which he repair'd to Portsmouth, in order to go
 on board the fleet, but was stabb'd there on the
 twenty-third of August by that assassin FELTON,
 a violent enthusiast, who had been taught by the
 phanaticks his brethren, that the killing the Duke
 would be acceptable to God, and the greatest ser-
 vice he could do his country.

The King still pursued the design of relieving
 Rochelle, and made the Earl of Lindsey com-
 mander of the fleet, which set sail from Port-
 smouth on the eighth of September; but when
 they arriv'd there, they found the huge wall at
 the mouth of the harbour finish'd, and all the
 shore cover'd with French troops, and batteries
 rais'd at every place where there was any possibi-
 lity of landing. The Earl, however, made sever-
 al brave attempts to force his passage, but could
 not break through. Whereupon the Rochellers,
 who were now reduc'd to the last extremity (no
 less than fifteen thousand of them having perish'd
 by famine) despairing of relief; thought fit to ca-
 pitulate, and surrender'd the eighth of October.
 The best terms they could obtain were a general
 pardon, and security as to their lives, liberties
 and estates, upon which they were to deliver up
 the

The Duke
 of Bucks
 prepares for
 the relief of
 Rochelle
 again.

He is assassi-
 nated.

A third
 fleet sent to
 Rochelle.

Rochelle
 surrenders.

CHAP. the town, and take an oath never to bear arms
 XXXIV. against his Majesty again. Nor had the terms
 been so good, but that the English fleet still re-
 main'd upon the coast, and there was some ex-
 pectation that the tides, which are very high at
 the approach of the winter season, might have
 demolish'd part of the barricado at the mouth of
 the harbour, and given admission to the English
 fleet. They were obliged consequently to his Bri-
 tish Majesty for the enjoyment of their lives and
 estates, which had not been granted them, but
 for the countenance the royal navy of England
 gave them. And surely no Prince ever met with
 harder usage than King CHARLES did on this
 occasion: his own Protestant subjects thought it
 a sufficient cause to enter into a rebellion against
 him, because he did not support the Protestant
 interest so effectually as they apprehended he might
 have done; and the French Catholics thought
 themselves justified in fomenting the insurrection
 of his subjects, because he had so strenuously sup-
 ported the Protestant Rochellers. It is agreed on
 all hands that the taking of this place gave the
 greatest blow to the civil liberties of France, as
 well as to the Protestant religion there; for no
 sooner were the Protestants disarm'd, and their
 cities, of which this was the most considerable,
 reduc'd, but the court found themselves in a con-
 dition to put what terms they pleas'd on their
 fellow-subjects: whereas if the ministry were guilty
 of any acts of tyranny before this misfortune, the
 people, by the assistance of the Protestants, were
 generally able to make a stand, and defend their
 invaded liberties: and this was indeed the true
 reason that Cardinal RICHLIEU was determin'd
 to put them out of a condition of resisting again:
 till he had effected this, he could never hope to
 establish a despotick power in that kingdom.

The destruction of the Calvinists in France is
 generally ascribed to the mercenary temper of
 their chiefs, and the ungovernable disposition of
 their people. The court, by offering pensions and
 places to the grantees, drew off many of them;
 and the reluctance of the generality of the Hu-
 gonots to be under any command or government,
 disgusted many more. When their Generals had
 concerted schemes for their advantage, it was ten
 to one but they were controul'd and defeated by
 their ignorant enthusiastical preachers, under pre-
 tence that God did not approve either of their
 persons or their conduct; and thus the best-laid
 designs were often blasted. Ambition and Emu-
 lation among their leaders for the supreme com-
 mand, contributed also in a very great degree to
 the ruin of this people. But to proceed in our
 history: The King having taken possession of
 Rochelle, publish'd a declaration, whereby he re-
 stor'd the publick profession of the Roman catho-

lick religion in that city, and the country of CHAP.
 Aunis contiguous to it. He order'd that the de- XXXIV.
 demolish'd churches should be rebuilt, and their re-
 venues restored to the clergy. That a cross should
 be erected in the square of the castle, with an
 inscription shewing the time and manner of the
 reduction of the city. That the church where
 the Hugonots were used to assemble for divine
 worship in the castle, should be converted into a
 cathedral, and the city by the Pope's permission
 made a Bishop's See. That the offices of Mayor
 and Sheriff should be suppress'd, and the corpo-
 ration entirely dissolv'd, and the city for the fu-
 ture govern'd by an intendant of justice appoint-
 ed by his Majesty. And finally, that the walls
 and fortifications should be demolish'd.

Compliments were made his Majesty on the
 reduction of Rochelle by the Pope and other so-
 vereign Princes; an event, says my catholick au-
 thor, of the utmost importance for the security
 of the King's dominions; a mortal blow to Cal-
 vinism, and the most glorious to Cardinal RICHLIEU's administration.

While the King was at the siege of Rochelle, The war in
 the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Montmo- Languedoc.
 rency, each of them, commanded an army in
 Languedoc against the Duke of Rohan and the
 Protestants who were in arms there; where be-
 ing much superiour to their enemies, they ra-
 vag'd the country, and used the poor Hugonots
 in the open towns very barbarously, but did not
 make themselves masters of Montauban, Nismes,
 or any of their strong places, which held out till
 the King return'd victorious from the war in Italy,
 of which I am next to give an account.

VINCENT Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, The war in
 dying in the year 1627 without issue, his honours Italy on ac-
 and territories devolv'd on the Duke of Nevers; count of the
 but the Spaniards being averse to the succession to Mantua.
 of a French nobleman, favour'd the pretensions of
 CÆSAR DE GONZAGA, Duke of Guastalla,
 who pretended also to be heir of the late Duke,
 and prevail'd with the Emperor to grant him the
 investiture of the duchy of Mantua. The French
 King was no less zealous in supporting his sub-
 ject the Duke of Nevers, than the Spaniards were
 in the behalf of the Duke of Guastalla; but be-
 ing engaged in the siege of Rochelle, could afford
 him no other assistance at present than what was
 to be procur'd by negotiations with the Pope, the
 Venetians, and other Italian Princes. In the
 mean time the Spaniards and the Duke of Savoy
 seiz'd on the greatest part of the Montferrat, and
 agreed to divide it between them; scarce any
 considerable place except Casal held out for the
 Duke of Mantua in that territory, and the Duke
 was reduc'd to great extremity in Mantua itself
 by the Emperor, who requir'd him to sequester
 the

CHAP. the territories of Mantua into the hands of Count
XXXIV. NASSAU, till his Imperial Majesty should have
determin'd the right of the several pretenders.

The King
marches at
the head of
his army to
Italy.

1629.
The French
force the
pass of Suza.

A treaty be-
tween
France and
Savoy.

A war a-
gainst the
Hugonots in
Languedoc.

The siege of Rochelle being now over, the King was determin'd to send an army to the relief of the Duke of Mantua, of which he at first declar'd the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General and Commander in chief: but his Majesty, 'tis said, envying his brother the glory of the enterprise, or rather the Cardinal not daring to trust his Royal Highness at the head of so powerful an army, persuaded the King to take the field in person; whereupon his Majesty began his march towards Italy on the sixteenth of January 1628-9. The Duke of Orleans attended him as far as Lyons, and then return'd to Paris, declaring he would not serve in an army where the Cardinal would command both him and the King.

The army being arrived at the foot of the Alps, his Majesty sent to the Duke of Savoy to demand passage for his troops into the Montferrat; but the Duke refus'd it, and began to fortify the pass of Suza against him: whereupon the King attack'd it, and having order'd part of his forces to climb the mountains and charge the Piemontois in flank, they immediately took to their heels, making but a very poor resistance. The next day his Majesty continu'd his march to the city of Suza, which surrendered upon the first summons. And now the Duke of Savoy, finding himself unable to defend his country, thought fit to enter into a treaty with his Majesty, whereby he oblig'd himself to give free passage for the French troops thro' his territories into the Montferrat, and to furnish them with provisions: that he would prevail with the Spanish General Don GONZALES to raise the siege of Casal, and withdraw his troops out of the Montferrat, and leave the Duke of Mantua in the peaceable possession of his dominions; and that he would enter into an alliance with the Pope, the King, the Venetians and the Duke of Mantua for the defence of the Duke's territories. And the French King on his part promis'd to obtain of the Duke of Mantua for the Duke of Savoy, the town of Trino in the Montferrat, and lands to the value of fifteen thousand crowns per annum.

The French King having reliev'd Casal, and put the Duke of Mantua into the possession of the rest of the Montferrat, return'd over the mountains with his army and march'd into Languedoc, in order to give the finishing stroke to the Hugonot war. The Duke of Rohan was not strong enough to keep the field, and therefore distributed his forces in the towns of security, which still remain'd in the hands of the Protestants. The King thereupon laid siege to Privas in the Vivarez, which was garrison'd by some of the bravest troops the Duke of Rohan had, and

defended the place admirably well; but looking upon their strength to be greater than it really was, they neglected to capitulate till all their works were taken, and could obtain no terms: they were oblig'd to surrender at discretion, and most of them cut in pieces, or executed in cold blood. One occasion whereof might be, that after the town was taken, and in a manner in possession of the Royalists, one of the soldiers of the garrison set fire to the magazine of powder, and blew up a great many of them. From hence the army march'd to Alets or Alais in the Cevennes, which being terrified by the fate of Privas, surrendered after a short resistance, as did several other small places. Upon these repeated successes the Cardinal sent to the Duke of Rohan, advising him to submit to his Majesty, and not expose himself and his party to inevitable ruin. He promis'd to the Duke himself, his brother SOUBISE and the rest of the Protestants, a pardon, and security for their estates and religion, on condition they would demolish the fortifications of Nismes, Castres, d'Uzez and Montauban, which were still in their power: and the Protestants considering their low circumstances, thought fit to comply with these terms. The treaty was sign'd at Alets on the 27th of June 1629. After which, the Duke of Rohan, with his Majesty's consent, left the kingdom, and retir'd to Venice, obliging himself not to return without his permission. Soon after, the fortifications of the Protestant towns being demolish'd in pursuance of the said treaty, the Cardinal made his entry into Montauban, where he was complimented, and even flatter'd by the Hugonot clergy to a very high degree. The Cardinal thereupon let them know, it was not the custom of France to receive them as the body of a church on any occasion whatever, but he receiv'd them as men of learning; that under that notion they should always be welcome to him, and he should endeavour to demonstrate, on all occasions, that the difference of religion should never hinder his doing them all manner of good offices. But the Hugonots having parted with their cities of security, and depending solely on the pleasure of the ministry, who never kept their words with them any farther than they conceiv'd it for their advantage, the party decreas'd insensibly; and notwithstanding the submission and ready obedience they shew'd to the commands of their sovereign, he labour'd continually to ruin them, under a notion that he was bound in conscience to do it as soon as he had an opportunity; tho' it was not effected absolutely till the repeal of the edict of Nants in the next reign.

While the King was engaged in the wars of Montferrat and Languedoc, there happen'd some misunderstandings in the royal family which afterwards occasion'd great alterations at court: the Duke

CHAP.
XXXIV.
They submit, and deliver up their towns of security.

Misunderstandings in the royal family.

CHAP. Duke of Orleans, having buried his first wife, enter'd into a new amour with the Princess MARY XXXIV. GONZAGA daughter of the Duke of Nevers and Mantua; to which match the Queen-mother shew'd an unalterable aversion, pretending that this Princess was of an unhealthful constitution, and not likely to have any children: though the true reason of her opposing it was Monsieur's refusing to marry one of the daughters of the Duke of Florence, her near relation; by which she propos'd to support her interest at court in case of the King's demise. The Queen, whom his Majesty had constituted regent in his absence, to prevent the match with the Duke of Mantua's daughter, prevail'd on him to send for her into Italy, of which the Duke of Orleans receiving intelligence, laid a scheme to intercept her in the journey and marry her. The Queen having notice of his design, seiz'd on the Princess of Mantua and the Duchess of Longueville, and confin'd them both in the castle of Vincennes. The Duke of Orleans, vex'd at this disappointment, and disgust-ed because the Cardinal had depriv'd him of the command of the army in Piedmont, retir'd to Nancy in Lorraine. However, being soon made sensible that the Cardinal equally design'd his ruin and the Queen's, he was reconcil'd to her Majesty, and sent the Duke DE BELLEGARDE to court to desire the Queen-mother not to be reconcil'd to the Cardinal, of whom he was determin'd to be reveng'd for the many affronts he had receiv'd, and to assure her he would marry into what family she pleas'd. He offer'd the ministry also to return to court, on condition they would augment his revenue an hundred thousand livres per ann. which at length was comply'd with. But to return to the war in Italy.

The Cardinal was no sooner return'd over the Alps with his army into Languedoc, but the Emperor's General, the Count DE MERODE, enter'd the country of the Grisons with an army of twenty thousand men, and possess'd himself of the passes of the Valteline, whereby he secur'd the communication between Germany and Italy again. The motive of this expedition he declar'd was, that he might be in a condition to decide the differences concerning the succession to Mantua and Montferrat, which were fiefs of the Empire. And the Imperial Generals having summon'd the Duke of Mantua to surrender his territories into their hands till the Emperor had determin'd the right, on his refusal to comply with them, they took possession of the greatest part of his country.

The Cardinal hereupon rais'd another army to march to the relief of his Italian allies, of which the King did not only give him the command, but the honour of representing his person with the title of Generalissimo, which at this time, 'tis said, was first made use of to satisfy his vanity, and give him

the superiority of the Marshals of France who serv'd under him. The army being arriv'd at Lyons, the Cardinal sent to the Duke of Savoy to demand a passage through his country, and that he would unite his forces with those of France, as he had promis'd, to recover the Mantuan and Monferrat from the house the Austria. The Duke of Savoy deny'd he had made any such promise. However, he agreed to give the French passage, rather than come to a rupture with them: but the Cardinal resolving to put it out of the power of the Duke to prevent the French armies entring Italy for the future, or to cut off their retreat from thence, on some other trivial pretence, took an occasion to quarrel with the Duke, and surpriz'd the fortress of Pignerol, which open'd a way to the French to enter Italy when they pleas'd, and rendred the Duke of Savoy dependant on them.

1630.
The French
take Pigne-
rol.

The Cardinal, who was Generalissimo in this expedition, as has been related already, when he pass'd the river Dore at the head of the army, was dress'd in bright armour, his hat adorn'd with plumes of feathers, and a brace of pistols before him, and seem'd to take a pleasure in shewing the soldiers how dextrous he was in managing the fine horse he rode upon, prancing before the ranks, and bidding the officers take notice of his skill; and indeed this prelate had been taught these exercises before he was design'd for holy orders. But to proceed in our history: The French were not content with the taking of Pignerol, but made a conquest of all Savoy except Montmelian; they seem'd to have forgotten their original design of relieving the Duke of Mantua, suffering the Imperialists to take his capital city, and drive him entirely out of his territories, except the city of Casal, which was still in the hands of the French. It is said, they look'd upon the taking of Pignerol, and the reducing Savoy, of much greater consequence to them than the marching to the assistance of that Prince; or rather, the Cardinal foresaw that he should be able to relieve him by another method, for it was about this time that the celebrated GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS invaded Germany, with whom the Cardinal enter'd into a confederacy, and engag'd to give that Prince four hundred thousand crowns per annum towards the charges of the war. He renew'd the alliance also with the Protestant Princes of Germany, by whose means he so distress'd the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty found himself under a necessity of withdrawing his troops from Italy, and of coming to terms concerning Mantua. The Emperor promis'd to grant the investiture to the Duke of Nevers, on condition of his giving a sum of money to the other pretenders.

The French
in alliance
with Gusta-
vus Adol-
phus, and
the Prote-
stant Princes
of Germany.

About this time CHARLES-EMANUEL Duke of Savoy died, leaving his dominions to his eldest son

CHAP. XXXIV. son VICTOR-AMADEUS, brother-in-law to the French King LEWIS the Thirteenth, between whom, and the French and Spaniards, the Pope's Nuntio MAZARIN negotiated a treaty, by which the French were great gainers; and this, 'tis said, laid the foundation of MAZARIN's greatness in France. By this treaty the Spaniards agreed to evacuate Mantua and Montferrat, on condition of the French King's evacuating Savoy and Pignerol: but the French, by MAZARIN's address, found means to purchase Pignerol of the Duke of Savoy; and if they had not had it this way, it seems the Cardinal was determined never to part with it, he apprehended it to be of such importance to France.

A treaty concluded by the mediation of Mazarin the Pope's nuncio.

A cabal against the Cardinal.

During these transactions the King of France and the Court were at Lyons, where his Majesty fell dangerously ill, insomuch that his life was despair'd of. The Queen-mother and Queen-consort thereupon, 'tis said, enter'd into a cabal with the two MARILLACS, (one of whom was Keeper of the Seals, and the other a Marshal of France) the Princess of Conti, the Duchess of Elbeuf, VAUTIER the King's first physician, and others, to ruin the Cardinal; of which that Prelate having intelligence from the spies he always kept about his Majesty, he determin'd upon the King's recovery, which happen'd not long after, to endeavour the destruction of all that had been concerned in the design against him, and few of them escaped his vengeance.

The Cardinal gets the better of the Queen-mother.

The Queens did not want sufficient provocations to study the ruin of the Cardinal; he was perpetually suggesting to the jealous timorous King, that they had a design against his Majesty; that the Queen-mother had more affection for the Duke of Orleans than for him, and was perpetually consulting fortune-tellers to know when he should come to the crown; that the Queen-consort was uneasy at her having no children, and had thoughts of marrying the Duke of Orleans in case of the King's death: and his Majesty really believ'd these calumnies; while, on the other hand, all that the two Queens could say against the Cardinal had no effect upon him. The Court being arrived at Paris, things came to an open rupture between the Queen-mother and the Cardinal; she proceeded so far as in the King's presence to call him cheat, ingrate, malicious, the wickedest man in the kingdom, and disturber of the publick peace; and turning to the King told him, that was the man who would take the crown from his head and give it to Count SOISSONS, who was about to marry his niece. But the King replied, the Cardinal was an honest man, and had served him faithfully; that she had disoblig'd him, and put him to the utmost torture, and he could never forget the affliction she had given him. Whereupon the Cardinal retired, and the King

soon after follow'd him, saying, as he left her cabinet, that he had had too much patience.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The King soon after came to a resolution to make the Queen-mother prisoner; but as she had a great authority in Paris, the Cardinal advis'd his Majesty to remove to Compeigne, where it would be much easier to seize her; and the Queen, who had no suspicion of the design, followed the King thither. On the 23d of February 1630-31, the King and Cardinal return'd early in the morning to Paris, having order'd five hundred horse to surround Compeigne, and not permit the Queen to stir from thence. When the Queen was inform'd the Court was gone without her, and saw herself surrounded with soldiers, she was out of all patience, and vented her spleen against the Cardinal in such terms as the case deserv'd. She wrote to the King also to justify her conduct; but he was so influenc'd by the Cardinal and his creatures, who continually besieg'd his Majesty, that he would not open her letters. The Queen receiving intelligence that the Cardinal was sending twelve hundred horse to remove her from Compeigne to some other place, where she should be more closely confin'd, found means to make her escape, and retir'd to Flanders, where she was kindly received by the Infanta, who had the government of the Netherlands. This, 'tis said, was what the Cardinal most desired; for having charg'd her frequently with being in the Spanish interest, the King look'd upon her retiring to Flanders to be a demonstration of it. The Cardinal had order'd the guards, it seems, to give the Queen an opportunity of escaping, or it had been very easy for him to have prevented it; but he thought she would be able to do him less mischief abroad than at court. The Duke of Orleans also retir'd out of France about the same time, having first sent a memorial to the parliament of Paris, wherein he declares the reason of his leaving the kingdom to be the attempts the Cardinal had made against his person, and that of the Queen-mother, in order to render himself master of the kingdom.

1631. The Queen-mother seiz'd.

She escapes to Flanders.

The King having publish'd an edict declaring the adherents of the Queen-mother and the Duke of Orleans guilty of high treason, sent it to the parliament of Paris to be confirm'd; which they refus'd to comply with till the parties charg'd with the crime had been heard before them. Whereupon RICHIEU prevail'd with the King to send for the parliament to the Louvre, and the Keeper in his Majesty's name let them know, that their authority extended only to private right, and not to matters of state, the cognizance whereof belong'd only to their Sovereign. Then the King order'd a decree of the council to be enter'd in the parliament register, which prohibited that court to deliberate for the future on declarations concern-

The parliament forbid to meddle with affairs of state.

CHAP. ing affairs of state; and to shew his displeasure at
 XXXIV. their presumption, suspended and banish'd two of
 the Presidents of the chamber of inquests. The
 King also strictly forbid all persons to keep any
 correspondence with the Queen-mother or the Duke
 of Orleans, and declared all their manners, lands,
 and tenements forfeited to the crown.

The Cardi-
 nal created
 a Duke and
 Peer.

The Cardinal having thus gratified his revenge
 on the Queen-mother and Monsieur, obtain'd a
 grant of the King for erecting his lands of Rich-
 lieu into a duchy and peerage. He was also made
 Governour of the province of Britany, which he sug-
 gested was very proper for him, as he was super-
 intendant of trade and navigation, because the
 ports of Britany lie extremely convenient for the
 carrying on a foreign trade: and from this time he
 obtain'd the title of the Cardinal Duke.

The Prince of Condé and the other grandees
 finding this Prelate so firmly establish'd in the King's
 favour, that the united interests of the Queen-mo-
 ther and the Duke of Orleans could not prevail
 against him, but that their opposition to his schemes
 had occasion'd their destruction, courted RICH-
 LIEU in the most abject manner: the Prince par-
 ticularly went from province to province to ex-
 ecute his orders, and publish the praises of this
 minister; in a speech to the States of Britany
 he dwells much on the capacity, the valour and
 great services of the Cardinal; he tells them he
 had confounded heresy, pull'd down and defeat-
 ed rebellion, extended the limits of the kingdom,
 &c. and might have added, that he had obtain'd
 an entire conquest over the liberties of the people,
 and rendred the assemblies of the States and Par-
 liaments entirely useless.

1631.

He tries the
 Peers by a
 local com-
 mission, and
 not in par-
 liament.

RICHLIEU still continued to pursue the friends
 and adherents of the Duke of Orleans with the ut-
 most severity, particularly the Duke of Lorrain,
 from whom he took several towns and ravag'd
 the country, because he apprehended that Prince
 to be in Monsieur's interest: he oblig'd him also to
 renounce all treaties and alliances with the enemies
 of the court. Then he erected a court of justice
 to try the adherents of the Queen-mother and the
 Duke, and oblig'd the parliament of Paris to con-
 sent to this manner of proceeding, notwithstanding
 they had remonstrated against it, and alledged that
 Peers could only be try'd in parliament. The
 Marshal DE MARILLAC was made the first vic-
 tim to the Cardinal's fury: he had erected one
 court of justice to try him, and because they were
 not villains enough to condemn him without proof,
 he appointed other commissioners, consisting of his
 own creatures, that he was sure would do as they
 were directed. Against this court in general, and
 several of the judges in particular, the Marshal
 excepted on account of their declar'd enmity a-
 gainst him, but to very little purpose; he was
 condemn'd to lose his head. Great intercession

was made for his life, but the Cardinal was in-
 exorable. The Marshal was executed at the Greve, XXXIV.
 protesting his innocence; and it seems his greatest
 crime was his advising the Queen to apprehend
 the Cardinal, when the King lay dangerously ill
 at Lyons; which was never to be forgiven.

The Duke
 of Orleans
 in arms.

In the mean time the Duke of Orleans enter'd
 France in a hostile manner at the head of two
 thousand horse, declaring that he had taken arms
 to procure a redress of the people's grievances and
 oppressions under the Cardinal's administration.
 He was join'd by about three thousand foot in Au-
 vergne, but the provinces were generally cautious
 of rising in his favour, having seen so many in-
 stances of the Cardinal's vengeance.

The King on the other hand rais'd two armies
 and sent them against the Duke, and at the same
 time publish'd an edict, declaring that the male-
 administration and oppressions mention'd in the
 Duke's declaration were all pretended and ficti-
 tious; that the kingdom was never in so power-
 ful and flourishing a condition as at this time, and
 that the Cardinal's merits and services were so
 well known, that none but those who envy'd his
 Majesty's glory and prosperity would endeavour
 to defame him; declaring Monsieur's adherents
 again guilty of high-treason, and that they should
 be proceeded against with the utmost severity.

These declarations were soon follow'd by ac-
 tions. The Duke of Montmorency, who had
 surrender'd his office of High Admiral, in hopes
 of having that of Constable conferr'd upon him,
 became malecontent on his being disappointed by
 the Cardinal, and rais'd forces in the province of
 Languedoc, of which he was Governour, to join
 the Duke of Orleans: he procur'd the States of
 Languedoc also to espouse his interest, and pro-
 mise him to raise money and to stand by him with
 their lives and fortunes. But coming to an en-
 gagement afterwards with the King's troops, the
 Dukes of Orleans and Montmorency were de-
 feated, and the latter of them made prisoner. Whereupon Monsieur thought fit to submit and
 lay down his arms; but the Cardinal causing his
 friend the Duke of Montmorency to be condemn'd
 and executed as a traitor, notwithstanding his in-
 tercession to spare him, his Highness retir'd in dis-
 content to the Low Countries again, where he
 was well received by the Spaniards.

The Dukes
 of Orleans
 and Mont-
 morency de-
 feated, and
 the last be-
 headed.

The victorious GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS was
 kill'd on the sixth of November this year at the
 battle of Lutzen. The French, as has been re-
 lated already, had enter'd into an alliance with
 him and the Protestant Princes of Germany, to
 whom they granted considerable pensions to sup-
 port them against the Emperor, tho' France was
 then at peace with his Imperial Majesty; but
 GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS meeting with surprizing
 success in the German war, Cardinal RICHLIEU

Gustavus
 Adolphus
 kill'd.

CHAP. became no less jealous of him than of the house of XXXIV. Austria. However, upon the death of the King of Sweden the case seem'd to be alter'd, and the Cardinal resolv'd to assist the Swedes in Germany more vigorously than he had done, to prevent their sinking; for had the Swedes been forc'd to accommodate matters with the Emperor, he would infallibly have fallen upon France with all his forces: he could not be ignorant of the share France had in maintaining the war against him, tho' there was not any war declar'd between these two powers at this time. The Cardinal therefore promis'd to continue the payment of a million of livres annually to Sweden, and the regency of that kingdom on the other hand engaged not to make peace with the Emperor without the consent of France. The Cardinal also concluded a treaty of much the same nature with the States General and the Protestant Princes of Germany, whereby he found full employment for the house of Austria, without entering into a formal war. About the same time he procur'd himself to be made a Knight of the Holy Ghost, and seem'd to be as proud of the blue ribbon as some modern statesmen are at this day.

1633. The French seize the Valteline again. While the house of Austria was engaged in that terrible war with Sweden and her confederates, the Cardinal took the opportunity of surprising the Valteline again; whereby he cut off the communication between Germany and Italy, of which the Spaniards made loud complaints, as they did on their keeping Pignerol and Casal contrary to the last treaty of peace between these two powers: but it is observ'd of the Cardinal, that he never parted with any thing that he apprehended was for his advantage to keep. The representations of the Spaniards on these heads were as ineffectual as those for their evacuating Triers and the towns of Lorraine, which the French had seiz'd on with equal justice; and under pretence that the Duke of Lorraine had assisted the Spaniards, and had clandestinely married his sister to the Duke of Orleans, the French King made himself master of Nancy, the capital, and all the rest of his country. Whereupon the Duke transferr'd his dominions to the Cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, and join'd the imperial army with his troops.

1634. The French seize Lorraine. The Queen-mother, weary of residing in the Netherlands, where she did not meet with that respect she apprehended was due to her quality, and being depriv'd of all her revenues by the Cardinal, made her submission to this haughty Prelate in the most abject manner, in order to obtain a permission to return to court: but the Cardinal, either to gratify his revenge, or really fearing she might find means to ruin him in the King's favour, appear'd inexorable, and persuaded his Majesty that he must never expect to live in any tolerable quiet if he suffer'd her to return to court, or if she was allow'd her revenues while out of the kingdom; so

that this Princess was reduc'd to very great extremities. But as RICHLIEU was of opinion the Duke of Orleans might embarrass his affairs more by remaining out of the kingdom than in it, he consented to his return, procuring a general pardon for him and his domesticks except three or four, and a grant of all his former revenues and appanages that had been taken from him, with a large sum for the paying off his debts and providing his equipage: he was also to have a troop of Gens d'armes and another of light horse for his guard. However, the Duke thought fit to leave Madam his wife in the Low Countries, not daring to trust her in the power of the Cardinal, who seem'd determin'd to get his marriage with her declar'd void.

In the mean time the Imperialists obtain'd a signal victory over the Swedes at Norlingen, which gave the Cardinal some apprehensions of his losing Lorraine again, and even of the enemy's penetrating into the heart of France. Whereupon he sent the Marshals de la Force and de Breze towards the Rhine with an army of thirty thousand men, to support the Swedes, who put several towns in Alsatia and the Palatinate, which they were not able to keep, into the hands of the French, and amongst the rest the important city of Philipsburg; which last gave the Cardinal great satisfaction, inasmuch as it put him in a condition to stop the progress of the Imperialists, in case they design'd to pass the Rhine and force their way into Lorraine.

The Cardinal had try'd all the ways imaginable to persuade the Duke of Orleans to consent that his marriage with the Princess of Lorraine should be declar'd null, and believing that the Duke's favourite PUILAUREUS persuaded him to remain immovable on that head, he order'd him to be apprehended with another of the Duke's domesticks and carried to the castle of Vincennes; which gave Monsieur no small uneasiness. But he proceeded farther, for having summon'd an assembly of the clergy to meet at Paris, he propos'd this question to them, viz. Whether the Princes of the blood, and especially those who stood nearest to the crown, might marry without the King's consent, and even against his express prohibition? To which they return'd such an answer as it was suppos'd the Cardinal had dictated, namely, that marriages might be render'd null by antient customs, founded upon reason, and authoriz'd by the church. That the custom of France did not permit Princes of the blood, and especially the presumptive heir of the crown, to marry without the King's consent, much less against his positive commands. The Queen-mother receiving advice of this determination, wrote to Rome, desiring his Holiness to prohibit the clergy of France proceeding in this affair, because it was notorious that this assembly

CHAP. XXXIV. The Duke of Orleans returns to court.

The Swedes defeated at Norlingen.

Transfer Philipsburg to the French.

The Cardinal procured Monsieur's marriage to be declar'd void.

1635.

was

CHAP. was wholly compos'd of Court-Bishops, who were ready to declare whatever the prime minister would have them; and if he desir'd it, would frame another declaration directly opposite to this to-morrow. Monsieur also still insisted on the validity of his marriage. However, when he was press'd on this head, he told his Majesty that if the Pope declar'd he might marry again, he would obey him.

XXXIV. **RICHLIEU** about this time prevail'd with the King to let the councils be held at his house, under pretence of his want of health, and his Majesty usually came hither from St. Germain and Versailles. Most people believ'd, that this proceeded from the perpetual fears the Minister was in, not daring to trust himself much abroad, and when he did go out, his people were never acquainted with it till the moment he took coach; for the Princes of the blood and the Nobility, whom he treated with the utmost contempt, as well as the people who were oppress'd by taxes, equally hated him: so that it seems this mighty authority, founded wholly upon the King's weakness and a perpetual series of acts of violence, was attended with no small inquietude. He render'd himself dreaded by every man, and yet fear'd every man himself; conscious that the people, whose liberties he had invaded, would lose no opportunity to destroy him. The ill success of the French arms this campaign also was a considerable mortification to the Cardinal; for the Germans surpriz'd Philipsburg, in which were their magazines and a considerable treasure, and afterwards took the city of Triers, making the Archbishop of the place their prisoner, who was in the French interest: Worms and several other towns also submitted to the Imperialists.

The French enter into an alliance offensive and defensive with the Dutch and other Powers with money. It was agreed by this treaty to divide the Spanish Netherlands between the French and the States, when they should have made a conquest of them. The pretence of the French for declaring war against Spain, was their refusing to release the Archbishop of Triers, who had put himself under the protection of France. The Spaniards, on the other side, declar'd, that it was not in reality the King of France that made war upon them, but Cardinal RICHLIEU, who had usurp'd the government of that kingdom. But whatever were the grounds of the war, the French and Dutch having join'd their forces, amounting to forty thousand men and upwards, took Tirlemont, and afterwards laid siege to Louvain, which they were oblig'd to raise on the approach of the Spaniards and Imperialists. Nor did this great army perform any thing answerable to the expectation of the French court; which proceeded, 'tis said, from

the misunderstandings among their Generals, or rather with the Dutch; who observing the haughty and imperious behaviour of the French, began to be afraid of having them for their neighbours, and therefore would not enter upon any considerable action. 'Tis observ'd also, that the Dutch so contriv'd matters, that the French were destitute of all necessaries in their camp, whereby they lost abundance of men, while the forces of the States had plenty of provision among them.

About the same time the King of France enter'd into an alliance with the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua and Parma, whereby the Cardinal proposed no less than the conquest of the Milanese. The first enterprize they undertook was the siege of Valentia; but the misunderstandings among the Generals on this side also prevented the taking of it, and they were forc'd to raise the siege. It is observable, that whatever Powers have enter'd into an alliance with France, unless their Ministers and Generals might govern the confederacy, and have the absolute command of the troops, they have constantly ruin'd the undertaking, or so manag'd matters, as to be the chief gainers by it. This is a truth their allies have experienced more than once. But to proceed: The next campaign the French and Italian Generals agreed no better than the former; and the Duke of Parma's territories, which lay next to the Milanese, were in a manner ruin'd by the Spaniards, while the Duke of Savoy and the French General the Marshal de Crequi retir'd towards Piedmont.

The French had no better success in Franche Comte, where the Prince of Condé commanded; for having laid siege to Dole, the second town of the county, he was oblig'd to raise it on the approach of the Duke of Lorraine and the German army. On the side of the Pyrenees the Spaniards were superiour to the French; but the latter prevented their taking of Bayonne, which was threatned by the Spanish Generals. In the mean time the frontiers of Picardy being very ill guarded, the Spaniards took several towns there; and having pass'd the Somme, put Paris itself into a great consternation: but the French assembled their forces, and oblig'd them to retire.

The Duke of Orleans and Count Soissons now commanded the grand army of France; for the success of the Spaniards was such in Picardy, at the beginning of the campaign, that the Cardinal found it absolutely necessary to place the Princes of the blood at the head of the troops, in order to keep up the spirits of the people, and induce them to submit to those heavy taxes which were levied on this occasion for the defence of the kingdom; though he was very well-satisfied, that both Monsieur and the Count were his mortal enemies: and indeed the giving them the command of the army had very near prov'd fatal to him; for consulting

An alliance with the Italian Princes.

1636.

A conspiracy against the Cardinal.

CHAP. with some of the principal nobility, whom this
 XXXIV. Prelate had equally disoblig'd, they resolv'd to
 take him off, and had employ'd four assassins for
 that purpose; but the Princes were so irresolute,
 that though these Bravo's had surrounded the Car-
 dinal, and demanded the sign to fall upon him,
 neither of them durst give it, pretending they
 were restrain'd by the reverence they bore to his
 character as a Priest; and while they hesitated,
 the Cardinal took coach and escap'd their hands,
 not knowing at that time the danger he was in.
 Monsieur and Count Soissons afterwards deter-
 mined to endeavour the disgrace of this Minister,
 by acquainting his Majesty with his ill conduct,
 which they affirm'd had occasion'd all the calami-
 ties the nation labour'd under; and particularly his
 engaging in a war with Spain, which he knew not
 how to maintain with honour. But the Cardinal
 being appriz'd of their intentions, caused a report
 to be spread, that the King designed to apprehend
 them; at which they were so alarm'd, that they
 both made their escapes, and left the Cardinal in
 the sole possession of the King's ear. Monsieur re-
 tir'd only to Blois, and soon after returned to
 court, when he understood it was a false alarm;
 but Count Soissons went to Sedan, and did not
 think fit to trust himself any more in the Car-
 dinal's power.

1637.

The French
 driven out
 of the Val-
 teline again.

The King's
 Confessor
 ruined by the
 Cardinal.

The campaign of 1637 prov'd successful to the
 French and Dutch in Flanders; FREDERICK-
 HENRY Prince of Orange took Breda, and the
 Cardinal de la Valette, General of the French,
 took several other towns from the Spaniards on
 that side: but in Italy they had the worst of it.
 The Duke of Parma, their allie, was oblig'd to
 make his peace with the Spaniards; and the Gri-
 sons, with the assistance of the Spanish troops,
 drove the French out of the Valteline, which
 they had been at a very great expence to take and
 defend.

Father CAUSSIN, the King's Confessor, either
 concern'd to see his Majesty and the nation per-
 petually imposed on by the Cardinal; or, accord-
 ing to others, hoping to succeed him in the post of
 prime Minister, if he could procure his disgrace,
 took an opportunity about this time to lay his
 ill conduct before the King, instancing in four
 particulars: 1. The banishment of the Queen-
 mother, who wanted even the necessaries of life.
 2. This Prelate's usurping the royal authority, so
 that his Majesty had no more than the bare name
 of King. 3. The oppression of the people, who
 were reduc'd to the utmost misery by the exorbi-
 tant taxes. And, 4. His supporting the Swedes
 and German Protestants against the Catholics,
 to the ruin of their religion in the Empire. And
 though this charge was for the most part true and
 notorious to all the world, such was the Cardi-
 nal's interest with his master, that he procur'd the

poor Confessor to be thrown into prison, where
 he remain'd till the King died.

The Duke of Savoy being dead, as has been re-
 lated already, and leaving behind him a son an
 infant, to whom the Duchess his mother, sister
 to the French King, was guardian, the Cardinal
 oblig'd her to enter into an alliance offensive and
 defensive with France against the Spaniard; and
 sent the Cardinal de la Valette into Italy, to com-
 mand the army there upon the death of Marshal
 Crequi; for 'tis observ'd of RICHLIEU, that he
 chose to employ Ecclesiasticks upon almost all occa-
 sions, how foreign soever to their profession. The
 Archbishop of Bourdeaux was Admiral, Valette
 General, and most of the foreign Ministers in
 holy orders: he either thought these gentlemen
 better qualified for publick employments, or more
 devoted to his interests than other men. But to
 return. The Spanish General, the Marquis de
 Leganez, finding himself superiour to the French
 and Savoyards, laid siege to Verceil in Piedmont,
 and took it; but declar'd at the same time, that
 he came into Piedmont and Montferrat only to ex-
 pel the French, and not to make war against the
 Duke; for the Cardinal had insisted that the
 Duchess should put all her strong towns into the
 hands of the French.

The Duke of Weimar, whose troops were paid
 by France, engaged the Imperialists this campaign
 near the borders of Switzerland, and defeated
 them; in which battle the Duke of Rohan, who
 formerly commanded the French Protestants, was
 killed. Afterwards the Duke of Weimar took
 Rhinfeld, Friburgh and Brisac; and the country
 of Brisgow and several towns in Suabia submitted
 to him. In Artois the French did not meet with
 equal success; for having laid siege to St. Omers,
 the Spaniards marched to its relief, and oblig'd
 them to raise it. It seems, the Cardinal, with all
 his policy, had a good share of superstition and
 credulity: a nun who pretended to the spirit of
 prophecy related, that in one of her visions, she
 saw two armies fighting near St. Omers, and that
 the King's was victorious; which, 'tis said, was his
 principal inducement for consenting to this unfor-
 tunate siege, for which he was by no means pro-
 vided. But this was not the Cardinal's weakness
 alone; most of the great men of that age seem to
 have had great faith in visions, prophecies, and the
 magick art.

This year the French invaded Spain on the side
 of Guipuscoa, took Port Passage, with several
 Spanish men of war and galleons, and afterwards
 laid siege to Fontarabia: but the Spaniards oblig'd
 them to raise it, to the great mortification of the
 Cardinal, as well as the Prince of Condé, who
 commanded the army. The King, however, was
 extremely rejoic'd at this time to find his Queen
 big with child, after they had been married two
 and

CHAP.
 XXXIV.

1638.
 An alliance
 with Savoy.

The Cardi-
 nal employs
 Ecclesiasti-
 cks in the
 fleet and
 army.

The D. of
 Weimar de-
 feats the Im-
 perialists, and
 takes Fri-
 burgh, Bri-
 sac, &c.

The Cardi-
 nal's weak-
 ness.

The Q. of
 France with
 child after
 she had been
 barren 22
 years.

CHAP. XXXIV. and twenty years, no signs of her pregnancy having appear'd before. This one would have thought should have so much endear'd her to his Majesty, that the Cardinal might have been afraid to offend her; but this insolent Prelate having discovered that the Queen held a correspondence with her brother the Cardinal Infanta on the subject of peace, and that the letters which passed between them were lodg'd in a closet she had in an oratory in the nunnery of Val de Grace, he procur'd an order from the King to seize them, and sent the Chancellor to execute it; but he being afraid of the Queen's resentment, discover'd the matter to her Majesty, and gave her an opportunity of removing all obnoxious papers before he came, so that the thing was not attended with any ill consequences, as it happen'd; tho' had not the Queen been big with child, 'tis said, the Cardinal would have proceed'd against her in a more violent manner. Another instance historians give us of the intolerable insolence of the prime minister, and weakness of the King, deserves to be related; the King it seems had a mistress call'd Mademoiselle DE FAYETTE, of whom he was infinitely fond, insomuch that the Cardinal was apprehensive she might influence his Majesty to his prejudice: this lady of a sudden retir'd into a convent, and resolv'd to have no farther commerce with his Majesty; at which he was much surpriz'd, and being determin'd to know the reason of it, took an opportunity to hunt in the forest where the convent stood, and leaving his attendants, had a long conversation with her, in which he discover'd that one of his pages who used to carry the billets between him and the lady used to bring them to the Cardinal, who alter'd or suppress'd them as he saw fit, making no scruple of counterfeiting the King's hand on this occasion; and it was the unkind expressions the Cardinal had made use of in these letters that went under his Majesty's name to the lady that induc'd her chiefly to think of retiring to a convent; tho' he made use of other means to effect it, for he threatned several of her friends with banishment, unless they persuaded her to shut her self up in a nunnery. Notwithstanding all these provocations, the poor King durst not express his resentment against the high and mighty Cardinal any otherwise than by dismissing the page that had been his tool. The same evening the King and Madam FAYETTE had this conversation, in which they discover'd the villany of the prime minister, the Queen was brought to bed of a son, viz. on the 5th of September 1638, who afterwards succeeded his father by the name of LEWIS the Fourteenth.

The Cardinal
seizes the
Queen's pa-
pers.

The Cardinal
seizes the
King's hand,
and alters his
letters.

The Cardinal
seizes the
Queen-mo-
ther to re-
turn to
France.

at least to procure a revenue suitable to her quality, **CHAP. XXXIV.** for the Cardinal would not suffer a penny to be paid her out of her estate. She desir'd the French Ambassador at the English court also to acquaint the Cardinal that the afflictions she had suffer'd since she left France had inspir'd her with different sentiments from those she had entertain'd formerly; and conjur'd him to deliver her from the misery and necessity of begging her bread: that she desir'd indeed to be near the King, but should not concern herself in publick affairs, and if he would procure her return to court, would dismiss all her servants that were suspected by him, and do every thing he should advise her to. But the Cardinal, far from shewing the least compassion for his great benefactress, who had advanc'd him to the post he possess'd, consider'd the natural inclination that women generally have to revenge themselves, and the humour of her Majesty in particular, who would infallibly ruin him if it was in her power, for the repeated slights and provocations he had given her. Nor was he a little mov'd by his own implacable malice, who was never known to forgive any one that had offended him, and which alone would have determin'd him to reject all the offers that this afflicted Prince's could make him. He caus'd a letter therefore to be written to her in his Majesty's name, wherein the King tells her there was no longer room to rely upon her fair promises, who had always been accusom'd to dissemble, and that her unquiet temper would not suffer her to live in peace at any place; that if she should come to France she would immediately cabal with the malecontents again, and occasion new disorders: that he insist'd therefore upon her retiring to Florence her native country, where she should receive an allowance suitable to her quality; concluding that he thought himself justified before God and man, as he had done all that was in his power to give the Queen satisfaction, without hazarding the peace of his kingdom.

The Queen of England also wrote to the French King in behalf of the Queen-mother, and order'd the Lord JERMYN, who resided at that court, to use his utmost endeavour to procure her return, or at least a maintenance while she remain'd out of France; but they could obtain no other answer than his Majesty had given already. Thus did the Cardinal triumph over the whole royal family; the Queen-mother he had banish'd, the Queen-consort he render'd suspected to his Majesty, as being in the interest of Spain her native country; and the King's brother the Duke of Orleans, and the rest of the Princes of the blood, were charged with designs upon the crown, and used accordingly. Not long after the Queen-mother was obliged to retire out of England (on account of the jealousies some people stupidly entertain'd of her negotiations here) and went to Cologne,

1639.

Cologne,

CHAP. Cologne, where she spent the remainder of her
XXXIV. life in greater want than could be imagin'd, con-
sidering she was so nearly related to the greatest
Princes in Europe; which would not have hap-
pen'd if the King and Queen of England had not
soon after been reduced to greater distress them-
selves by an unnatural rebellion.

The Duke de la Valette, son to the Duke
of Espernon, was the next mark of the Cardi-
nal's vengeance. He was already fled into Eng-
land under an apprehension that this Prelate would
destroy him; but not content with his banishment,
he order'd a special commission to try him, charg-
ing him with high-treason in preventing the re-
duction of Fontarabia. He was summon'd to sur-
render himself on a certain day, and not appear-
ing, he was condemned to be executed in effigy,
and his estate confiscated. The parliament of Paris
remonstrated against this proceeding, the offences
of Peers being only cognizable in that court. To
which the King answer'd, they were a pack of ig-
norant wretches, and he would make them sensi-
ble their privileges were founded only upon un-
warrantable usage. That by his prerogative he
had a power of trying Dukes and Peers by a special
commission, and assisted in the court in person in
order to get him condemn'd: a thing, says my
author, without precedent in France till this time;
but he look'd upon himself oblig'd to execute the
Cardinal's schemes, how unjust and arbitrary so-
ever they seem'd to be.

The parlia-
ment re-
ceives fur-
ther mortifi-
cations from
the mini-
ster.

The French
take posses-
sion of the
Duke of
Savoy's
towns.

The Duchess of Savoy, the King's sister, was
at this time hard press'd by the Spaniards and her
brothers-in-law Prince THOMAS and the Cardinal
of Savoy, whom the Emperor had constituted
guardians of the young Duke. But RICHLIEU
refus'd to send her any re-inforcements unless she
would put the strong towns she was possess'd of in
Piedmont into the hands of the French King's
troops, which she was at length oblig'd to consent
to; and this occasion'd the revolt of great part of
the country, who dreaded coming under the do-
minion of France; even the city of Turin it self
surrender'd to Prince THOMAS to avoid it, but
the castle was still garrison'd by the French.

In the Low Countries the Marshal DE CHA-
TILLON was defeated near Thionville; but the
French army commanded by the Marquis of Meil-
leraye made themselves masters of Hedin this cam-
paign. On the side of Roussillon the armies of
France and Spain fac'd each other, but there was
no action of any consequence, unless the taking
and retaking of Saluces. The greatest success the
French and their allies met with this year, was
on the side of Germany, where the Duke of Wei-
mar commanded a separate body of Germans.
This General had possess'd himself of Brisac, Fri-
burg, and many other considerable towns in
Franche Comte and Alsace, and happening to die soon

They get
possession of
Friburg,
Brisac, &c.

after, the French distributed their money so art-
fully among his officers, that they deliver'd them
into the hands of the French, though the Duke by
his will had given his conquests to his two brothers.
'Tis suppos'd that the Cardinal had procur'd the
Duke to be poison'd for this very end. Upon pro-
mitting his army some addition to their pay, he
prevail'd on them also to accept the Duke of Lon-
gueville for their General, and to take an oath of
fidelity to the King of France. By these and o-
ther services the Cardinal look'd upon himself to
have merited so much of the crown, that there
was nothing how unreasonable soever that he
durst not attempt. He obliged the Queen-
consort to turn off her first Maid of Honour,
and the Comptroller of her household, because
of their unshaken fidelity to their mistress, and
put two of his own creatures in their room, for
whom her Majesty had the greatest aversion. He
was afraid the Queen might establish herself in
the King's favour now she had been so happy as
to bring him a Dauphin, and would suffer none
but his own people to be about her, lest they
should contrive his ruin. It was his constant maxim,
that a man should never have friendship for, or
confidence in those whom he had treated ill. His
conduct was the same towards the King's mistresses
as it was towards her Majesty: whenever he found
them like to have an ascendant over his mind, he
drew him from Paris, either under pretence of
hunting, or viewing his frontier towns, and never
let him return again till he imagin'd his passion
was cool'd; and then he often had the assurance
to banish them the court, and perhaps propose
some new amour to make him forget the former.

Instances of
the Cardi-
nal's power,
and the
weakness of
his master.

But to return to military affairs: The French
having augmented the army of the late Duke of
Weimar with a considerable reinforcement of na-
tional troops, commanded the Duke of Longue-
ville their General to pass the Rhine, and act in
concert with the Swedes against the Imperialists;
but there happen'd such jealousies among the offi-
cers, that they effected nothing considerable this
campaign.

In the Low Countries the Cardinal resolved
upon the siege of Arras, which was invested by
Marshal MEILLERAYE on the 12th of June;
but the Cardinal Infanta marching to its re-
lief, RICHLIEU begun to be apprehensive of the
success of the enterprize, and therefore ordered
another body of forces under the command of
DU HAILLER to join MEILLERAYE. The
King fearing that DU HAILLER and MEILLE-
RAYE might both be defeated before they could
unite their troops, which would give the Spaniards
an opportunity of penetrating into the heart of
the kingdom, positively forbid DU HAILLER to
advance: but RICHLIEU sent him an order not-
withstanding to endeavour a conjunction, and he
would

CHAP.
XXXIV.

CHAP. would be answerable for his conduct; whereupon XXXIV. DU HAILLER chose rather to obey the Cardinal than the King; and meeting with all the success he could desire in this expedition, the town was taken, and the King did not think fit to express any resentment at the Cardinal's presumption in contradicting his orders on such an important occasion; nor was DU HAILLER punish'd for disobeying his Majesty.

The Catalo-
nians and
Portuguese
revolt from
Spain.

The Catalonians revolted from Spain the same campaign, and put themselves under the protection of the French, who immediately possess'd themselves of Barcelona. About the same time the Portuguese threw off the Spanish yoke, and plac'd the Duke of Braganza upon the throne of that kingdom, who took upon him the title of Don JOHN the Fourth; in contriving which revolution the Cardinal is said to have had a considerable share. In Italy also the arms of France were very successful. The Spaniards were defeated and forc'd to raise the siege of Casal, in which was a French garrison, and the city of Turin surrender'd to Count HARCOURT. The Cardinal about this time had two great projects on foot; the one was the conversion or banishment of the Hugonots, and the other the making himself Patriarch of France: but he had too much business of another kind upon his hands, and was too little belov'd to effect either of them.

The Queen
has a second
son.

The Queen on the twenty-first of September was deliver'd of another son, named PHILIP, afterwards Duke of Orleans. It was apprehended that her Majesty would now have a considerable influence at court, but the Cardinal still carried it as high towards her as ever, and, 'tis said, extorted a promise from the King, that in case he died and declar'd the Queen Regent, he should be the chief of her council, and the Queen oblig'd to follow his advice. And that he might meet with no further opposition from the parliament of Paris, he prevail'd on the King to assemble all the chambers, and cause a declaration to be read to them, wherein he prohibited that body to concern themselves any more in matters of state, and to receive his edicts; not to deliberate upon them, but to confirm them. He asserted his prerogative also in disposing of all the offices of parliament, and at the same time deposed the President BARILLON, and the Counsellors SCARRON and SALO, and some others. He further order'd that the parliament should give an account of their proceedings to the Chancellor every three months, and obtain a licence from his Majesty to continue in their respective functions every year, whereby the King absolutely destroy'd the authority of the parliament of Paris.

1641.
The parlia-
ment abso-
lutely de-
priv'd of
their autho-
rity.

The Duke
of Lorraine
restor'd, and
driven out
of his coun-
try again.

The Duke of Lorraine about this time made his submission to the King, or rather the Cardinal, and procur'd part of his territories to be re-

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stor'd him; but the French still retain'd Nancy CHAP. the capital, and several other places; and under XXXIV. pretence that the Duke begun to fortify his towns, and enter into an alliance with the Spaniards, they seiz'd upon his country again, obliging the Duke to retire to Flanders, where the taking of Aire by the French, and the retaking of it by Spaniards, were the most considerable occurrences that happened this campaign. In Italy Count HARCOURT took Coni, and some other fortresses, while the Spaniards and Prince THOMAS retook several places the French had seiz'd; but in general the Spaniards had the worst of the war on that side. The Marshal DE BREZE was this year sent to Barcelona in quality of Viceroy of Catalonia for the French, with orders to possess himself of Roussillon, in order to preserve the communication between France and that province. About this time RICHLIEU procur'd his friend JULIUS MAZARIN a Cardinal's cap, who had done him signal services by his negotiations in Italy while he was nuntio from the Pope.

Mazarin
made a Car-
dinal.

In the meantime the prime minister was once more in great danger from a conspiracy form'd by Count SOISSONS, the Dukes of Guise, Bouillon, and many others of the principal nobility, who being supported by the Spaniards, had recourse to arms. They publish'd a manifesto, complaining of the Cardinal's practices to destroy them: they charge him with ruining the kingdom by unnecessary wars; draining the nation of its treasure to purchase foreign towns and territories at extravagant rates, as Brisac, Philipsburgh, and others; squandering away large sums to procure himself friends in Italy and elsewhere. They shew also that all his Majesty's allies were a charge to him, and only made feeble diversions at the expence of France. That the Cardinal had caus'd the principal nobility to be imprison'd or banish'd who oppos'd his arbitrary proceedings, and others had been condemn'd to death by corrupt commissioners of his own nomination. That he had violated and abrogated all the laws of the kingdom, under the specious pretence of asserting the King's prerogative. That he had robb'd the provinces of their antient privileges, and vacated the compacts made with former Kings. That the nation was beggar'd by taxes, and trade entirely lost by the high duties on merchandize. That the country was ruin'd by quartering soldiers, and even tillage and manufactures at a stand, insomuch that many of the peasants perish'd by famine. The greatest part of which charge against the Cardinal, says my author, was without doubt very well ground- ed; but such was his good fortune, that when the malecontents had assembled an army and de- feated that of the King's near Sedan, Count SOIS- sons, his greatest enemy, was killed by a pistol- shot after victory had declar'd for him. It is generally

Another in-
surrection
against
Richlieu.

Instances of
his male-
administra-
tion.

Count Sois-
sons kill'd
after he had
obtain'd a
victory.

S f f f

CHAP. XXXIV. generally said he fell by the hands of one of his own guards, whom the Cardinal had corrupted to take him off in the engagement. But however that was, certain it is the Cardinal had run a very great hazard of being disgrac'd if this Prince had surviv'd his victory, for the King began to be very impatient at the danger **RICHLIEU** had expos'd him to by his oppressions. The Duke of Bouillon, and the rest of the malecontents being offer'd advantageous terms by the Cardinal, consented to lay down their arms, and the minister thereupon became as firmly establish'd in his Majesty's favour as ever.

1642.
The French
successful in
Germany
and Catalo-
nia.

Perpignan
the capital
of Roussillon
besieg'd.

Another
conspiracy
against
Richlieu.

The year 1642 was as fortunate to France as any of the preceding. Count **GUEBRIANT** having join'd a body of Hessians, defeated the Imperial General **LAMBOY** and took him prisoner, making himself master of great part of the electorate of Cologne. On the side of Catalonia the French defeated a body of five thousand Spaniards; after which the King and Cardinal march'd at the head of a great army and laid siege to Perpignan, the capital of Roussillon. This grand expedition obliging the French to withdraw some of their troops from the Low Countries, the Spaniards became superiour here, and took the town of Lens, and afterwards defeated Marshal **GUICHE**; which is the only success they met with this campaign, and this the Spaniards made no manner of improvement of.

While the King's troops were marching to the siege of Perpignan, another conspiracy was form'd against the Cardinal. **HENRY DEFFIAT**, Marquis of Cinque Mars, Master of the Horse to his Majesty, (frequently call'd Monsieur le Grand), having been disoblig'd by **RICHLIEU**, determin'd to destroy him; and knowing that the Duke of Orleans, notwithstanding his outward reconciliation with this Prelate, was still his enemy, he easily prevail'd with his Highness to join in the design. The Duke of Bouillon and de Thou engag'd also in the enterprize. It was agreed by them to treat with the King of Spain in the name of the Duke of Orleans, and that ministry promis'd to furnish them with twelve thousand foot and four thousand horse veteran troops, besides a great sum of money.

The Cardinal was sensible that the master of the horse was contriving some mischief against him, but could not fathom the bottom of it. There was a current report that the affection the King had for the prime minister apparently declin'd, and that the master of the horse had much the greatest share of his Majesty's favour. How true soever this might be, the Cardinal was resolv'd to lose no opportunity to re-establish himself in the King's good opinion: while they were on the march towards Roussillon therefore, he lodg'd always in the same place with his Majesty, and never fail'd to see him every morning and evening, to dissipate by his presence all the schemes that might have been

laid to prejudice his Majesty against him; and as **CHAP. XXXIV.** the Master of the Horse was young and thoughtless, and consequently fell infinitely short of the dexterity of the minister in the art of cajoling their master, the Cardinal easily broke all his measures. It is said that the favourite had several times propos'd to the Duke of Orleans and de Thou to assassinate the Cardinal, but they would not consent to it. In the mean time the Master of the Horse, who ought to have endeavour'd to preserve and cultivate the friendship the King had for him, seem'd to take a pleasure in contradicting him, and frequently absented himself when the King desired his company; and when his friends represented that this conduct would infallibly ruin himself and them, he told them that he could not bear the smell of the King's breath: so very arrogant and indiscreet was this young nobleman, even while he was engag'd in an affair which requir'd the nicest management. It is surprizing therefore that persons of that figure as the Dukes of Orleans and Bouillon were, durst be concern'd in a conspiracy with him.

While the King lay before Perpignan, the Cardinal by his spies at Madrid procur'd a copy of the treaty between the Spaniards and the malecontents, which he communicated to his Majesty; whereupon the conspirators were apprehended, and try'd by a special commission, except the Duke of Orleans, who betraying his friends according to custom, and making an ample confession, was pardon'd. The Duke of Bouillon also escap'd with his life on surrendering his principality of Sedan to the crown, but the master of the horse and de Thou were beheaded: after which Perpignan having been block'd up till the seventh of September, surrender'd, the garrison having suffer'd extremely for want of food.

The Cardinal being taken very ill in his return from Roussillon, and not able to bear the jolting of a coach, contriv'd a kind of portable chamber, so large that it would hold his bed, a table, and seats for a friend or two, and was carried on the shoulders of eighteen men bare-headed. In this state he travell'd near two hundred leagues; and as the machine was too large to enter the gates of several towns, they beat down their walls to let it through, and the roads were frequently enlarg'd and levell'd for the ease of this haughty Prelate in his journey.

As **RICHLIEU** ow'd his grandeur chiefly to the divisions he fomented in the neighbouring States, and maintaining parties in almost every kingdom against the Sovereign, England among the rest unhappily suffer'd by the intrigues of this minister; nor was he contented privately to foment the rebellion against King **CHARLES** the First, but permitted the Ambassador of France publicly to apply himself to that assembly which bore the name of

Cinque Mars
and de Thou
executed.

Perpignan
surrendered.

The Cardi-
nal's grand
way of tra-
velling.

He fomented
the divisions
between the
King of
England and
his parlia-
ment.

HAP. XXIV. of a Parliament, and countenanced their usurpations, of which the King of England complain'd to his brother of France, and procur'd the Ambassador to be recall'd. **RICHLIEU**'s friends indeed excuse his conduct in this matter, by saying it was a just retaliation for the assistance King **CHARLES** had given the Rochellers: but the case seems to be widely different; for the religion, rights and liberties of the Protestants of France having been establish'd by the most solemn edicts, which **RICHLIEU** thought fit to invade, that people had certainly a right to defend themselves, and the Protestant powers of Europe had an equal right to interpose and afford them their assistance. Whereas the sectaries in England without any just provocation withdrew their allegiance from their Sovereign, and refused to live in subjection to him or any other government ecclesiastical or civil, till in the end they entirely subverted the constitution in church and state, sequester'd the lands of the crown, of the bishops, the nobility, and of every loyal subject, and divided them among their factious brethren. But to return to France: Prince **THOMAS** of Savoy who commanded their forces in Italy was as successful there as their Generals had been in other places this campaign, taking Nice de la Paille, Tortona and other towns from the Spaniards. And now when the Cardinal seem'd to be arriv'd at the highest pitch of glory, or at least what he esteem'd such, and was laying schemes of universal monarchy, his distemper increas'd upon him and put an end to all his mighty projects. But before I come to describe the last scene of his life, I cannot forbear giving another instance of his unparallel'd arrogance and presumption. He was, or pretended to be, afraid of being assassinated by the King's guards, who had a particular affection for the master of the horse whom he had beheaded; he desired therefore that whenever he came to wait on his Majesty he might introduce into the palace a number of his own guards equal to the King's, which the easy Prince consented to, tho' 'twas such a proposal, as my author observes, that would have been construed high-treason in another.

The Cardinal. The Cardinal did not enjoy this mark of distinction long, for his fever and the pain of his side increasing, together with a difficulty of breathing, the physicians pronounc'd that he had but a short time to live; of which the King being inform'd, made him a visit, and speaking to him with a great deal of tenderness and concern, he answer'd, that he took his leave of his Majesty, knowing he must shortly pay that common tribute which all men owe to nature; that he felt a sensible satisfaction in reflecting that he had never done any thing in his whole life contrary to his Majesty's service, and left France in the highest reputation it had ever enjoy'd in the world, her enemies being humbled to his wishes; and advis'd his Ma-

CHAP. XXXIV. jesty to continue the present ministry, among whom his friend **MAZARIN** was the chief, as extremely capable of serving the crown. Soon after he receiv'd the viaticum, and as the curate enter'd with the host he said, Behold my Judge, who will soon pronounce my sentence! I desire with all my heart he may condemn me, if in my ministry I have propos'd any other end to my self than the good of religion and the state. Being ask'd if he forgave all his enemies, he answer'd, that he did it with all his heart, and after the same manner as he besought the divine justice to use him. And 'twas in general observ'd, that no man who had liv'd constantly conformable to the precepts of the gospel could have testified a greater confidence in God than this minister, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of the nobility, oppress'd the people with heavy taxes, subverted the liberties and privileges of the subject, and fomented wars and rebellions in most of the kingdoms of Europe. He gave his palace with furniture for the best apartments and fifteen hundred thousand livres to his Majesty, which sum he said had been of singular service to him in many exigencies of the state, and advis'd the King always to keep such a sum by him, to employ on pressing occasions when his treasury might be exhausted. He gave large legacies to his relations and all who had served him, besides a vast estate he left to his nephew **ARMAND DE MAILLE**. But to enter a little into his character: The ambition of this minister was insatiable, nothing less than the direction of all affairs at home and abroad would satisfy him, to which end it was requisite to preserve his post and make himself necessary to the King; this he effected by engaging him everlastingly in some new enterprize or other, which the poor Prince was sensible he could not carry on without him. He is said to have laid the foundation of an universal monarchy, and had a prospect of effecting it by the ruin of Spain, to which he gave two dangerous blows by supporting the insurrections of the Catalonians and Portuguese; and as it was necessary to facilitate the execution of his vast projects above all things to secure France from foreign invasions, and put himself in a condition to pour his forces into any country he design'd to reduce, he cover'd her frontiers on the side of the Low Countries where it was most exposed by the conquest of Artois: for the same reason he undertook the conquest of Roussillon, which would have been a barrier to France on the side of the Pyrenées; and with the like views he seized Brisac on the Rhine, and Pignerol on the confines of Italy, which he would never suffer the King to part with on any consideration whatever. And if the stretching the prerogative of the crown beyond all bounds, surprising the territories of the neighbouring Princes by the basest arts, and thereby rendring France terrible to her neighbours;

CHAP. bours; if the subverting the constitution of his own
XXXIV. country and enslaving his fellow-subjects, were
meritorious acts, he might deserve the epithet of
great, nay, of the greatest minister that ever sat
at the helm, as his admirers frequently stile him;
otherwise we may still continue to rank him a-
mong the plagues and scourges of mankind.

The Queen-
mother's
death.

The Cardinal before he died received news of the
Queen-mother's death at Cologne; and tho' they
had of late years been mortal enemies, yet as she
was once his benefactress and had introduc'd him
into the ministry, he thought it but decent to pay
some respect to her remains, and accordingly ce-
lebrated her obsequies with abundance of magnifi-
cence. The King, it's said, was extremely griev'd
at the news, and began to reflect with remorse on
the ill usage he had shewn his mother to satisfy
an inexorable minister; but RICHIEU knew
how to divert him from these disagreeable subjects,
and appears to have gone off the stage in full fa-
vour with his master; and the King, according to
his advice, advanc'd his friend Cardinal MAZA-
RIN to his post of prime minister.

1643.
The King
dies.

His Majesty did not long survive his favourite;
the fatigues of his journey to Roussillon, which
the Cardinal had put him upon, 'tis thought, was
very prejudicial to him: he was seiz'd by a slow
fever in April following, and perceiving his health
gradually decay, he declar'd his Queen ANNE of
Austria Regent of the kingdom during the mino-
rity of the Dauphin, and under her the Duke of
Orleans Lieutenant-General of the State and Pre-
sident of the Council; the other members whereof
were HENRY Prince of Condé, the Chancellor,
Cardinal MAZARIN and the Sieur DE CHAVIGNI.
He died on the fourteenth of May, in the forty-
third year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his
reign; leaving behind him two sons, viz. LEWIS,
who succeeded him by the name of LEWIS the
Fourteenth; and PHILIP, afterwards Duke of
Orleans.

Lewis XIV.

LEWIS the Fourteenth succeeded his father at
the age of four years, eight months and nine days,
and the parliament of Paris confirm'd his mother
Queen ANNE Regent during his minority, as the
late King LEWIS XIII had appointed. And not-
withstanding the Queen-mother had been former-
ly very ill used by the late ministry, yet Cardi-
nal MAZARIN foreseeing the King's death, having
made his court to her for some time, and procur'd
her to be appointed Regent, she forgot the affronts
she had receiv'd, and determin'd to continue him
and the rest of the late King's council in the ad-
ministration, to the great mortification of her
friends who had been sufferers with her, and had
reason to expect to be advanced to the principal
posts in the government. But Princes when their
turn is served do not always remember past ser-
vices; and she had this to alledge in MAZARIN's

behalf, besides his having procured her the regency, CHAP.
that he was by all acknowledged to be an able XXXIV.
minister, and well vers'd in the state of the na-
tion, which she could not be so well assured of in
any one she should have taken in to supply his
room. SEGUER the Chancellor was the only
man who was turned out of all the late ministers,
which could hardly be avoided, as he had been
guilty of some rudeness in searching for the Queen's
letters which she endeavoured to conceal from the
King.

The Spaniards apprehending they were supe-
rior to the French this year on the side of Cham-
paign, laid siege to Rocroy, which the Duke of
Enguien, son to the Prince of Condé, was sent to
relieve, it being esteemed a place of great impor-
tance. This young General was at this time but
two and twenty years of age. He marched with
all imaginable expedition, fell upon the besiegers,
gained a compleat victory, and raised the siege. He
afterwards took Thionville in Luxemburg; and
receiving advice that the Marshal DE GUEBRIAN
was hard press'd by the Dukes of Bavaria and
Lorraine on the confines of Germany, he marched
to his assistance, and made them retire in their
turn. Prince THOMAS of Savoy, and the French
Generals in Italy, also took several towns from
the Spaniards; and in Catalonia the Marshal DE
LA MOTTE drove the troops of Spain before him.
The French fleet likewise defeated that of the Spa-
niards near Cartagena; so that France was every
where victorious. These successes established the
credit of the ministry at a very critical juncture;
for their enemies were numerous and powerful,
and the least misfortune would at this time have
hazarded their disgrace. It is observed of MA-
ZARIN, that by ascribing all the glory of these
actions to the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of
Condé, and secretly creating in these Princes a
jealousy of each other, he had in a manner the
direction of the council, both of them appealing
to him when any dispute arose. The civil war
continuing in England, the French court sent
over an Ambassador thither under pretence of me-
diating between that King and his people; but
in reality to foment their divisions, for they were
apprehensive his British Majesty would have taken
the part of Spain and the Emperor if he had not
been engaged in these disputes, or they might with
a very small assistance have enabled him to crush
that rebellion.

The French were engaged in another media-
tion between the Pope and the Duke of Parma,
they tell us, and ascribe the conclusion of the
peace that followed between them to the address
of their ministers. The Pope it seems had taken
the duchy of Castro from the Duke of Parma;
whereupon the Republick of Venice, the Dukes
of Tuscany and Modena entered into an alliance
with

The French
gain a vic-
tory near
Rocroy.

1644

CHAP. with Parma for the recovery of it. The Duke of
 XXXIV. Parma marched up to the gates of Rome, and
 possess'd himself of several places in the ecclesi-
 astical State, and his Holiness was glad to relin-
 quish Castro on condition the Duke would retire
 out of his territories; and this would probably
 have been the case if the French had never been
 concerned in the affair: but according to the va-
 nity of that nation, no considerable event can
 happen in Christendom which they do not pretend
 to have the direction of; and indeed they seem
 at this day to have the fate of most of the king-
 doms in Europe too much at their disposal, what-
 ever they might have then. But to return to France:
 An insurrection happened this year in the province
 of Rovergne on account of the Taille or land-tax;
 and tho' the court had the good fortune to suppress
 it, and punish'd some of the mutineers, yet they
 thought fit to ease the people this year of ten mil-
 lions of livres, or one million sterling, in their
 taxes.

The French
 renew their
 alliance with
 the Dutch.

The French renew'd their alliance with the
 States General about this time, whereby the States
 obliged themselves to maintain an army against
 the Spaniards in the Low Countries consisting of
 twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and
 to fit out a fleet of thirty men of war to block
 up the mouth of the Scheld, or assist in the con-
 quest of any port town; and the French on the
 other hand agreed to pay them twelve hundred
 thousand livres. The following campaign the
 Duke of Orleans took Gravelin; and the Dutch,
 Sas van Ghent in Flanders. Upon the Rhine
 the Imperialists having taken Friburg, the Duke
 of Enguien march'd to stop their progress, and
 gain'd a compleat victory over them near that
 city, and afterwards took the strong town of Phi-
 lipsburgh; whereupon Worms, Spiers, Mayence,
 Oppenheim, Creutznach, Landau, Newstadt, Man-
 heim and Magdeburgh submitted to the French.
 And in Italy Prince THOMAS of Savoy, who
 commanded the troops of France, took the castle
 of Asti. The King of England's affairs appearing
 desperate at this time, the Queen retir'd to the
 court of France, where she afterwards married her
 daughter HENRIETTA to the Duke of Orleans.

They are
 victorious in
 Germany and
 take Philipps-
 burg, and
 abundance
 of towns
 there.

The campaign of 1645 was not less fortunate
 to France than the two preceding: in Catalonia
 they took the city of Roses, which surrender'd
 on the 21st of May; and afterwards defeated a
 great body of Spaniards: Balaguer and Agramont
 also were taken. And in Germany the Duke of
 Enguien on the first of August gain'd a victory
 over the Imperialists commanded by General
 MERCI, who was himself kill'd in the field of
 battle; whereupon Nortlingen surrender'd at dis-
 cretion, and Dunkeissel four days after. In Lor-
 rain the French took several towns; and in Italy
 Prince THOMAS made himself master of Vige-

1645.
 Their suc-
 cesses in Ca-
 talonia and
 Germany.

in Flanders,
 &c.

vano. While the Duke of Orleans in the Low Countries reduced Mardyke, Lillers, St. Venant, Armentiers and Meurin, (but Mardyke was retaken by the Spaniards). Before the conclusion of the campaign the French took the city of Triers, and re-establish'd their friend the Elector in the government of it.

In order to encourage the Dutch to continue the war against Spain, the French, besides the vast sums they advanc'd to the States, gave them very considerable advantages in point of trade this year. And while they made a considerable diversion on the side of Antwerp, the Duke of Orleans took Courtray, Berg and Mardyke: and Monsieur returning to court, the Duke of Enguien, who commanded the army in his absence, made himself master of Furnes and Dunkirk by the assistance of the Dutch fleet; and in Italy the French reduc'd Piombino and Porto Longone. There happening a dispute in a cavalcade at Rome about this time between the attendants of the Cardinal d'ESTRE Protector of the affairs of France, and those of the Spanish Ambassador; the Spaniards were beaten, and the Ambassador's coachman disabled, so that the minister was obliged to get another to drive him home; but the greatest mortification was, that the Ambassador was prohibited to dispute the precedence with the Cardinal any more. To return to more bloody encounters: Marshal TURENNE having defeated the Bavarian forces, afterwards took Aschaffenburg, Solingenstadt, Darmstadt, Scorndorff, Landeberg, and Lawinghen; so that the Electors of Mayence and Cologne, and the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt found themselves obliged to accept of a neutrality for their respective territories; and the Duke of Lorraine was perfectly driven out of his country. HENRY DE BOURBON Prince of Condé happening to die at the latter end of this successful campaign, his son the Duke of Enguien succeeded him in his honours and estate.

The great
 progress of
 the French
 in Germany.

The Spaniards imputing their ill fortune in a great measure to the unskilfulness or misunderstandings among their Generals, gave the government of the Low Countries, and the command of their armies there, to LEOPOLD Duke of Austria, who in the beginning of this campaign took Landrecy and Armentiers, and was about to besiege Dunkirk; but the French Generals found him other employment: Marshal RANTZAU took Dixmude, Nieusdam, Lens and Sluice from the Spaniards, and defeated the Marquis DE CARACENA.

The Duke of Enguien (now Condé) being made Viceroy of Catalonia, besieg'd Lerida; but here his usual good fortune seem'd to have deserted him, for he was obliged to rise from before it. However, the people were so indulgent to the young hero, that they would by no means impute this ill success to him, but threw the odium of it upon the prime minister,

1647.

CHAP. XXXIV. minister, affirming that he had neglected to furnish the Duke with necessaries for the siege on purpose to destroy him, because he was jealous of the power and reputation he had obtain'd.

A cessation
of arms in
Germany.

The treaty of Westphalia being now in a great forwardness, a suspension of arms was agreed on between France, Sweden, and the Regency of Hesse on the one part, and the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and Prince MAXIMILIAN on the other.

Notwithstanding the conquests the French had made on every side, the ministry were very desirous of peace; for the long continuance of the war had brought the treasury very low, and occasion'd the laying innumerable taxes on the subjects, which made them express no small disaffection to the administration. Besides which, the Dutch had enter'd into a separate treaty with the enemy, and without their assistance the French could not propose to carry on a war against the house of Austria with any advantage. However, there were some impediments which prevented the conclusion of it till the year 1648. In the mean time Count SCHOMBERG laid siege to Tortosa in Catalonia and took it, by which the French open'd a passage into the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia. The Prince of Condé also made himself master of Ipres in Flanders. While he lay before this place, the Spaniards retook Courtray, Furnes, and Lens: however, the Prince met with their army near the last town, and gave them a signal defeat.

1648.
The war in
Catalonia
and Flanders.

The parliament of Paris
oppose
the ministry.

The parliament of Paris about this time began to resume their antient authority; which the ministry were so offended at, that they ordered Messieurs DE BROUSSEL and BLANCMENIL, two of their busiest members, to be taken into custody, and some others were banish'd: but this proceeding was so resented by the city of Paris, that they barricaded their streets, insulted the Chancellor, and committed many disorders, which the government were forc'd to wink at while the war continu'd.

That memorable insurrection at Naples rais'd by MASSANELLO, a young fisherman, on account of the insupportable taxes levy'd there by the Spaniards, happen'd about the same time. The people gave him the title of their Captain-General, and in a few days he entirely subverted the government. But his fall was as sudden as his rise; he was forsaken of a sudden by the mob, who submitted themselves again to the Viceroy: but he continuing or increasing the impositions, which were the occasion of their uneasiness, they had recourse to arms a second time, and offered the Duke of Guise, a French nobleman, who was then at Rome, the government of the city. He accepted the command; but before he arrived there, the ministry found means to suppress the insurrection, and made the Duke prisoner.

At length the famous treaty of Munster, in which most of the powers of Europe were concern'd, was concluded on the 24th of October. The preliminaries of this treaty had been debated several years. The negotiations were carried on at Munster, the capital of Westphalia, and at Osnabrug, a town in the same circle about thirty miles from it; from whence this treaty is sometimes called the treaty of Munster, sometimes of Osnabrug, and at others of Westphalia. It was appointed to be held at two places, to prevent any differences that might happen among the plenipotentiaries on account of precedency, especially with the Pope's Nuntio, whom the Swedes and other Protestant Princes refus'd to have any commerce with; whereupon their ministers generally met at Osnabrug, as those of the Popish powers did at Munster, which occasion'd continual journeys from one place to the other.

The peace
of Munster
concluded.

This treaty was begun the eleventh of July N. S. or the first of the same month O. S. 1643, so that it lasted upwards of five years. The most material articles whereof, as far as it related to the Imperialists and the French, were, That the circle of Burgundy should continue a member of the Empire: That the controversy about Lorrain should be referr'd to arbitrators: That the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire should be re-established in their ecclesiastical and temporal estates, which they enjoy'd before the war: That the electoral dignity, with the Upper Palatinate, should go to the house of Bavaria; but that an eighth Electorate should be re-establish'd in favour of CHARLES-LEWIS, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and his heirs, who should enjoy the Lower Palatinate: That those of the confession of Augsburg should be put into the possession of their churches and ecclesiastical estates, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

The principal
articles
between
France and
the Empire.

That the right of sovereignty and other rights to the bishopricks of Metz, Toul and Verdun, should be confirmed to, and be incorporated in the crown of France. The Emperor and Empire also transferred all their right of sovereignty to Pignerol to the crown of France; as also all their rights, properties, jurisdictions, &c. in the city of Brisac, the landgraveship of the Upper and Lower Alsatia, Suntgow, and the provincial lordship of ten imperial cities situate in Alsatia, viz. Haguenau, Culmer, Schlettstat, Weisenburg, Landau, Obereenheim, Rosheim, Munster in the valley of St. Gregory, Keyserburg and Turingam, and all the villages depending on them, to the most Christian King and the kingdom of France, with a right to keep a garrison in the castle of Philipsburg.

Territories
yielded to
France.

The most Christian King on the other hand agreed to restore to the house of Austria the four forest towns of Rheinfelden, Seckingen, Lawfsenberg and Walshutten, with their territories, villages

Territories
restored to
the Empire.

CHAP. lages and appurtenances: Also the county of sex, to bring him over: the Cardinal also vow'd CHAP.
 XXXIV. Hawenstein, the Black Forest, the Upper and perpetual submission to his will, if he would pro- XXXIV.
 Lower Brisgow, and the towns situate therein, test him against his enemies; and by these and o-
 viz. Newburg, Friburg, Eudingen, Kenzingen, ther arts prevail'd on the Prince to espouse their
 Waldkirk, Willingen and Brunlingen, with their cause. Whereupon he threatned the parliament
 territories and appurtenances. Also all Ortnavien, and city of Paris with his resentment if they con-
 with the imperial cities of Offenburg, Gengenback, tinu'd disobedient to the Regent; and advis'd her
 Cellaham and Hamorspach. And it was agreed to retire with the young King from Paris to St.
 that for the future the commerce and passage Germain, that he might block up that city, and
 should be free to the inhabitants of both banks of make them sensible of their error. After which,
 the Rhine, and the adjacent provinces, especially he possess'd himself of Lagni, Corbeil, St. Cloud,
 the navigation of the said river, under the usual St. Dennis and Charenton, with his forces, where-
 tolls. And his most Christian Majesty in consid- by he cut off their communication with the coun-
 ration of the towns and territories thus transferr'd to try, and stopt all provisions coming to town;
 him, agreed to pay to the Archduke FERDINAND- which reduc'd them to great distress, and made
 CHARLES three millions of livres within three the people alter the good opinion they formerly had
 years. The King of Spain was not comprehend- conceived of him.

1649.

The parlia-
 ments re-
 sume their
 authority.

France had no sooner concluded a peace with the Empire but the kingdom began to be distract- ed again with intestine divisions: the many heavy taxes that had been laid to support the war, but chiefly the arbitrary manner of levying them, had created abundance of ill blood. The parliaments also, which had been depriv'd of their authority during the administration of RICHLIEU and MAZARIN, enter'd into a confederacy or act of union (as 'twas call'd) to vindicate their own and the people's privileges. They receiv'd the petitions of grievances which were brought them from all parts of the kingdom favourably, and promis'd to see justice done them; whereby they obtain'd the titles of the saviours and deliverers of their country: and those of them that were most zealous in their op- position to the court were usually call'd *Frondeurs* or Slingers, perhaps from their throwing or sling- ing at the ministry. But the Prince of Condé hav- ing obtain'd a victory over the Spaniards at Lens about this time, MAZARIN and the court-party look'd upon their interest to be so much strength- ened by it that they ventur'd to seize upon some of the principal members of the parliament of Paris and imprison them; whereupon the citizens of that capital had recourse to arms, barricado'd their streets, and oblig'd the ministry to release the im- prison'd members, as has been mention'd already; and might have carried their resentments farther, had not the Prince of Condé, who was equally in the good graces of the court and the people, made up the difference for the present. But it appearing soon afterwards that nothing less would satisfy the parliament and the people than the disgrace of MAZARIN, the Queen, in order to protect her fa- vourite, implor'd the assistance of the Duke of Or- leans and the Prince of Condé, but especially the latter, who had such an interest in the army and the kingdom in general, that she did not doubt carrying her point if she could gain him; she spar'd neither prayers or tears, the usual artillery of the

The parliament on the other hand charg'd the Cardinal with male-administration, declar'd him a disturber of the publick peace, and enemy to the King and kingdom, requiring him to leave France within eight days. They also levy'd forces, and voluntarily tax'd themselves to maintain them; and were seconded by great numbers of the principal nobility, particularly the Prince of Conti brother to the Prince of Condé. But notwithstanding this vi- gorous beginning, when the city began to be strait- ned for want of provisions, the Parisians thought fit to accept of a general indemnity, which was offer'd them by the court, and to lay down their arms again.

The parlia-
 ment oblig'd
 to submit to
 the court.

The Cardinal having obtain'd his end, and growing weary of his dependance on the Prince of Condé, endeavour'd to foment the divisions be- tween him and the Slingers. He also put the army under the command of other Generals whom he could confide in, and laid siege to Cambray with- out asking the Prince's advice, tho' he was forc'd to raise the siege, and had the mortification to see the Spaniards make themselves masters of Ipres the same campaign. The following winter the Car- dinal, in order to render the Prince and the Slin- gers irreconcilable, order'd a report to be spread that they had a design upon his life; and to confirm him in this suspicion, he caus'd his coach to be at- tack'd and shot through, by a mob he had spirited up, as it went empty through the city: which af- front being represented by the Prince in the man- ner the Cardinal expected it would, the people were no longer at his devotion. Whereupon this Pre- late caus'd the Prince himself, and his brother the Prince of Conti to be apprehended, with the Duke of Longueville, and sent prisoners to the castle of Vincennes; nor did any one attempt to rescue them. But the Parliament and the Slingers, as well as the Duke of Orleans, being sensible how much they had been abused by the Cardinal's artifices, they all determin'd to set the Princes at liberty; and this Prelate finding himself unable to resist

1650.

1651.

the

Their dis-
 pute with
 the ministry.

CHAP. the general current, seemingly agreed to it, but
XXXIV. thought fit at the same time to retire from court.

Another civil war. The Queen, however, being impatient at the absence of her favourite, soon made way for his return, putting his friends into all posts of honour or profit: which so disgusted the Prince of Condé, that he retir'd in discontent to Guienne, and rais'd an insurrection there. Bourdeaux and several other considerable towns declaring for him, another civil war was commenc'd, and the Prince, with whom the Duke of Orleans and the parliament of Paris join'd their forces, were at first much superiour to their enemies; but the Cardinal, who was now return'd to court, pretending to be desirous of peace, engag'd the Prince in fruitless negotiations till his party dwindled away, and most of his troops disbanded. The Prince, however, came to Paris with the remainder of his forces, between whom and the royalists there happen'd a smart encounter in the suburb of St. Anthony, and he was so well supported by the Parisians at this time, that the Cardinal was once more oblig'd to retire from court. But the Prince of Condé's party falling out among themselves, their enemies prevailed against them, and his Highness thought fit to leave the kingdom and join the Spaniards in Flanders, who gave him the command of their troops for several years. Whereupon the Cardinal return'd to his former post in triumph, and became more arbitrary than ever, neither the parliament or city of Paris durst afterwards lift up a hand against him.

The Prince of Condé leaves the kingdom, and commands the Spanish army.

Mazarin returns to court, and makes an alliance with Cromwell.

1653.

1654.

1655.

1656.

1657.

During these commotions at home their foreign wars succeeded very ill: In Catalonia Don JOHN of Austria besieged Barcelona and took it. In Italy the Spaniards made themselves masters of Casal; and in Flanders they besieged and took Gravelin and Dunkirk. These ill successes oblig'd Cardinal MAZARIN to look out for foreign assistance, and CROMWELL the Protector, as he was call'd, in England, being in great reputation for his warlike exploits, he enter'd into an alliance with him against the Spaniards.

In the year 1653 the Prince of Condé enter'd France at the head of an army of Spaniards; but was so narrowly observ'd by M. TURENNE, that he gain'd no other advantage than the taking of Rocroy. The year 1654 was remarkable for little else but the coronation of the King; as the following was for a massacre of the Protestant Vaudois, in which several French regiments assisted, and committed unheard-of cruelties. The French having laid siege to Valenciennes in 1656, Don JOHN of Austria obliged them to raise the siege, and gain'd a victory over their troops near that city. About this time CHRISTINA Queen of Sweden arrived at Paris, having resign'd her crown to lead a private life.

A misunderstanding happen'd this year between

France and her old allies the States-General, on CHAP. account of some French ships the Dutch had taken XXXIV. in the Mediterranean, said to have committed several acts of piracy; whereupon MAZARIN seiz'd the ships of Holland in the harbours of France by way of reprisal; and the Dutch took as many French ships as they could meet with; but the difference was made up without entering into a war. The same campaign the French were obliged to raise the siege of Cambray by the Prince of Condé; but they made themselves masters of Montmedy in Luxemburg: and now being join'd by six thousand of CROMWELL's veteran troops, they became superiour to the Spaniards in the Low Countries. By one of the articles between the English and French they were to endeavour the taking of Dunkirk, which was to be put into the hands of the English: accordingly that town was besieg'd in the year 1658, and the Prince of Condé and Don JOHN of Austria marching to the relief of it, were defeated by the French and English; after which the town surrender'd and receiv'd an English garrison, as had been stipulated. But I should have remembred that the preceding year BLAKE the Admiral of the English fell upon the Spanish fleet and galleons at the Canaries, and burnt them all, while they lay under the command of the forts upon the island; which was look'd upon as a very desperate action, such a thing not having been heard of at that time of day, as attacking a fleet defended by castles and batteries on shore, though now it is become very usual.

1658. Dunkirk taken and put into the hands of the English.

Most writers take notice of the figure CROMWELL, the Protector of the commonwealth of England, as he was call'd, made about this time. He had humbled the Dutch and the Spaniard, and made the French entirely dependent on him; none of the powers of Europe durst oppose him; and if he had lived a little longer, he had laid a scheme, as 'tis said, to bring all nations into his fold, under the pious pretence of making them subjects of Jesus Christ, whose Vicegerent on earth he would no doubt have pretended to be, and thus have rival'd the Pope in the power he assum'd of disposing of the kingdoms of the world. They tell us, that when the Protestants of Nismes in France had made an insurrection, and Cardinal MAZARIN had sent a detachment of the army to cut them in pieces, CROMWELL oblig'd him to countermand those troops, and grant them a pardon: and it was he that obliged the Duke of Savoy to desist from persecuting the Protestant Vaudois; so that 'tis no wonder that the reformed churches abroad have his memory in great veneration at this day. Cardinal MAZARIN complain'd of him, that he would be denied nothing; constantly alledging, that the people would not be otherwise satisfied. PUFFENDORFF observes of him, that in the treaty of alliance between France

Cromwell governs the court of France, and must of the powers in Europe.

CHAP. France and Spain, CROMWELL would not suffer their sovereign LEWIS XIV to be stiled King of France, but the French King; and insisted that his own name and stile, as Protector of the commonwealth of England, should stand before that of the French King's in the instrument of the treaty. This shews what a Prince or Usurper may do when he has made himself absolute master of the purses and persons of the people: the kingdom is then but one great farm let out at a rack-rent, and the people entirely slaves, whose business in this world is only to support the grandeur of their master; and though trade and navigation, manufactures and tillage must in these cases be under the utmost discouragement; and perhaps the produce of the country not yield half so much as it would if the people were in a state of freedom, as it is in France at this day, yet as the Sovereign is master of all that's left, he will make a greater figure among his neighbours than while he remain'd limited by laws: he could not bully the world about him so effectually when he depended only on the aids the subjects granted him, as when he had made himself master of all. Therefore it has always been the practice of ambitious Princes, first to make a conquest of their own people, and reduce them to a state of slavery, before they pretended to enlarge their dominions much by foreign conquests. It is not to be suppos'd that any free trading people should be willing to sacrifice their persons and wealth for the glory of their monarch, as 'tis call'd, in the same measure as he would himself if their estates were at his disposal. Self will be always at the bottom: the subject while he is free, will certainly rather lay out part of his money in trade and commerce, in increasing his own estate and supporting his family, than give the whole to encourage the ambitious views of a vain-glorious Prince, or his rapacious ministers. And this is the reason that Princes and their favourites too often look upon the people as their enemies: they have no notion of governing with a limited authority, nor can enjoy any happiness so long as they can be controll'd, or the subject retains any part of his substance for his own use. Taxes and standing armies therefore they constantly inculcate are necessary for the defence of the nation; though in reality they are generally rais'd for the support of an unwarrantable authority: either to purchase the leaders of the people, and induce them to give up the estates and liberties of those they represent to the crown, or to dragoon them into submission with the very forces they themselves have rais'd: and because national troops are not always found so compliant and ready to execute every barbarous order against their countrymen as foreigners, a good body of mercenaries are usually kept in pay as a corps de reserve in case all other measures fail. The French Princes while

they were employ'd in subduing their own subjects, ever kept a body of ten or twelve thousand Germans or Swiss in their pay, who would cut throats where they were bid without reluctance, and destroy whole towns and villages if they murmur'd at the taxes imposed upon them, or refused to submit to the tyranny of the court. But to return: The French being now reinforc'd by the English, became superiour to the Spaniards in Flanders again, and not only took Dunkirk from them, but Furnes, Berg St. Winock, Dixmude, Ipres, Grammont, Ninove, and many other places; and made some acquisitions in Catalonia and Italy: which successes inclined the Spaniards seriously to think of peace, and accordingly a treaty was set on foot, and conferences held in the isle of Pheasants, form'd by the river Bidassoa, which divides the two kingdoms; the plenipotentiaries being Cardinal MAZARIN prime minister of France on one side, and Don LEWIS DE HARO prime minister of Spain on the other. This was generally call'd the Pyrenean Treaty, the conferences being held near the foot of those mountains, and was concluded on the seventh of November, 1659, within less than a month after the conferences began. The principal articles were, That the French King should marry the Infanta of Spain, but that both of them should for themselves, their heirs and successors relinquish all right and pretensions to the Spanish monarchy, and the territories thereto belonging: which was done in the strongest terms and sworn to.

Towns taken by the French.

The Pyrenean treaty, 1659.

That the Prince of Condé, his servants and adherents should be receiv'd into favour: the Prince made governour of Burgundy, and his son the Duke of Enguien great master of the household.

That the French King should give no manner of assistance to the Portuguese.

That the Duke of Lorraine should have his country restor'd to him, but the French reserv'd the liberty of garrisoning some places, and marching through it when they pleas'd.

Franche Comte and Catalonia were restor'd to Spain, but Roussillon was confirm'd to the French, as well as several towns they had taken in the Netherlands.

CHARLES the Second, King of Great Britain, who was in exile at this time, went to the place of treaty, in hopes of getting something stipulated in his favour; but MAZARIN, 'tis said, refus'd to see him, and Don LEWIS DE HARO, though he gave him all the honour due to a crown'd head, put him off with fair promises only. Had they foreseen he would have been restor'd to his dominions in a few months without their assistance, he would probably have met with a better reception: but Princes as well as common men, are too apt to neglect and slight the interest of a distressed brother.

CHAP. The year 1660 was great part of it taken up
 XXXIV. with rejoicings for the peace, and the marriage be-
 tween the French King and the Infanta. The
 1660. Kings of France and Spain met in the isle of Phe-
 ants on the sixth of June, and the next day the
 King of Spain deliver'd the Infanta, MARIA-
 THERESA of Austria, to his most Christian Ma-
 jesty, and the marriage was solemniz'd at the city
 of St. John de Luz on the ninth of the same
 month.

1661.
 Mazarin
 dies.

The King
 governs
 himself.

In March following died that famous minister
 Cardinal MAZARIN, who following the maxims
 of RICHLIEU his predecessor, gave the finishing
 stroke to the liberties of France, and left his mas-
 ter the most arbitrary monarch in Christendom.
 The King, though but two and twenty years of
 age, determin'd to take the government upon him-
 self, to examine the conduct of all his ministers,
 and suffer nothing to be transacted without his
 knowledge. And whereas formerly it was very
 difficult to procure access even to the prime mi-
 nister, his Majesty appointed certain times to re-
 ceive petitions himself from the meanest of his sub-
 jects. The secrecy of his councils is another sub-
 ject of admiration; for notwithstanding most things
 were debated in full council, they receiv'd another
 examination in a cabinet-council, consisting of
 two or three select persons, and to these his Ma-
 jesty seldom communicated the resolution he in-
 tended to take. And as he suspected that he had
 been abus'd in his finances or treasure, he erected
 a court to enquire into the conduct of the superin-
 tendant or high treasurer, who was sentenc'd to
 be banished, and his estate confiscated, tho' 'tis
 said he made a very good defence; and afterwards
 the celebrated JOHN BAPTISTA COLBERT, a
 private gentleman, was made comptroller of the fi-
 nances, the office of superintendant being sup-
 press'd. The farmers of the revenue also were
 call'd to account and oblig'd to refund great part
 of the treasure they had plunder'd the publick of:
 but the taxes, it seems, were most of them con-
 tinu'd as when the nation was in a state of war.
 Few Princes, after a precedent of many years stand-
 ing, will suffer a tax to be discontinu'd, though
 the service be ended for which it was first rais'd;
 his ministers cannot want some new pretence to
 keep it on foot; and where the government is ar-
 bitrary, all the reason in the world can avail very
 little: but in a free nation, where the people have
 the disposal of their own money, how can we ac-
 count for this practice, unless we suppose that the
 leading men receive a great deal more than they
 give, that they raise taxes to pay their own pen-
 sions, or they would never consent unnecessarily
 to burthen themselves and their fellow-subjects
 estates? But to proceed: The French entered into
 a new treaty with the Duke of Lorraine this year,
 by virtue whereof the duchy of Bar was restor'd to

him, for which he did homage to the King. An
 unlucky accident happen'd at the same time, which
 might have reviv'd the war between France and
 Spain, if his Catholick Majesty had not been very
 complaisant. The Swedish Ambassador being a-
 bout to make his publick entry into London to con-
 gratulate his British Majesty on his restoration,
 both the French and Spanish Ambassadors sent their
 coaches and equipages to assist at that ceremony;
 and there happening a contest between their ser-
 vants about precedency, some of the Spaniards
 hamstring'd the horses belonging to the French
 Ambassador, and by this stratagem enabled their
 countrymen to move forward, while the French
 were left behind till they could procure new sets of
 horses. The most Christian King no sooner re-
 ceiv'd advice of this outrage, but he order'd his
 Ambassador at Madrid to demand satisfaction: to
 which his Catholick Majesty answer'd, that he
 would give his son-in-law the King of France all
 the satisfaction that he could reasonably desire; for
 he was in no condition at this time to renew the
 war, which must have been the consequence of his
 non-compliance.

The Queen of France being deliver'd of a Dau-
 phin on the first of November, the King on this
 occasion compleated the number of the knights of
 the Holy Ghost, of whom the whole complement
 was an hundred, though at this time reduc'd to
 forty.

The gentry of France being more addicted to
 duelling than those of any other nation, the King
 in a great measure abolish'd this barbarous custom
 by the severe punishments he inflict'd on all that
 were concerned in them, and the solemn declara-
 tion he made that he would never pardon any
 person convicted of this crime. The punishment
 was no less than the forfeiture of life and estate in
 the offender that surviv'd: the person kill'd also
 was hang'd up by the heels, and his estate confis-
 cated. This is deservedly look'd upon as one of
 the most commendable acts in the reign of LEWIS
 XIV; but the care he took of the poor about the
 same time, deserves also to be commemorated: the
 harvest having fail'd for two years successively, and
 occasion'd a terrible famine, his Majesty caus'd
 quantities of corn to be imported from abroad,
 and distributed gratis to the most indigent of his
 subjects.

At Rome the French Ambassador met with an-
 other insult this year from the Pope's guards, but his
 Holiness was oblig'd to beg pardon for it in the most
 abject manner. Another occurrence happen'd a-
 bout the same time which made a great noise in
 England, and was variously censured, namely, the
 purchase of Dunkirk of his British Majesty for five
 hundred thousand pounds. This was look'd upon
 as extremely detrimental to the trade and naviga-
 tion of England, and laid to the charge of the Earl
 of

CHAP
 XXXIV

1662.
 Duels sup-
 press'd.

CHAP. of Clarendon, though 'tis certain he had the least
XXXIV. hand in it of any person concern'd in the British
ministry.

1663. Academy of inscriptions.
The following year his most Christian Majesty instituted the academy of inscriptions, whose business it is to compose inscriptions and devices, and perpetuate the memory of great events. Accordingly, upon the taking of every town almost; and every battle which they were pleas'd to stile a victory, we see medals coin'd to set the transaction in such a light as might contribute most to the glory of the Grand Monarch.

1664. Nothing very material occurr'd in the year 1664, unless the sending a body of French troops to the assistance of the Imperial army against the Turks, who were thereupon oblig'd to retire over the Raab.

1665. Trade and navigation encouraged.
The kingdom still remaining in full peace, the celebrated Monsieur COLBERT put his Majesty upon encouraging trade and navigation, and accordingly new ports were made, and others improv'd; shipping was every where built, and such manufactures prohibited to be imported as the natives could work themselves; whereby the King prevented very large sums going out of the nation, which every year had been sent to purchase them.

A war happening to break out about this time between the English and the States General, on account of the encroachments the Dutch had made on the British trade in India, the coast of Africa, and elsewhere, the French first offer'd their mediation to compose the quarrel, and at length join'd the Dutch.

1666. Arts and sciences encouraged.
The following year they dispossest the English of their part of the island of St. Christophers, and finding afterwards they should be oblig'd to restore it, they destroy'd all the British plantations and settlements there. In the mean time the French King gave great encouragement to arts and sciences, and establish'd another academy call'd the academy of sciences. He also enlarg'd his harbours, augmented his fleet, and made large magazines of naval stores, causing his subjects to be instructed in navigation and all marine exercises, which were very little attended to in France till this reign. He also reform'd several abuses in the courts of justice: but he soon found other employment, for PHILIP the Fourth, King of Spain, being dead, and his dominions descended to an infant, the grand monarch laid hold of this opportunity to fall upon the Spanish dominions in the Low Countries, which were perfectly unprovided of troops to defend them. In one campaign he made himself master of Courtray, Dixmude, Furnes, Armentiers, Binch, Aeth, Tournay, Douay, Oudenard, Alost and Lisle. At the same time the royal canal was finish'd, by which the Ocean and Mediterranean seas have a communication. The

Prince of Condé the next year took Dole, Besançon, and all Franche Comte. These rapid conquests surpriz'd the neighbouring powers, and occasion'd an alliance to be form'd against France by England, Sweden, and the States General; which treaty obtain'd the name of the Triple Alliance, and had that good effect, that France was content to put an end to the war, and relinquish Franche Comte, upon condition she might retain the towns she had conquer'd in Flanders, and a treaty was concluded accordingly at Aix la Chapelle the same year.

The war being at an end, the young monarch proceeded in his regulations at home; and among others, in rendering the streets of Paris more secure in the night-time, where robberies and murders were more frequent than in any other city; and this he effected chiefly by enlightning it with glass-lanterns hung in the middle of the streets. He also caus'd the town to be beautified with elegant buildings, and the streets well pav'd. The roads also, which before this reign were intolerably infested with robbers, he render'd very safe, by augmenting the number of officers for the discovery and apprehending of felons and highwaymen, and ordering them to be punish'd with the utmost severity.

The Turks made themselves masters of the island of Candia this year, the loss whereof is imputed in a great measure to the French, who withdrew their forces from thence they had sent to the assistance of the Venetians, very abruptly. About the same time CASIMIR King of Poland having resign'd his crown, retir'd to France, spending the remainder of his life in the abbey of St. Germain de Prez.

The French King recalling all his subjects, as well officers and soldiers as others, out of the dominions of the States General, it created a suspicion that he intended to fall upon them: but he thought fit first to secure himself on the side of Germany, by seizing on the Duke of Lorraine's territories again, which he did without the least colour of right. The following year he employ'd no less than thirty thousand men in fortifying Dunkirk, and made it one of the strongest places in Flanders.

1672. The United Provinces invaded.
In the year 1672 the French King enter'd upon that memorable expedition against the United Netherlands by land, while the King of Great Britain arm'd against them by sea. The English did not want substantial reasons for this rupture; the encroachments of the Dutch on the British trade were not to be borne, and their libels and libellous pictures and medals on this occasion were still more provoking. The French were sufficiently exasperated against this Republick for contriving the triple league, which had put a stop to their conquests; and the medal struck thereupon, alluding

CHAP. XXXIV. ding to JOSHUA's stopping the course of the sun, which was the French King's device, gave still more offence. The Grand Monarch therefore was determin'd to chastise the insolence of this upstart Republick, as he call'd the States General, who pretended to prescribe measures to crown'd heads, and assume the umpirage of the affairs of Christendom.

He could not have met with a more favourable conjuncture to invade their territories than the present, when Holland was divided into two great factions, the one headed by the Prince of Orange, and the other by DE WITT; the last of which had rather have seen the French masters of their country, than have been forced to submit to the Orange party: accordingly they oppos'd the raising forces, and garrisoning their frontier towns, till the enemy was upon them; and which was still worse, several of their governours and officers held a correspondence with the French, and shew'd them the way to penetrate into the heart of their country. But no gentleman is more censur'd on this occasion than MOMBAS, a French refugee, who had been advanc'd to a considerable post in the army of the States, and constantly betray'd their councils.

In the beginning of May the French King having assembled an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men, including the English auxiliaries under the command of the Duke of Monmouth, attack'd the territories of the States in three different parts, whilst the Bishops of Munster and Cologne attack'd them in a fourth. His Majesty pass'd the Meuse at Viset at the head of forty thousand men; and coming before Orsoy, took it in three days. The towns of Burich, Veiel, Rimbergue, Emeric, Doetecum and Groll, made scarce any defence; whereupon the French appear'd upon the banks of the Rhine, which it was expected would have put a stop to the progress of their army: but some of the gentlemen of the country, 'tis said, in order to ingratiate themselves with the French, came to the Prince of Condé's quarters while he lay at Emeric, and offer'd to shew him a passage over the Rhine near Tolhuys, where the troops would be oblig'd to swim their horses but a little way. And the Prince having order'd the Count DE GUICHE to go with these gentlemen and sound the river, the passing of it appear'd to be very practicable; whereupon he immediately acquainted his Majesty with this discovery, and the army march'd with great secrecy all night till they came over against Tolhuys. In the mean while the Prince of Orange had receiv'd advice from some boors that they saw a party of French examining the depth of the river near Tolhuys, which occasion'd his sending the treacherous MOMBAS with a body of horse to defend the ford if the French should attempt it; but MOMBAS coming to the place, acquainted the deputies of the States in the

absence of the Prince of Orange, that there was no likelihood the enemy would attempt to ford the river here, and therefore he thought it more advisable to throw himself into Nimeguen with great part of the troops which the Prince of Orange had appointed to defend the banks of the river.

The Prince however on his return to the camp commanded WORZ, a German officer, to march with a body of horse and foot to Tolhuys; who finding the French to be in earnest, begun to throw up intrenchments to cover his men, but he had not time to perfect them. The enemy erected a battery of cannon upon the opposite bank of the river, and oblig'd his men to retire into an adjoining wood, from whence they did not stir till they saw some of the French horse actually pass'd over, and forming themselves; and then indeed they appear'd from among the trees, and drove those few troops that had got over into the river again, after which they only discharg'd their carbines and wheel'd off: whereas, says my author, had they follow'd them into the river, and not suffer'd any more of them to reach the shore, they had probably frustrated the attempt. But the French seeing the enemy remove to some distance, were encourag'd to return to the charge, and being continually supported by greater numbers, oblig'd the Dutch to retire to their intrenchments; where, according to the French account, they were ready to have laid down their arms upon an offer of quarter. But the Duke of Longueville, who had been drinking hard at Emmeric, advancing up to the trenches, and firing a pistol, the Hollanders believing they should have no quarter, fired a whole volley, and kill'd several persons of the first quality, among whom the Duke of Longueville was one, and the Prince of Condé was wounded. This accident put the French into some disorder; but great part of the army having got over by this time, they soon rallied, and dispers'd the Dutch forces, becoming entirely masters of the Bettaw, or Batavia proper, by this easy victory.

The Prince of Condé and the Duke of Enghien his son, with many other persons of distinction, I perceive, pass'd the Rhine in boats, tho' there were some other Generals, and particularly the Duke of Longueville, who had been pretty well heated with wine, that attempted to pass it on horseback; but the Duke was in great danger of being drown'd if the Prince of Condé had not taken him into his boat. He sav'd his life, however, to very little purpose, for he was shot, as has been related, a few minutes after, thro' his own folly, in firing upon people who had already submitted. As for the Grand Monarch, who assum'd all the glory of this action to himself, he came over afterwards very prudently in a boat, when the danger was past.

The French pass the Rhine.

The

H A P. The consequence of this victory was very great, **XXIV.** for the Prince of Orange immediately quitted the banks of the Yssel, and left all the towns on that river expos'd to the enemy: Doesbergh, Nimeguen, Swol, Deventer, Grave, Arnheim, Skenk, Crevecœur, and even Utrecht, submitted in a few days, and in less than two months the King found himself master of three entire provinces, viz. Guelderland, Overyssele and Utrecht; and the French King actually kept his court in the last mention'd city this summer. The Germans in the mean time being alarm'd at this surprizing success, enter'd into a confederacy with the States General and Spain against the French; but the Dutch were so hard press'd notwithstanding, that they were forc'd to break down their dams and lay their country under water, that they might be in a condition to wait for the reinforcements which were marching to their assistance from all parts.

At length the German forces having join'd the Prince of Orange, they laid siege to Bon and took it, and thereby in a great measure cut off the communication between France and Holland. The English also shewing an inclination to make peace with the Dutch at the same time, the Grand Monarch thought it convenient to quit all his boasted conquests, except Maestricht, and retire into Flanders. As to the rest of the occurrences that happen'd during this war till the peace of Nimeguen, where the English acted the part of mediators, they have already been related in the modern history of the Netherlands or Germany, and therefore I shall not enlarge upon them here; but content myself with giving the substance of the principal articles of that treaty.

1678. By the treaty between France and the States General, concluded the tenth of August 1678, it was agreed that each party should retain what they were respectively possess'd of, only the French were to restore Maestricht with its dependencies to the Dutch; which indeed was all the French retain'd of their mighty conquests. And by a separate article, all the territories belonging to the Prince of Orange in France, Franche Comte, Charleroy, Flanders, &c. were restor'd to him.

The treaty at Nimeguen. By the treaty between France and Spain, dated the 17th of September, 1678, the French agreed to restore to the Spaniards, Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Oudenard, Courtray, the city and duchy of Limburg, Ghent, the country of Waes, Leuwe, St. Gillian and Puicerda: on the other hand it was agreed, that the French King should retain the county of Burgundy or Franche Comte; the towns of Valenciennes, Bouchain, Conde, Cambray, Aire, St. Omers, Ypres, Warwick, Warneton, Poperingen, Bailleul, Cassel, Bavay and Maubeuge, all which they had conquer'd in this war.

By the treaty concluded between the Empire and France on the 3d of February, 1678-9, France

renounc'd all pretensions to Philipsburg: the French on the contrary were to keep Friburg till an equivalent should be given them.

The Duke of Lorrain was to have his territories restor'd him; only the French were to retain Nancy, and roads through his country; and to give him the city of Toul in lieu of it: and the Princes of Furstemburg, who had made so much disturbance in Europe, were to have their territories and dignities restor'd them by the Emperor.

By the treaty between Sweden, an ally of France, and the Elector of Brandenburg, concluded the 29th of June, 1679, the Elector was to restore Stetin, Stralsund, and all he had taken from the Swede in Pomerania.

By the treaty between Sweden and Denmark, concluded the 2d of September, 1679, they were reciprocally to yield up all the towns that had been taken by either party.

France being now at peace with all the powers of Europe, determin'd to put in execution the long projected scheme of extirpating Calvinism, and begun with suppressing the chambers of the edict, as they were call'd, which were courts consisting of an equal number of protestant and popish judges, who were to see the edicts put in execution that were made in favour of Protestants. Those of Thoulouse, Bourdeaux and Grenoble were suppressed this year; but I defer a further relation of this matter till I come to the year 1685, when the edict of Nantz was revers'd. In the mean time **1680.** Lewis le Grand found out a way of extending his dominions beyond their real limits as effectually in time of peace as he could have done by the most successful war. He set up courts of enquiry in the frontier towns, and such countries as had been yielded to him; and if he could discover that any city or province had formerly depended on the places in his possession, or were under the jurisdiction of the same Sovereign, he claim'd them as of right belonging to him; and to these encroachments he gave the title of **RE-UNIONS.** By the same rule he might have extended his jurisdiction over most of the kingdoms of Europe; for, according to the French account, they were part of their Empire, and formerly dismember'd from it. Had their scheme of universal monarchy succeeded: therefore, they would have told us, no doubt, that the reducing the rest of Europe to the obedience of their monarch would have been but an act of justice.

The first that felt the effects of this piece of French usurpation, were the ten free imperial cities of Alsace: that country had been yielded to the French by the treaty of Munster, with an express exception of the rights and privileges of these cities, which they were to have enjoy'd in the same manner under the protection of France as they had formerly

The persecution of the French Protestants.

1680. The French set up courts of re-union, whereby they encroach on the neighbouring Princes.

CHAP. merly done under the Emperor : but their privileges
XXXIV. were very little regarded. The court erected at
 Brisac also proceeded to reunite what they call'd
 the dismember'd lands of Alsatia ; many of which
 lay at a great distance from it : while the chamber
 or new-erected court of Metz pretended to re-unite
 all the dismembred fiefs of the three Bishopricks
 of Metz, Toul and Verdun ; and an edict was
 issued for the execution of those decrees. Among
 the rest the King of Sweden was summon'd to
 do homage for the duchy of Deux-Ponts ; and
 because he did not appear, that duchy was given
 to another. The Rhinegrave, and several other
 German Princes upon the frontiers, were oblig'd
 to do homage for their territories, on pain of mi-
 litary execution : and finding Spain unprepar'd to
 resist him, the Great Lewis demanded even Ghent
 and Alost, as dependencies on some of the places
 that had been yielded to him ; which put the neigh-
 bouring Princes in the utmost consternation, but
 none of them knew how to apply a remedy to
 this general grievance ; for the French, as their
 Attorney-General observ'd, had at this time an
 hundred thousand men in arms to back their pre-
 tensions, and had fortified their frontiers so well,
 that they defy'd the resentment of their injur'd
 neighbours. The French King had built the fort
 of Hunninghen, within half a league of Basil in
 Switzerland, whereby he in a manner block'd
 up that Republick ; and he oblig'd the Governour
 of the Spanish Netherlands to yield up the town
 of Charlemont. He also fortified Saar-Lewis, Lan-
 dau and Phaltbourg ; and having thus strengthen'd
 his frontiers, he ravag'd the German and Spanish
 territories, and rais'd contributions in them when-
 ever he saw fit, on one pretence or other ; inso-
 much that they had much better have been in a
 state of actual war, where they might have been
 at liberty to make reprisals. In the same insolent
 manner he oblig'd the Spaniard to relinquish his
 titles of Duke and Earl of Burgundy ; and gave
 orders to his commanders at sea to force their
 ships to strike their flags to those of France.

The Prote-
 stants ex-
 cluded places
 of profit.

1681.
 Application
 to naval af-
 fairs.

While he thus bullied the Princes of Europe,
 he proceeded to mortify the poor Protestants at
 home, and among other edicts publish'd against
 them, he excluded them from holding places of
 profit ; and order'd, that where any persons had been
 born Protestants and turn'd Roman Catholics, if
 they afterwards return'd to the Protestant com-
 munion again, they should be treated as apostates.

But as nothing took up more of the Monarch's
 care and time than the establishing a royal navy
 superiour to any of the maritime powers, we see
 him about this time enlarging and fortifying his
 two principal harbours of Toulon and Brest, erec-
 ting magazines, docks and yards for the building
 and careening of ships, encouraging the mathema-
 ticks and all other sciences that might improve

navigation ; and 'tis said, that there were enroll'd **CHAP.**
 this year no less than sixty thousand seamen to **XXXIV.**
 serve in the ships of war, besides what were ne-
 cessary for the merchants service. But these must
 be many of them land-men, for the trade of France
 was never considerable enough to furnish the royal
 navy with so large a compliment.

The two important towns of Strasburg and **The French**
 Casal, the one in Alsace and the other in Italy, **make them-**
 were this year surpriz'd, or rather purchas'd, by **elves ma-**
 the French. The Burgomaster and many other **sters of mil-**
 of the leading men of Strasburg being corrupted **burg and**
 with French money, open'd their gates to the **Casal.**
 forces of France, who at a time concerted be-
 tween them surrounded the town : and when the
 Emperor complain'd of this as a violation of the
 peace, he was answer'd, that Strasburg being the
 metropolis of Alsatia, belong'd to France by the
 treaty of Munster ; and the reason he had not
 made himself matter of it sooner, was because he
 had been diverted from it by affairs of greater
 moment. But being sensible that the Imperialists
 would certainly compel him to restore it if he
 did not find them other employment, he treated
 with **TEKELI** to promote an insurrection in Hun-
 gary, while he incited the Turks to invade the
 Empire at the same time. He also enlarg'd the
 fortifications of Strasburg to such a degree, as to
 make it one of the strongest places in Europe.

He proceeded next to insult the territories of **The French**
 all the Electors which lay upon the Rhine, and **King claims**
 under pretence of dependencies, appropriated to **the three**
 himself all such places as he apprehended for his **ties of the**
 convenience. He even laid claim to the capital **ecclesiastical**
 cities of the three ecclesiastical Electors, alledging **Electors.**
 that the stables of the Elector of Triers were built
 upon lands which belong'd to him ; and that the
 district of Ham, where the best Rhenish wines
 grow, were part of his demesns ; and as to Co-
 logne and Mentz, most part of the houses he pre-
 tended had been built upon grounds yielded to him
 by the peace of Munster, and he would either
 demolish them, or make them acknowledge him
 for their Sovereign ; but the King proposing to get
 his son the Dauphin chosen King of the Romans,
 did not think fit to put his threats in execution a-
 gainst those Electors. The Prince of Orange was
 more severely dealt with, for he seiz'd that prin-
 cipality and transferr'd it to the Dukes of Ne-
 mours.

The year 1682 was remarkable for the contests **1682.**
 between the most Christian King and the Pope
 concerning the Regale, which his Majesty insist'd
 should extend to all the churches of France with-
 out exception : nor did this divert him from con-
 tinuing his encroachments on the King of Spain's
 territories in the Low Countries ; and because that
 Prince refus'd to submit to all his insolent de-
 mands, he blockaded Luxemburg, till the Impe-
 rialists

CHAP. XXXIV. rialis march'd with a considerable army towards his frontiers, and then he thought fit to withdraw his troops. About the same time an edict was published for demolishing all the churches of the Protestants which had been built since the edict of Nants, with some other severe declarations against that people.

The Turks having invaded the frontiers of the Empire on one side, the French determin'd to attack them on the other; but the most Christian King receiving advice that the Ottoman army had pass'd by Raab and Comorra, and were about to lay siege to Vienna itself, he alter'd his resolution; for tho' he desir'd the Turks might favour his projects by making a diversion, he was not so bad a Christian as to wish them masters of the Empire. Besides, had he attempted to distress the house of Austria at so critical a juncture, he must have drawn all the powers of Christendom upon him, and his name would have been universally detested. He insinuated indeed to the Electors, that the Empire could only be sav'd by his troops, which lay ready upon their frontiers to advance against the Turks, if they would elect his son the Dauphin King of the Romans; but his credit was so bad in Germany, that they chose to run all hazards rather than admit a French army into their bowels, or a Prince of French extraction to be their sovereign. He had too lately destroy'd the liberties of his own people, for foreigners to expect better usage. The siege of Vienna was no sooner rais'd, but the French march'd a great army into the Low Countries, under pretence of seizing Alost and several other places, which they pretended were dependant on them. They rais'd taxes and contributions on the very towns they had plunder'd, and carried off all the corn and cattle they found in the country to their magazines. They prohibited the manuring the ground, and seiz'd all the instruments of husbandry. Nor were these outrages confin'd to the district of Alost and the places they pretended a right to, the duchies of Limburg and Gueldres suffer'd no less than the former; and according to the Spanish Minister, who then resided at the Diet of Ratisbon, such great and terrible desolations had not been seen during the late war, as were exercis'd by the French on this occasion. Nor were they contented with plundering the open towns, but afterwards made themselves masters of Courtray and Dixmude, and bombarded the town of Luxembourg.

About the latter end of this year the French King establish'd a nursery of marine officers, as he had done of cadets or younger brothers the preceding year for the land service. Those appointed to serve in men of war are denominated the marine guards, and those employ'd in the galleys the guards of the standard, and are in all about eight hundred, entertain'd both at sea and land at

the King's charge; and being distributed in all the ports of France, are taught navigation, fencing and all gentleman-like exercises.

As the Republick of Holland had already felt the fury of the most Christian King's arms, he now determin'd to chastise that of Genoa on much the same pretence; namely, that they did not shew him that respect which a little Republick ow'd to a mighty monarch, and particularly that they had not renounc'd the protection of Spain when he required it of them. The French Admiral therefore came before the place about the middle of May, and the Genoese refusing to submit to the exorbitant demands of his master, he threw ten thousand bombs into the town, burnt great part of it, and amongst the rest the Doge's palace; after which the wind growing very high, the French fleet were forced to leave the coast. However, the Genoese fearing another visit, thought fit the following year to submit to his Majesty.

In the Low Countries the French besieged and took Luxemburg, after which they were contented to make a truce with Spain for twenty years, in order, I presume, to execute their grand project at home, of extirpating the Protestant religion. The scheme for effecting this, it seems, had been laid by the general assembly of the Gallick church that met in the year 1661, and every year after some new encroachments had been made on the liberties and privileges of the Reformed, tho' it was not till this fatal year that they thought fit to repeal the EDICT OF NANTS in exprefs terms.

Massacres and burnings, which had been practis'd by their ancestors, as well as the Spaniards, for the extirpating heresy, had not succeeded to their expectation: on the contrary, both in France and the Low Countries the numbers of the Protestants had rather been multiplied than lessen'd by the exercise of those severities; they thought it advisable therefore to proceed gradually, and by new edicts from time to time to deprive them of one privilege after another, by which means they hoped to avoid the scandal of persecution. They agreed also to begin with the least material articles first, and accustom them by degrees to the loss of their liberties, that they might be the less shock'd when they found them totally subverted. But one of the first and most effectual ways they took to ruin this people was the prohibiting their CONVOCATIONS, or national assemblies of their clergy, by which they broke their unanimity, and render'd them a defenceless body. It has been the policy of all ages to divide a party that is not otherwise to be forc'd; and wherever churches are restrain'd from meeting and debating upon their common interells, their ruin is not far off. What must a church then establish'd by the laws of the land apprehend, when all her enemies, the most

CHAP. XXXIV.

1684.
Genoa bombarded.

Luxemburg taken by the French.

1685.

The persecution of the French Protestants.

improves

CHAP. impious sectaries, and even those who deny the
 XXXIV. fundamental articles of the Christian faith, are
 permitted and encourag'd to hold their national
 assemblies, while she alone is tantaliz'd with a
 mock summons from time to time, and never suf-
 fered to meet or consult about her interests? But
 to proceed: They agreed not to fall upon all the
 churches at once, but first to demolish those which
 had been erected since the edict of Nantz; after
 that to interdict some few others, and to suffer the
 preachers to remain in their cures where their
 churches were destroy'd, to keep them from cla-
 mouring too loud, and alarming the rest of their
 brethren: shortly after they proceeded to prose-
 cute and banish the preachers from their respective
 provinces, and to prohibit the people to meet with-
 out their ministers. Then they procur'd a severe
 edict against those, who having been born Pro-
 testants, and turn'd Roman Catholics, should re-
 lapse; and prohibited priests and monks to turn
 Protestants on the highest pains. And because
 interest is usually one of the most prevailing ar-
 guments towards conversion, they excluded the
 Reformed from all offices and places of honour or
 profit, while at the same time they offer'd prefer-
 ments and pensions to all that would turn Papists:
 this took off most of their leading men, and left
 them only a defenceless mob. They afterwards
 suppress'd all their academies, universities and schools,
 and took the education of their children out of
 their hands: and in order to starve them if they
 still remain'd obstinate, no man was suffer'd to
 follow any creditable or beneficial employment if he
 refus'd to turn Roman Catholick. At the same
 time lest the kingdom should be depopulated, and
 their manufactures ruin'd by their transporting
 themselves to foreign countries, for they were very
 numerous, and most of them excellent mecha-
 nicks, an edict was procur'd, prohibiting them to
 leave the kingdom on pain of being sent to the
 galleys, as great numbers of them were for at-
 tempting it. And all the while, it seems, a great
 deal of pains was taken to make foreigners believe
 that the King had no design to extirpate the Pro-
 testant religion, till the year 1685, when it was
 impossible any longer to disguise their intentions.

Dragooning
 men into
 the church
 begun in
 France.

They threw off the mask at this time with a wit-
 ness, for they employ'd their whole army in
 forcing the Reformed to turn Roman Catholics.
 BOUFFLERS, an officer of a brutish savage temper,
 whose principal merit was the ready obedience he
 had always paid to the most barbarous orders of the
 court, was first employ'd in Bearn to begin the
 conversion. The provinces of Guienne, Saintonge
 and Languedoc were the next that were abandon'd
 to the fury of the Roman clergy and the troops
 that supported them, and not many weeks after
 the whole kingdom underwent the same fate. The
 Intendant of each province, with the Bishop, went

from town to town, and having summon'd the
 Protestants to attend them, let them know that it
 was his most Christian Majesty's pleasure, that the
 Roman Catholick religion only should be profess'd
 in his dominions; he requir'd them therefore to
 turn Roman Catholics voluntarily without delay,
 or they would be compell'd to it by force. To which
 many of the people answer'd, that their bodies and
 estates were in the King's power, he might dispose
 of them as he pleas'd; but they desir'd their con-
 sciences might not be forc'd, they could not for-
 sake a religion they believ'd to be true, or words
 to that effect. Whereupon the soldiers were imme-
 diately order'd to seize on the gates and avenues
 of the places they had invested, to prevent the es-
 cape of any one, after which they enter'd the town
 sword in hand with the utmost fury, as if it had
 been taken by storm, crying out to such of the Re-
 formed as they met with, Die or turn Roman Ca-
 tholick; and it had been a mercy to some of them
 if they had been dispatch'd outright, without un-
 dergoing that variety of torments which succeed-
 ed. The troops being quarter'd in such Pro-
 testant houses as the Bishop or Priest directed, and
 all the goods secur'd, the first days were spent in
 consuming the provisions and plundering them of
 their money, jewels and plate, after which they
 seiz'd the household goods and expos'd them to sale;
 and if any Roman Catholick out of friendship or
 kindred attempted to conceal any of the effects of
 the unfortunate wretch, he was severely fined.
 When this would not prevail on the Protestants to
 change their religion, they were abus'd and tor-
 mented a thousand ways. Men and women were
 hung upon beams, or on hooks in their chimneys
 by their hair and feet, and smok'd with whips of
 wet hay till they were almost suffocated; and
 if they promis'd to abjure their religion, and re-
 fus'd to sign the instrument of abjuration when
 they were taken down, they were hung up again.
 Others were thrown into fires kindled on purpose,
 and after they were desperately scorcht, let down
 by ropes into wells, it being demanded of them all
 the while if they would change their religion.
 They tied people to tables, and pour'd wine down
 their throats till they said they would turn. They
 stript men and women naked, and in that condi-
 tion tied them together. Some were stuck with
 pins from head to foot, cut with pen-knives, or
 taken by the nose with red-hot tongs, and in that
 manner led about till they promis'd to go to mass;
 and being dragg'd half-dead to churches, their pre-
 sence there was sometimes taken for an abjuration.
 But the common torture, and that which seems to
 be purely of French invention, was the keeping
 people awake for a week together, either by pinch-
 ing them, dashing water in their faces, plucking
 off the hairs of their beards, and drumming in their
 ears till they had almost lost their senses; and then
 no

Variety of
 tortures to
 compel the
 Protestants
 to turn Pa-
 pists.

CHAP. no wonder if they chose any religion that was of-
 XXXIV. fer'd them. Those that have been proof against
 every other studied cruelty, have been overcome
 by this. The torment of being thus kept from
 sleep, 'tis said, is inexpressible. But it was not
 only upon those in health that they exercis'd this
 piece of tyranny, for where people of either sex lay
 ill of fevers or other violent diseases, they would
 bring seven or eight drums to the bed-side, and
 drum till they made them distracted or renounc'd
 their religion. In some places they would bind
 the husband or the father hand and foot, and ra-
 vish the wife or daughter before their faces; tho'
 the Hugonots acknowledge that rapes were not al-
 low'd of every where. I shall mention but two or
 three species of torture more which were executed
 upon the miserable Protestants, and these were the
 tearing off the nails of their fingers and toes; blow-
 ing them up with bellows till they were ready to
 burst, and burning the soles of their feet with red-
 hot shovels. *Tantum religio potuit.* But surely
 no persuasion can deserve the name of religion,
 which inspires its votaries with such barbarous prin-
 ciples. True religion, and especially the christian,
 teaches universal love and benevolence even to-
 wards our greatest enemies. But to return: If no
 tortures could induce the miserable Hugonots to
 change their religion, they shut them up in loath-
 some dungeons, where they were suffer'd to see
 none but their tormentors. In the mean time their
 houses were demolish'd, their woods and lands
 wasted, if they had any, and their wives and chil-
 dren confin'd in monasteries; and those that en-
 deavour'd to escape, were shot like wild beasts. Nor
 was this the case only of the meanest people, men
 of quality and estates were treated no better. La-
 dies of distinction had their necks and faces gash'd
 and scarr'd with knives or swords, to render them
 deform'd; neither age, sex or beauty could move
 their inhuman persecutors to spare them. And
 when some of them fled to Paris to avoid these out-
 rages, believing that the court could never coun-
 tenance such barbarities, they were commanded to
 leave the city within fifteen days, and return to
 their own houses, and all people were prohibited
 to entertain or lodge them. Some who had found
 means to present petitions to the King, were sent
 to the Bastile: and what seems extremely hard,
 notwithstanding the master of the house renounc'd
 his religion, the soldiers were quarter'd upon him
 till the whole family comply'd. The priests who
 attended the dragoons on these occasions requir'd
 no more of the convert at first than this declara-
 tion, viz. I do acknowledge the Catholick, A-
 postolick and Roman church as it was in the time
 of the Apostles, and I renounce and abjure all
 the errors that have crept into it since that time.
 And as many of them did not scruple this, they
 afterwards made them subscribe another, viz. that

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of their own motion, without any force, compul- CHAP.
 sion or violence, they had embraced the Catholick XXXIV.
 faith. In which there does not seem to be any
 great harm neither; but if any one profess'd the
 Protestant religion afterwards, he was said to have
 relaps'd, and was severely punish'd. Thus far the
 government proceeded before they formally repeal-
 ed the edict of Nants.

This edict of repeal pass'd the seals on the 18th The sub-
 of October, 1685, and was ratified by the parlia- stance of the
 ment of Paris on the 22d of the same month; af- repeal of the
 ter which it was sent to all the other parliaments edict of
 of the kingdom to be confirm'd. The preamble Nants.
 recites, That HENRY IV granted the edict of
 Nants in order to settle his dominions in peace,
 and that he might reconcile those to the Roman
 church who upon slight pretences had separated
 themselves from it; but that his expectations were
 not answer'd. That his successor LEWIS XIII
 having the same zeal for religion, had pacified the
 troubles of the kingdom by an edict of the same
 kind pass'd at Nismes, anno 1629; but that the
 greatest part of the people having since embrac'd
 the Catholick faith, the edicts of Nants and Nismes
 were now become useless; and therefore his Ma-
 jesty thought fit to suppress them, as he did like-
 wise all other edicts and declarations that had been
 made in favour of the Hugonots. Then he orders
 all their churches to be demolish'd, prohibits all
 assemblies for publick worship or the exercise of
 their religion in private, on pain of corporal punish-
 ment and the confiscation of their estates. He or-
 ders all their preachers to depart the kingdom with-
 in fifteen days from the date of the edict, or to
 be sent to the galleys; offering a reward to such
 of them as would change their religion. He pro-
 hibits parents to instruct their children in that be-
 lief, and requires that all children born after the
 publication of this edict be baptized by a popish
 priest, and brought up in that persuasion. He
 allows those who had departed the kingdom to re-
 turn home within five months, or their estates to
 be confiscated: and prohibits all others to remove
 into any foreign country, or convey their wives
 or children thither, on pain of being sent to the
 galleys. He confirm'd all declarations against those
 that had relaps'd. And by the last clause his Ma-
 jesty declares, that his subjects of the reformed re-
 ligion may, till God enlightens them, remain in
 his dominions, enjoy their estates and carry on
 their trades without being molested on account of
 religion, provided they make no profession thereof.
 The church of Charenton, and all the Prote-
 stant churches in France that were standing, were
 demolish'd on the very day this edict was pub-
 lish'd. The preachers were allowed fifteen days
 to depart the kingdom, but were prohibited to
 take along with them either father, mother, bro-
 ther or sister, or children above seven years of
 age,

U u u u

CHAP. age. It is observed, that all the Protestant mini-
 XXXIV. sters had not the courage to go into banishment,
 some of them were tempted by the offers of preferment, and renounc'd their religion, to the great scandal of their people. But though the last article of the edict was so clear and exprefs, that the Reformed expected for the future to be free from persecution while they made no open profession of their religion; this it seems was but a snare, for the government no sooner observed that the Protestants, relying on his Majesty's honour, were return'd to their habitations, but they quarter'd soldiers upon them again, and used them in the same barbarous manner they had done before. Monsieur DU QUESNE, one of their Vice-Admirals, 'tis said, was the only man that was exempted from this persecution, and that upon account of his skill in maritime affairs, which the King at this time was promoting with the utmost application.

1686.
1687.

The propagating the Roman Catholick religion, as they stiled it, or the persecution of the Protestants, was continued during the years 1686 and 1687; and various edicts were issued to prevent their escaping out of the kingdom: but still we find several of the neighbouring countries crouded with them about this time: either they pretended to become converts till they found an opportunity of leaving France, or their Catholick relations and friends were so touch'd with their misfortunes that they favour'd their escape; or, lastly, as their estates were to be transferr'd to their Popish relations on their leaving France, it is very natural to suppose they were not backward in assisting them to escape to foreign countries. The Protestants relate, that about this time LEWIS XIV was struck with a loathsome disease (a Fistula in Ano) which they look'd upon as a judgment upon him for his repeated cruelties exercised on the innocent Hugonots: certain it is, the King had a severe fit of illness, and went in a solemn procession to the church of Notre Dame in Paris to sing Te Deum for his deliverance from that or some other disease. He erected the fine nunnery of St. Cyr near Versailles also, endowing it with a revenue of two hundred thousand livres per annum, for the entertainment of three hundred young ladies who wanted fortunes; where they are instructed in every thing that may render them useful or agreeable, and at twenty years of age are left at their liberty to settle in the world, or take the vow of celibacy, &c. But I should have remember'd, that in the year 1686 the Grand Monarch had an opportunity of gratifying his vanity at an audience he gave to the Siamese Ambassadors, when the court appear'd in its utmost splendour. They were afterwards carried to the frontier towns and sea-ports to take a view of the fortifications, and of the prodigious arsenals and magazines of war

The nunnery of St. Cyr erected.

erected there, to their great astonishment no doubt; CHAP. neither their own country, or any of the Asiatick XXXIV. kingdoms, being able to shew any thing comparable to them.

The French King having been for some considerable time master of the purses and persons of his subjects, had employ'd all the wealth of France towards rendering himself superiour both by sea and land to any of the powers of Europe; and it is very evident he thought himself a match for all of them, by the provocations he gave every Prince and State almost in his neighbourhood. He seems solicitous to find occasions to quarrel with them; and where he wanted a pretence, frequently fell upon them without. And notwithstanding he might well be deem'd a zealous Catholick from the persecution of his Protestant subjects, we find him insulting the Pope himself, and threatening a schism in the church. He call'd an assembly of the Ecclesiasticks of his kingdom, over whom he had such an absolute dominion, that they were compell'd to determine what they believed most acceptable to him. Among other things they declar'd, that the Pope was not infallible, and could establish no article of faith without the concurrence of a general council, which was superiour to him: that he had no power to intermeddle in the temporal affairs of Princes, nor could absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, &c. The Pope, on the other hand, had refus'd to confirm the Bishops of the King's nomination, and depriv'd the French Ambassadors, as well as those of other Princes, of the franchises of their palaces at Rome; whereupon the parliament of Paris, as they were order'd, admitted an appeal from the Pope to a general council. Things were brought to this extremity, when the Elector of Cologne happening to die, Prince CLEMENT of Bavaria, who was espoused by the Imperialists, and Cardinal FURSTEMBURG, the French King's creature, became candidates for that bishoprick; and, as the French complain, the Pope caused the Prince of Bavaria to be declar'd elected, though FURSTEMBURG had a majority of votes in the chapter; at which the Grand Monarch pretended to be so exasperated, that he threaten'd both his Holiness and the Emperor to make them sensible of his resentment, which occasion'd their entering into a confederacy against him, together with the Spaniards, the Dutch, and most of the Princes of the Empire: both Protestants and Papists thought it high time to put a stop to the ambitious designs of this haughty overbearing Monarch. The terms of this alliance were such a medley of contradictions, in regard to religion at least, as are scarce to be parallel'd in any treaty that ever was made. Here we find the Protestants stipulating to defend the rights of the Holy See against the encroachments of the French court, and the Pope covenanting to see the Protestants of France

1688.
The French King increases his forces by sea and land.
He insults the Pope.

A confederacy formed against France.

CHAP. France restor'd to the free exercise of their religion; nay, all the parties to this alliance agreed never to make peace till these things were effected. But so unnatural, so impossible to be fulfilled must these articles appear to be on the first framing them, that it is no wonder no manner of regard was had to them at the end of the war when a peace came to be concluded; they were only calculated to draw in the bigoted deluded mob on both sides: for when the Prince of Orange and other heads of the confederacy had brought about their particular ends, religion and the people were left to shift for themselves, as usual. But to proceed:

The French King having upwards of an hundred thousand men well disciplin'd at the beginning of these commotions, was in a condition to put his threats in execution before the slow Germans or Spaniards could assemble their troops to oppose him. The Dauphin was sent with a numerous army into Germany in the latter end of the year 1688, where he surpriz'd Philippsburg, Frankendale, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Hailbron, and several other great towns; while another detachment made themselves masters of Mentz, Worms, Spires, &c. and took up their winter-quarters in the Palatinate. In the Low Countries the Marshal D'HUMIERE took the fortress of Huy. Nor were the French obliged only to the usual dilatoriness of the Germans for this torrent of success, but to the situation of affairs in England, whither the Dutch had sent thirteen or fourteen thousand of their best troops, commanded by the Prince of Orange, to support the malecontents of that kingdom, who brought about that surprizing revolution, of which an account has already been given in the modern history of the United Provinces. It had been resolv'd indeed at the court of France, to send twenty or thirty thousand men to the assistance of the King of England; but that Prince had been over-ruled by some false friends in his council to refuse them; whereupon the French King contented himself with threatening the States General to resent it if they assisted the English malecontents against their Sovereign, which they did not much regard; they were assur'd of a disposition in the English fleet and army, as well as people, to revolt to the Prince of Orange, and knew that he would soon return to their assistance strengthen'd with the forces of Britain; and the most the French could have done in his absence would have been to make themselves masters of a town or two. Besides, the season of the year was far advanc'd, and the bulk of their army in Germany. As for the unfortunate King of England, being deserted by his people and his army, he sent over the Queen and the Prince of Wales to France, who arrived at St. Germain en Laye the 6th of January, N. S. and his Majesty follow'd them the next day. The King of France, say their histo-

rians, receiv'd them in a manner worthy of himself, CHAP. namely, with all the kindness and generosity which XXXIV. could be expected from so great a Prince, and assign'd the royal palace of St. Germain for their residence. Soon after the convention of Estates in England declar'd the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of Great Britain. But the French King did not only give King JAMES an hospitable reception, but fitted out a fleet, and sent him with a reinforcement of French forces to Ireland, the greatest part of which kingdom still remain'd faithful to that Prince. CHATEAU-RENAUD, the French Admiral, having set King JAMES and the land-forces on shore, met with Admiral HERBERT, who commanded the English fleet, and defeated him, (though the English affirm it was a drawn battle.) About the same time his most Christian Majesty is charged with entering into an alliance with the pirates of Algiers, by which it was agreed they should cruise upon the English and Dutch merchants, and that he actually introduced these Mahometan rovers into the Ocean, and even into the British channel.

In Ireland King JAMES having receiv'd another 1689. re-inforcement of French troops, laid siege to Londonderry, (being almost the only city in the hands of the Prince of Orange's friends) and reduced it to the last extremity by famine, many thousands perishing for want of food; but Colonel KIRK being sent to the relief of it from England, found means to throw supplies of men and provisions into the town, and compell'd King JAMES to raise the siege, after which that Prince's interest very much declin'd in Ireland. In the mean time the Imperialists recover'd Mentz, Keyserwaert, Rhineberg, and Bon from the French; and as the Grand Monarch was sensible he must in time restore all he had taken in the Palatinate, he ravag'd that country, destroying it with fire and sword in a terrible manner. He laid in ashes the cities of Spire, Oppenheim, Worms and Frankendale, with all the villages and open places between Francfort and Heidelberg; which shews that he now despair'd of making that fine country his own, or succeeding in his project of becoming sole monarch of this part of the world. At the beginning of the war he had hopes that the crown of Great Britain would have concur'd in all his measures, at least that he should have been able to have kept up a civil war there, by furnishing his allie King JAMES with troops from time to time; but England being now in other hands, he was sensible he must sooner or later relinquish all his acquisitions on that side. The beginning of the war however was no less glorious to his arms at sea than at land, for he gain'd a victory over the united fleets of England and Holland commanded by the Earl of Torrington off of Beachy-head. The Dutch it seems bore the brunt of this engagement almost alone, for

The French fleet convoy King James to Ireland.

The French destroy the Palatinate.

1690. They beat the confederate fleet.

CHAP. either the English Admiral could not or would not
 XXXIV. second them, for which he was afterwards try'd
 and acquitted; but King WILLIAM did not think
 fit to employ him afterwards: however, as few of
 the English ships came to a close engagement with
 the enemy, their loss was inconsiderable. The
 next day (July 1, O. S.) a more memorable battle
 was fought on the banks of the Boyne in Ireland,
 which in a manner determin'd the fate of that
 kingdom, and settled King WILLIAM on the
 throne. The account the French writers give us
 of this engagement is, that Marshal SCHOMBERG,
 under the Prince of Orange, commanded an army
 of forty thousand regular troops, and that King
 JAMES's army consisted only of the militia of the
 country, except the French auxiliaries, which did
 not amount to ten thousand men; that the Irish
 were charg'd both in front and flank, and their foot
 broken without any possibility of rallying them;
 that the French sustain'd the charge bravely for
 some time, but were at length oblig'd to retire.
 King JAMES after the battle went to Kinsale,
 and from thence to Dublin; and finding it impos-
 sible to bear up against so great a superiority,
 thought fit to return to France: whereupon the
 Duke of Ormond took possession of Dublin, and
 King WILLIAM made his triumphant entry into
 that city the sixth instant.

Battle of the
 Boyne.

Battle of
 Fleury.

The French had better success in the Nether-
 lands, where they gain'd a compleat victory over
 the Dutch in the plains of Flerus or Fleury, on
 the tenth of July, taking all their cannon and six
 thousand prisoners. But having already given an
 account of the war between the French and the
 confederates till the peace of Ryswick, which was
 concluded in the year 1697, in the modern history
 of the Netherlands, I should be inexcusable to tire
 the reader with the repetition of those occurrences
 here.

1697.
 The peace
 of Ryswick.

By the peace between France and Savoy, the
 French King oblig'd himself to restore Pignerol,
 (after it was demolish'd) and the rest of the places
 taken from his Royal Highness during the war, a-
 mong which the chief were Montmelian, Nice,
 Villa Franca and Suza. It was agreed also that
 the Duke of Burgundy, the Dauphin's eldest son,
 should marry Madam the Princess Royal, the Duke
 of Savoy's eldest daughter. And it was mutually
 stipulated, not to tolerate the reformed religion in
 either of their dominions.

Between France and England it was reciprocally
 agreed to restore all places that had been taken on
 either side: and the French King oblig'd himself
 not to disturb King WILLIAM in the possession
 of the crown of England, or assist his enemies; and
 to restore the principality of Orange, and all he
 had been depriv'd of in France.

Between France and the States General it was
 agreed also to restore whatever had been taken on
 either side.

By the treaty between France and Spain, Bar-
 celona, Roses and Gironne, and all other places
 the French had taken in Spain, were restor'd to
 the Spaniards. And in the Netherlands, the city
 and duchy of Luxemburg, and county of Chinay,
 Mons, Courtray, Charleroy, and all other towns
 his most Christian Majesty had taken during the
 war, were yielded to Spain.

The Emperor did not sign the peace till about
 two months after the rest of the confederates, viz.
 on the 30th of October 1697. The treaties of
 Westphalia and Nimeguen were agreed to be the
 foundation of it; and particularly it was stipula-
 ted, that restitution should be made to the Emperor
 and Empire of whatever the French had taken
 during the war, provided that the Catholick re-
 ligion should remain in the state it then was in the
 places to be restor'd; only it was thought proper
 to make an exchange of some places: Strasburg and
 its dependencies was to be united to the kingdom
 of France; and Friburg, Fort Kehl, Fort St. Pe-
 ter, the Star Fort, Brisac and Philipsburg, were
 yielded to the Emperor. The duchy of Lorrain
 was to be restor'd to its natural Prince, except some
 few small places, and the fortifications of Nancy,
 the capital city, were agreed to be demolish'd.
 From whence it evidently appears, that tho' the
 French had met with such amazing success during
 the course of the war, they were in no condition
 to continue it longer, or they would never have
 relinquish'd all their acquisitions.

No sooner was the war ended, but the persecu-
 tion of the Hugonots was reviv'd. The Court of
 France being now no longer apprehensive of their
 fomenting insurrections, shew'd them no favour,
 the army was again employ'd in harrassing those
 poor people; and accordingly, 'tis said, the French
 Protestants and new converts are always more de-
 sirous of war than peace. At the same time se-
 veral Roman Catholick bishops, priests and monks,
 with their disciples, having fled from Ireland and
 taken refuge in France, the Archbishop of Paris
 sent a kind of circular letter, or brief, through his
 province, whereby he did in a very moving man-
 ner, exhort all true Catholicks to contribute to
 the necessities of these their afflicted brethren.

The King of Spain being in a very ill state of
 health, and the French, as well as the houses of
 Austria and Bavaria, having their respective pre-
 tensions to the succession of that monarchy in
 case of his Catholick Majesty's death, it was ge-
 nerally expected that the peace of Europe would
 be again disturbed whenever that event should
 happen. And indeed both the French and Im-
 perialists were actually making military prepara-
 tions, and forming alliances to maintain their re-
 spective titles to that crown in case of a demise,
 being satisfied that on which side soever the right
 should appear, the longest sword would probably
 carry

1698.

Treaty of
 partition of
 the Spanish
 monarchy.

CHAP. carry it. But as the French were not so sanguine
 XXXIV. at this time as to hope to obtain the whole, King
 WILLIAM, 'tis said, propos'd the making a partition of the Spanish dominions among the several competitors, to which had all the parties concern'd agreed, there might have been no great hurt in the matter; but the Emperor insisted on his claim to the whole, and would consent to no treaty on this head: whereupon the Kings of England and France, and the States General, took upon them to divide the dominions of Spain without him; and this was call'd the first Partition-Treaty, by which the Dauphin of France was allotted for his share the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the islands of Sancto Stephano, Porto Hercule, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone and Piombino, and all the places situate on the coast of Tuscany which belong'd to Spain; as also the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, so much of the provinces of Guipuscoa, Navarre, Alava and Biscay as are on this side the mountains; but the rest of Guipuscoa, &c. beyond the Pyrenean mountains, was to remain to Spain. To the Archduke CHARLES, the Emperor's second son, in lieu of all pretensions of the house of Austria, was assign'd the duchy of Milan: and to the electoral Prince of Bavaria, all the rest of the Spanish monarchy and its dependencies, as well in Europe as in Africa and both the Indies. And in case of the King of Spain's death without issue, if any of the parties should refuse to accept the share allotted him, such share was to remain sequester'd in the hands of the respective Governours till the controversy should be decided.

The Court of Spain being acquainted with the particulars of this treaty, were not a little alarm'd at it; and in order to prevent the dismembring of that monarchy, the King by the advice of his Council made a will, whereby he gave the kingdom of Spain, with all the territories belonging to it, to the electoral Prince of Bavaria. But this Prince dying soon after, the parties to the first treaty of partition drew up and concluded a second, which the Spaniards were no less offended at than the former.

By this treaty the same share was allotted to the Dauphin as before, with an addition of Final and Lorrain, the duchy of Milan being given to the Duke of Lorrain in lieu of his own country: the kingdom of Spain, with all the remainder of its dominions within Europe and without, were allotted to the Archduke CHARLES, the Emperor's second son. This treaty was sign'd at London by the Plenipotentiaries of France, Britain, and the States General, on the 3d of March 1700, N. S. or the 19th of February 1699, O. S. Before I proceed to give an account of the success of it, it may be proper to mention some occurrences that happen'd in France while these treaties were upon the anvil.

The court of France, as has been intimated CHAP. already, kept up their forces after the war was XXXIV. ended, that they might be in a condition to give law to the rest of Europe in case of the King of Spain's death: they discharg'd indeed some of the common soldiers in every regiment that were least fit for service, but retaining all the officers, their places might easily be supply'd on any emergency: and as the French King had now no present employment for this vast body of veteran troops, whom a long series of war had render'd the most expert at their arms, and all military accomplishments, that had ever appear'd upon the face of the earth, for the instruction as well as diversion of his three grandsons, the Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou and Berry, he order'd an incampment of fifty thousand horse and foot, with a train of artillery, near Compeigne in Picardy, where were represented all such actions and motions as usually happen between two armies during the most active campaigns, as sieges, battles, marches, foragings, &c. the charges of which, 'tis said, did not amount to less than sixteen millions of livres, or sixteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. The expences in the camp were beyond all bounds, every great officer kept a publick table; and as to Marshal BOUFFLERS, his expences are hardly to be computed. He caus'd several large apartments to be built, and hung with flame-colour'd damask lac'd with gold orace, peer-glasses, marble-tables, cabinets of China ware, &c. which he brought from his palaces in Paris; but his tapestry, his beds, chairs and plate were all new, and made on purpose for the camp. He had four spacious kitchens, in which were two and forty cooks employ'd in preparing the most elegant entertainments. Expresses arriv'd continually with ortelans, red partridge, pheasants, capons of Bruges, and in general the most exquisite rarities from every country. Fish was brought in on fish-days from Dieppe, Calais and Dunkirk, and horses laid to bring sturgeon and salmon from Ghent and Brussels, and others to fetch fruit and sallads from the neighbourhood of Paris; besides a vast profusion of Champaign, Burgundy, Rhenish, Moseller, and all foreign wines. When the camp broke up, the army march'd towards the Netherlands, which gave very uneasy apprehensions to the English and Dutch.

Still the persecution of the Hugonots continu'd; and those who had fled into the territories of the Duke of Savoy, by the influence of the Court of France were driven from thence into Switzerland; which country being over-burthen'd with them, the Elector of Brandenburg invited them to settle in his country, and granted them many considerable privileges, whereby he establish'd several beneficial manufactures, which till then were unknown in that country. In the mean time the
 Grand

CHAP. XXXIV.
 The French King employs his forces in mock sieges and battles.

CHAP. Grand Monarch publish'd several edicts for the
 XXXIV. encouragement of trade in his dominions, and
 preventing idleness and luxury : but he had done
 infinitely more mischief to the trade and manu-
 factures of France, by driving such multitudes of
 artificers into other countries, who set up their
 several professions there, than ever he could hope
 to repair by the wisest regulations. His establish-
 ing a select Council to enquire into the grievances
 of merchants and tradesmen, was certainly a very
 prudent institution : but much the greatest grie-
 vance, the putting such hardships on the indu-
 strious peasants and mechanicks on account of re-
 ligion, was left without a remedy ; which natu-
 rally produc'd the calamities they lie under at
 this day, when great part of their lands are ac-
 tually uncultivated, and many of the towns that
 were famous for trade and manufactures have
 scarce any left.

1700.

To return to the business of the Spanish succe-
 sion : Notwithstanding the French King had a-
 greed with his British Majesty and the States Ge-
 neral to accept a part of the Spanish dominions on
 the death of that Prince, yet observing how much
 his Catholick Majesty and the whole Spanish na-
 tion were averse to the dismembring of their mo-
 narchy, he found means to influence their councils
 so far as to get a will made, whereby the Duke of
 Anjou, second son to the Dauphin, was appointed
 heir of the whole Spanish monarchy. Soon after
 which (viz. on the first of November 1700, O. S.)
 his Catholick Majesty died ; of which the court of
 France no sooner receiv'd advice, but orders were
 sent to their troops, to advance towards the fron-
 tiers of the Spanish territories to establish the Duke
 of Anjou on that throne. The States General
 hereupon represented their surprize to the French
 Ambassador at the Hague, that his most Christian
 Majesty should reject the treaty of partition he had
 made with them and King WILLIAM, and ac-
 cept the will in favour of his grandson. To which
 the Ambassador answer'd, that the principal de-
 sign of that treaty being to prevent the union of
 the kingdoms of France and Spain under one So-
 vereign, this was as effectually provided for by the
 will, the heirs of the Duke of Anjou being ren-
 der'd incapable of enjoying the crown of Spain if
 they succeeded to that of France. But how little
 satisfied soever the Dutch might be with this an-
 swer, they thought fit to dissemble their intentions
 when they found the Duke of Bavaria, Governour
 of the Spanish Netherlands, had put them into
 the possession of his most Christian Majesty's forces,
 by which means they were absolutely depriv'd of
 their barrier, and lay open to the insults of the
 French. The States General therefore, as well as
 King WILLIAM, acted that mean part of acknow-
 ledging the Duke of Anjou, and congratulating
 him on his accession to the crown of Spain, at the

The French
 seize the
 Spanish do-
 minions on
 the King of
 Spain's
 death.

same time they were forming an alliance against CHAP.
 him. It is said indeed they were under a necessity XXXIV.
 of doing it, but all this necessity was no more than
 the hazarding the loss of a town or two upon their
 frontiers before their Confederates could have
 join'd : we saw the Imperialists alone soon found
 the French sufficient employment in Italy, and the
 English immediately agreed to send over troops to
 their assistance ; so that they were far from being
 in that desperate condition they were, when the
 French invaded them in the year 1672. But the
 several transactions and occurrences during this se-
 cond war between France and the Confederates be-
 ing contain'd in the modern history of Germany
 or the Netherlands, I shall pass over them here,
 and only take notice of some particulars which
 were omitted or but slightly mention'd in those
 relations.

The distress the Grand Monarch and his grand-
 son of Spain were reduc'd to by the allies in this
 war, and particularly in the year 1708, cannot
 appear more evidently to future ages than from
 some passages we find in a prayer contain'd in
 the *Mercur Galant*, printed at Paris in January
 1708-9.

GREAT GOD, (says that writer) who mak-
 est those men triumph who profess a religion con-
 trary to thy holy commandments ; DIVINE
 BEING, who permittest the authors of an un-
 just war to dethrone a monarch (the King of Spain)
 whom their Ambassadors had acknowledg'd ; well
 may man say that thy decrees are impenetrable.
 Let not those who now (unhappily for themselves)
 triumph, boast of their victories, which heaven
 permits only to enhance the glory of a Prince who
 had never any other designs than what are agree-
 able to justice, and for the good of the true religion,
 and to shew that he is yet greater in adversity than
 in the midst of the most flattering prosperity. We
 may say, that his enemies who think to crush him,
 only make his virtues shine the brighter, which
 would not have appear'd with that lustre if he had
 always triumph'd. The world may be convinc'd
 he is one of thine elect, seeing thy divine Majesty
 has touch'd him with the finger with which thou
 touchest only those who are to serve for examples
 in this world to all mankind, and hereafter to bear
 a palm in heaven.

But, O our God, if we may be permitted to
 offer a prayer in behalf of the people of Europe,
 bestow thy blessing on those unfortunate conque-
 rors, and by making them cease to triumph, open
 their eyes, that they may know themselves, and
 one day merit admission into thy celestial kingdom.
 With justice has the Monarch who now governs
 France, acquir'd the name of Great ; let him
 triumph once more, O God, and continue thou
 to make use of a Sovereign who places all his felicity
 in thee, and looks upon the good or bad that be-
 falls

CHAP. falls him as favours from thy divine Majesty, and who not having been lifted up with pride in the time of his greatest triumphs, has never been cast down by disgraces, &c.

soon as he could, and should not directly or indirectly assist the Duke of Anjou with forces, money, &c.

Art. VI. The French King agrees to yield up Strasburgh and Fort Kehl to the Emperor.

Art. IX. He agrees to restore Brisac to the Emperor.

Art. X. Landau is hereby yielded to the Emperor, and the rest of the imperial cities in Alsace were to enjoy their privileges.

Art. XI. The French King consents to demolish Hunninghen, New Brisac and Fort Lewis, with all the other fortresses he possesses on the Rhine from Basil to Philipsburgh.

Art. XIV, XV. The French King promises to acknowledge Queen ANNE, and the Protestant Succession.

Art. XVI. Obliges the French King to restore whatever he has taken from Britain.

Art. XVII. Obliges him to demolish the town and harbour of Dunkirk.

Art. XXII. By this article the French King yields to the States General Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Cassel, Lisle, Condé and Maubeuge for their barrier.

Art. XXIII. By this he agrees to deliver up all the other places he had possess'd himself of in the Spanish Netherlands.

Art. XXVII, and XXVIII. The Duke of Savoy to be reinstated in the possession of Savoy, Nice, and all his territories; and to enjoy Exilles, Fenestrelles, Chamont, and the valley of Pragelas, with whatever lies on this side Mount Genevre, and the other mountains.

Art. XXXV. By this the French King obliges himself to evacuate Namur, Mons and Charleroy before the 15th of June; Luxemburgh, Condé, Tournay and Maubeuge fifteen days after; Newport, Furnes, Fort Knocque and Ypres before the 15th of July; and before the expiration of two months to demolish the harbour of Dunkirk.

Art. XXXIX. These preliminary articles to be ratify'd by the French King, the Queen of England, and the States General before the 15th of June next, when a congress was to be begun at the Hague.

Notwithstanding these articles had been sign'd by the respective Plenipotentiaries, ROUILLE, the French minister at the Hague, acquainted the ministers of the allies a few days after, that the most Christian King his master could not ratify several of them, particularly the tenth, the eleventh and the twenty-eighth. But the President ROUILLE being press'd to declare if he had still any secret orders from his most Christian Majesty tending to peace, he said, if the allies would content themselves with the fifth article of the preliminaries with relation to Spain, namely, with a promise to recall his troops from Spain, and give no manner of assistance

The French King refuses to ratify the preliminaries.

The various calamities France suffer'd at this time were sufficient to break the spirit of the proudest monarch upon earth. Money was become exceeding scarce, and their mint-bills and farmers notes, which were design'd to supply the place of money, had lost their credit. Their bankers broke by whole shoals; and the merchants of Lyons, where trade used to flourish most, were not able to pay the bills of exchange drawn upon them. The people at the same time were reduc'd to a starving condition, by the unseasonable weather and loss of the last harvest, which occasion'd tumults in all parts of the kingdom, while the bad food produc'd contagious distempers that carried off many of them. Add to this, all Europe almost in a confederacy against them, and ready to penetrate into the heart of their country: and it is scarce possible to form a scene of more consummate misery. This oblig'd the French King to think of peace in earnest; whereupon he sent his Plenipotentiaries to Holland; but the allies refus'd to treat till his ministers had consented to certain mortifying preliminaries, which were sign'd at the Hague on the 28th of May 1709; the principal whereof were,

Art. III. Whereby the French King acknowledges King CHARLES III to be King of Spain, the Indies, Naples, Sicily, and all the dominions comprehended under the title of the Monarchy of Spain, in what part of the world soever, reserving only those parts granted to the King of Portugal and the Duke of Savoy by the high allies, and the barrier which King CHARLES III is to give to the States General, and the upper quarter of Guelderland.

Art. IV. recites, That whereas it had been reciprocally agreed, that the treaty of peace should be brought to a conclusion within two months, to commence from the first of June, during which time the French King should cause the kingdom of Sicily to be deliver'd to King CHARLES III, and the Duke of Anjou, with his wife, children and effects, and all persons willing to follow him, should within the said two months retire out of the Spanish dominions; it is hereby stipulated, that if the Duke of Anjou should not consent to this convention before the expiration of the said term, the French King, as well as the Confederates, should take measures in concert to secure the full execution of this article.

Art. V. And to forward the said agreement, the French King should, within the said term of two months, withdraw all his troops and officers from Spain, Sicily, and the rest of the Spanish territories in Europe, and those in the Indies, as

CHAP. to his grandson, without the others relating to the
XXXIV. delivering up the Spanish Monarchy, he thought
his Majesty would not insist on his other excep-
tions. But the allies not thinking fit to depart from
any one of the articles which had been agreed on
for the evacuation of Spain, Monsieur ROUILLE
return'd to Paris, and the war was renew'd with
as much fury as ever.

The following winter the French King offer'd
to consent to all the preliminary articles, and to
deliver up four strong towns to the allies, as a
pledge for the observation of them, provided he
might not be compell'd to assist with his forces in
dethroning his grandson. But this offer also was
rejected by the allies.

On the 15th of February 1709-10, the Duchess
of Burgundy was deliver'd of a son, to whom the
Grand Monarch immediately gave the title of Duke
of Anjou, being the same Prince that now fills the
throne of France, LEWIS XV.

1710.

The French King obtained leave of the allies,
with much difficulty, to send his Plenipotentiaries
to Gertruydenburgh in Holland again in the begin-
ning of the year 1710: and here they were per-
mitted to treat only with the Dutch ministers; the
English and the rest of the allies were so good as to
entrust their respective interests to their manage-
ment, who reported, that the French King desired
only Sicily and Sardinia for his grandson, and that
then he would deliver up the rest of the Spanish
monarchy to King CHARLES III. But this pro-
posal also was rejected, and the ministers of France
return'd to Paris again without effecting any thing:
and to add to the misfortunes of the Grand Mo-
narch, his son LEWIS, the Dauphin, died of the
small pox on the 14th of April 1711, in the fif-
tieth year of his age; leaving issue by MARIA
ANNA of Bavaria, LEWIS Duke of Burgundy,
PHILIP King of Spain, and GASTON Duke of
Berry.

The French
King makes
proposals of
peace to her
British Ma-
jesty.

The French King not succeeding in any pro-
posals of peace he had made in Holland, sent
Monsieur MESNAGER into England the latter
end of the year 1711, to treat with her Britannick
Majesty's ministers, who observing that neither
the Germans or Dutch furnish'd their quota of
troops or money towards the war, notwithstand-
ing they were chiefly gainers by it, and that the
British nation only exhausted herself and ruin'd
her trade by the continuance of it, shew'd them-
selves inclined to treat with the French on their
offering to sign reasonable preliminaries: which rais'd
a mighty clamour among the rest of the Confederates;
tho' at the bottom there was no more in it than that
they were very angry with the Queen of Great Britain
that she would no longer consent to impoverish her
people by conquering kingdoms for her neighbours,
who refus'd to contribute themselves towards the
charges of the war. But to proceed: On the

ninth of October her British Majesty communi-
cated the terms of peace offered by France to
the rest of the allies; and the next month ac-
quainted their ministers at London that she had
pitch'd upon Utrecht for the place of congress,
and that the conferences would begin there on the
first of January O. S. she also wrote to the sever-
al Princes in alliance with her, to invite them
to send their ministers to the congress.

The first conferences for treating of a general
peace were held at Utrecht on the 18th of January
O. S. and on the last of that month the French
Plenipotentiaries deliver'd in their proposals in
writing. In the mean time the Duke of Marlbo-
rough being laid aside, the Duke of Ormond was
constituted General of the British forces: and
notwithstanding the conferences at Utrecht, both
the French and the Confederates took the field
the next campaign. But I should have remem-
bered, that the Duchess of Burgundy, or rather,
the Dauphiness MARY ADELAIDE of Savoy,
died on the 12th of February, N. S. 1711-12, of
the measles; and the Dauphin, who was then ill
of the same distemper, died on the 18th of the
same month, in the thirteenth year of his age:
which the French King, in his letter to the Car-
dinal DE NOAILLES, requiring him to pray for
the repose of their souls, laments as a very heavy
affliction. The Dauphin left two sons behind
him, of which the eldest, the Duke of Britany,
soon followed him to the grave, being five years
of age; whereupon his brother, LEWIS Duke of
Anjou, his present Majesty, succeeded to the title
of Dauphin.

His most Christian Majesty having offer'd such
terms to the Queen of Great Britain and her allies
as she look'd upon to be satisfactory, the Duke of
Ormond, by her direction, declar'd to Prince
EUGENE, and the rest of the confederate Gene-
rals, that he had orders not to act offensively a-
gainst the French, and propos'd a cessation of
arms; but they could not be induced to consent
to it. However, in hopes they would at length
come into her plan of peace, the Queen after-
wards sent orders to the Duke of Ormond to con-
cur with the confederate Generals in the siege of
Quesnoy. But this not giving satisfaction to the
allies, the Duke acquainted their Generals that he
had positive orders to agree to a cessation of arms
with the French, declaring he should march off
with the British troops, and the foreigners in the
Queen's pay, within three or four days. But the
foreign troops, it seems, refus'd to obey his orders,
and remain'd in Prince EUGENE's camp, after
the Duke of Ormond was separated from it, which
happen'd on the seventh of July, when the Duke
proclaimed a suspension of arms with France for
two months, as Marshal VILLARS did in his
camp at the same time with England. The allies
not-

CHAP.
XXXII

CHAP. XXXIV. notwithstanding proceeded to invest Landrecy, which they were soon after obliged to raise, their army meeting with a terrible defeat at Denain: of which, and other unfortunate steps that were taken by them this campaign, having already given an account in the modern history of Germany, I forbear to repeat them here. In the mean time the town, citadel and forts of Dunkirk were put into the hands of the English troops, in pursuance of his most Christian Majesty's agreement with the Queen of England: and the Duke of Ormond having pass'd the Scheld, quarter'd his army in Ghent and Bruges.

But neither the wars of Europe, nor the negotiations that were now carrying on at Utrecht, could divert the Grand Monarch from considering the advantages that might accrue to his kingdom by enlarging the French plantations in America, and encouraging his subjects to trade thither. And therefore on the 14th of September 1712 he granted his letters patents to the Sieur ANTHONY CROZAT, Secretary of his finances; in the preamble whereof he recites, that having given a commission to the Sieur DE LA SALLE in the year 1683, to undertake a discovery of that country in north America, situated between New France (or Canada) and New Mexico; and the Sieur DE LA SALLE having met with such success as to confirm him in the belief that a communication might be settled from New France (Canada) to the Gulph of Mexico, by means of large rivers (the principal whereof is the river of Mississippi, which falls into the gulph of Mexico;) he gave orders after the peace of Ryswick, anno 1697, for establishing a colony and maintaining a garrison there, which had kept the possession he had taken in the year 1683, of the country situated between Carolina on the east, and Old and New Mexico on the west, to which he had given the name of Louisiana, (formerly Florida, and which in reality belongs either to the Spaniards or the English:) That new wars having broken out in Europe, there was no possibility of reaping the advantages that might be expected from this new colony till now. They had hitherto been under a necessity of fetching from foreigners the greatest part of the merchandizes and commodities that might be brought from thence, and for which they need only carry thither the product and manufactures of France. For which, and many other important considerations, he grants to the Sieur CROZAT for fifteen years, the sole privilege of trading to and from the said country of Louisiana, &c.

From whence my author very justly observes, that this project of the French King's, if not oppos'd in time, will probably in the end prove very advantageous to them, and fatal to their neighbours the Spaniards and English. If the discovery

of a country already peopled can give the discoverer any right to it, no doubt the Spaniards are the proprietors of Florida or Louisiana, for they actually discover'd all the coast from Vera Cruz to the cape of Florida, where they have two fortresses at this time, viz. those of St. Mattheo and St. Augustino; but as Spain had at this time almost an entire dependence on the Grand Monarch, it is no wonder that she conniv'd at all his encroachments. I can never be of an opinion indeed, that the bare discovery of a large continent, or even the erecting forts and settlements on some part of it, can give the discoverer a title to more of it than he can possibly use or manure. No, admitting it to be unpeopled before, the colonies of every nation that shall arrive there, provided the country be large enough for them all, have a right to so much as they can respectively occupy, and no more. It is not for a great Prince to take a pair of compasses in his hand and describe a space of four or five thousand miles in circumference, (as Florida or Louisiana actually is) and give it his own name, that will in reality give him a title to the country; especially when others have had settlements on the confines of it long before him, as is the case of the English, who possess all the eastern coasts of America contiguous to Florida and Canada, for fifteen hundred miles, and who must, if France maintains her title to what she calls Louisiana, be debarr'd from extending her plantations on the continent to the westward, and consequently be pent up within very narrow bounds. Nor is this the worst of it, for if the French remain possess'd of these countries, they will import the very same merchandize to Europe the English do, and consequently diminish our plantation-trade. Nay, as they lie all along on the back of our settlements, the French may at one time or other increase their regular forces on that side to twenty or thirty thousand men, and then they will find it no great difficulty to expel us from the best of our settlements, and make themselves entire masters of the sea-coasts and the plantation-trade; which is such a consideration, as one would think should alarm even a British ministry. I do not here descend to examine what right the Spaniards, French or English could have to a country that was actually peopled before they discover'd it; but as to so much as any of these nations have obtain'd by treaty with the natives in consideration of the improvements they have made, as is actually the case of the English in some places, for so much at least they have a certain and undoubted right; but I question whether the Spaniards or French can shew any such right to any part of America. And I can't but think my friend MOLL, and the rest of our English geographers, infinitely in the wrong to follow the French charts in changing the names of the countries and rivers.

CHAP. rivers in America, and particularly the countries
XXXIV. of Canada and Florida for those of New France
and Louisiana, and the names of the rivers Mis-
souri and Mississippi for those of St. Philip and
St. Lewis. But to return to Europe again :

The Consti-
tution Uni-
genitus.

Nothing has made more noise in France, or
given more disturbance to the Gallic church, than
a decree of the Pope's this year, generally called
the Constitution Unigenitus, from the words with
which that bull begins, viz. *Unigenitus Dei Filius*.
It was made against a book of Father QUESNEL's,
entitled, 'The New Testament in French, with
'moral reflections on each verse : or, an abridg-
'ment of the morals of the gospel, acts of the
'Apostles, canonical epistles and revelations ; or,
'christian thoughts on the text of the sacred books.'
Printed at Paris 1693, and 1694. Out of this
book were extracted an hundred and one passages
or propositions, as the subject of the Pope's cen-
sure ; of which I shall mention some of the chief,
from whence the reader will be able to pass some
judgment on the Papal decree.

Propositions
condemn'd
by it.

2. The grace of Jesus Christ, a principle effi-
cacious for all manner of good, is necessary to all
good works ; without it nothing is done, or can
be done.

3. 'Tis in vain, O Lord, that you command,
unless you give what you command.

10. Grace is nothing else but the will of Al-
mighty God, governing and doing whatever he
willeth or ordaineth.

29. No grace is given out of the church.

34. The grace of ADAM produceth only hu-
man merit.

59. The prayer of the wicked is a new sin,
and that which God grants them a new judgment.

73. What is the church but the assembly of the
children of God, living in its bosom, adopted in
Christ, subsisting in his person, redeemed by his
blood, living by his spirit, acting by his grace,
and expecting the glory of the life to come.

76. Nothing is more extensive than the church ;
because it consists of all the elect and righteous of
all ages.

80. The reading of the holy scriptures is for
all men.

86. To forbid ignorant people the comfort of
joining their voice to that of all the church, is a
custom opposite to the antient practice of the Apo-
stles, and even to the intention of God.

92. To suffer excommunication, and an unjust
anathema, rather than betray the truth, is to imi-
tate St. PAUL ; far from opposing authority in
the least, or breaking the unity.

97. It happens too often, that those members
which are most holy, and most strictly united to
the church, are regarded as unworthy of being in
the church, or as if they were excluded. But
the righteous live by faith, and not by virtue of
the opinion of men.

101. There is nothing more opposite to the CHAP
spirit of God, and the doctrine of Jesus Christ, XXXIV
than to render oaths common in the church, be-
cause 'tis to multiply the opportunities of perjury,
and lay snares for the weak and ignorant, and oc-
casions that the name and truth of God serve
sometimes for the promoting impious designs.

It is time now to resume the account of the
negotiations of peace at Utrecht, where we find
that the ill success the allies met with after their
separation from the English, induc'd most of them
to come into the plan of peace the Queen of Great
Britain had propos'd to them ; and the Emperor
and Empire, who stood out some time longer,
made worse terms at last than the Queen had ob-
tain'd for them.

On the thirty-first of March, O. S. or the ele-
venth of April, N. S. the respective treaties of peace
were sign'd at Utrecht between the Plenipotenti-
aries of France on the one part, and the Plenipo-
tentiaries of Britain, Prussia, Portugal, the States
General, and Savoy of the other ; Count ZIN-
ZENDORF, the Imperial Minister, at the same
time protesting against it as injurious to his master,
for the several reasons already mention'd in the
modern history of Germany.

By the treaty between France and Great Bri-
tain, the French King acknowledges her British
Majesty's title, and that of the house of Hanover
in default of issue of her Majesty, and promises
to dismiss the Pretender out of the kingdom of
France, never to return thither again ; and that
he will never oppose the Protestant Succession.
The French King also agrees, that the crowns of
France and Spain shall never be inherited by the
same person, and that reciprocal renunciations shall
be made by the Princes interested accordingly.

He agrees also not to trade to the Spanish West-
Indies in any other manner than the rest of the
nations of Europe do.

The most Christian King also engages, that all
the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk should be
raz'd, the harbour fill'd up, and the sluices and
moles destroy'd at his own expence, within five
months after the conclusion of the peace, and
never be repair'd again.

He also obliges himself to restore to Britain the
bay and streights of Hudson, with all the lands,
sea-coasts, rivers and places situate in the said bay
and streights, which were then possess'd by France.
And it was mutually agreed between Britain and
France, to send commissaries to settle the limits
between Hudson's Bay and the places belonging to
the French, which limits should not be pass'd ei-
ther by the French or English by sea or land ;
and the same commissaries were to be empower'd
to settle the boundaries between the other British
and French colonies.

The most Christian King obliges himself also
to

Treaty of
peace
concluded
at Utrecht.

H A P. to deliver to the Queen of Great Britain solemn **XXIV.** and authentick letters and instruments on the day of the ratification of this treaty, by virtue whereof of the island of St. Christophers should be possess'd only by the subjects of Britain; and all Nova Scotia, or Acadia, with its antient boundaries, the city of Port Royal, now Annapolis Royal, with their dependencies, should be yielded and made over to the British crown, in such manner that the subjects of France should hereafter be excluded from all kind of fishing in the said seas, bays and other places on the coasts of Nova Scotia, or within thirty leagues to the eastward thereof, beginning from the island called Sable, and stretching thence towards the south-west.

And it was agreed, that the island of Newfoundland, with the adjacent islands, should from that time belong wholly to Great Britain; and the fortress of Placentia, and all other places there in the possession of the French, be yielded up to her British Majesty: nor should it be lawful for the subjects of France to erect any fortifications or buildings thereon, unless stages made of boards, and huts necessary for drying fish, or to resort to the said island but in the fishing season. The French however should be permitted to take fish, and dry them on the land, on that part of the said island only which stretches from Cape Bonavista to the north point of it, and from thence running down the western side of the island as far as Point Riche. But the island of Cape Breton, as all others in the mouth of the river of St. Lawrence, and in the gulph of that name, should belong to the French King, who might fortify any places there.

That the subjects of France inhabiting Canada or other parts, should not molest the five nations or cantons of Indians subject to Britain, or any other of the natives of America in friendship with them; nor should the subjects of Britain molest those that were friends of France: and on both sides they should enjoy full liberty of going and coming on account of trade, without molestation from either party. But it was to be settled by commissaries, who should be accounted subjects and friends of Britain or France.

His most Christian Majesty also agreed, that a just and reasonable satisfaction should be given to all the allies of Britain, in such matters as they have a right to demand of France.

And in consideration of the friendship of the Queen of Great Britain, he grants, that in his treaty with the Empire, all things concerning the state of religion there, should be settled conformably to the treaty of Westphalia.

The most material articles in the treaty between France and Prussia were, that his Prussian Majesty should enjoy the upper quarter of Guelderland, and the principalities of Neufchatel and Valengin; in

consideration whereof, he should relinquish all **CH A P.** right and title to the principality of Orange in **XXXIV.** France.

There was little contain'd in the treaty between France and Portugal, unless an acknowledgment by his most Christian Majesty that both sides of the river of Amazons in south America belong'd to Portugal, and that he relinquish'd all claim to the use and navigation of the said river.

By the treaty between France and the States General, his most Christian Majesty obliges himself to deliver up to the States, in favour of the house of Austria, all that he had possess'd himself of in the Spanish Netherlands, and which belong'd to King CHARLES II, by virtue of the treaty of Ryswick; namely, the duchy, town and fortress of Luxemburg, with the county of Chinay; the county, town and castle of Namur, as also the towns of Charleroy and Newport, with their dependencies. His most Christian Majesty also yields to the States General, in favour of the house of Austria, all his right to the town of Menin, the town and citadel of Tournay, with their dependencies and appurtenances, except that of St. Amand and Mortagne. He also yields up in favour of the house of Austria, Furnes, Furner, Ambacht, Fort Knoque, the towns of Loo and Dixmude, Ypres with its chatellany, including Roufflaer and its other dependencies, viz. Poperinguen, Warneton, Commines and Warwick.

And it was agreed, that no province, town, fort, or place of the said Spanish Netherlands should ever be yielded, or transferr'd, or fall to the crown of France, or any Prince or Princess of that house, or come in any manner whatever under their power.

The Lords the States General on the other hand oblig'd themselves to deliver up to his most Christian Majesty, the town of Lisle with its chatellany, Orchies, the country of Laheue and the burgh of la Gourgue, the towns and places of Aire, Bethune, St. Venant and Fort Francois, with their bailiwicks and appurtenances.

By the treaty between France and Savoy, the French King oblig'd himself to restore to that Prince, the duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, and in general, all the places he had taken from his Royal Highness during the war. He also yielded and transferr'd to his Royal Highness, the valley of Pragelas with the forts of Exilles and Fenestrelles, the valleys of Oulx, Sezane, Bardonnache and Chateau Dauphiné, and all about the water which falls from the Alps on the side of Piedmont. And his Royal Highness reciprocally yields to his most Christian Majesty, the valley of Barcelonetta and its appurtenances; so that the summits of the Alps and the mountains should serve for boundaries between France, Piedmont and the county of Nice, in such manner, that the plains which are on the said sum-

CHAP. XXXIV. mits and the heights shall be divided, and half of the river flowing from the side of Dauphiné and of Provence should belong to his most Christian Majesty, and those on the side of Piedmont and the county of Nice should belong to his Royal Highness of Savoy.

His most Christian Majesty also agrees for himself and his Catholick Majesty the King of Spain, that the kingdom of Sicily, with the islands thereon depending, should be yielded to the Duke of Savoy, and acknowledges his Royal Highness from this time to be King of Sicily.

The cessions made by the late Emperor also to the Duke of Savoy of part of the duchy of Montferrat, the provinces of Alexandria and Valencia, with all the lands between the Po and the Tanaro, the Lomeline and the valley of Sesia, the Vigevanese, &c. are confirm'd to him.

His Royal Highness of Savoy also is left at liberty to fortify his frontiers for the security of his dominions.

Treaty of
Rastadt.

The Emperor having carried on an unfortunate war against France for almost a year after the peace had been concluded by the rest of the allies, wherein he lost Landau and several other towns of importance, a treaty was at length concluded at Rastadt between his Imperial Majesty and the most Christian King, on the sixth of March 1713-14. And it was agreed thereby, that the treaties of Westphalia, Nimeguen and Ryswick should be the basis and foundation of this. Particularly his most Christian Majesty agreed to restore to the Emperor the town and fortress of Old Brisac, the town and fortress of Friburg, with the fort of St. Peters and the Star Fort, and all other forts in the Black Forest, or in Brisgaw, and the fort of Kehl erected on the east side of the Rhine over against the bridge of Strasburg. And it was agreed that the fort of Pile, and others erected in the islands of the Rhine near Strasburg, should be demolish'd, and the navigation of the said river remain free and open to the subjects on either side.

His most Christian Majesty likewise promises to cause the fortifications erected over against Hunninghen on the right of the Rhine, and the island therein, to be demolish'd at his charges, as also the bridge built over the Rhine at that place. That the fort of Selingen, and the forts in the islands between Selingen and Fort Lewis, should be demolish'd; as also the fort built over against Fort Lewis, and that it should not be lawful for either of the parties to re-edify the same; but that Fort Lewis and the island whereon it stands shall remain to the most Christian King. And in general he promises to raze, at his own expence, all the forts, intrenchments, lines and bridges mentioned in the treaty of Ryswick, and such as have been erected since that treaty, either along the Rhine, or in it, or elsewhere within the Em-

pire and its dependencies, never to be repair'd again. CHAP. XXXIV

He promises also to evacuate the castles of Bitsch and Homburg, after the fortifications shall be demolish'd.

And as the most Christian King designs to re-establish a sincere union with the Emperor and Empire, he promises, that in the treaty with the Electors, Princes and States in the general congress, he will restore whatever has been taken from them during the war.

On the other hand the Emperor consents that the town of Landau, with its dependencies, shall remain to his most Christian Majesty.

He consents also that the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria be restor'd to all their dominions and territories.

And further, his most Christian Majesty confirms the Spanish Netherlands to the Emperor, with all those countries and places mentioned in the treaty between France and the States General, to be yielded to the said States in favour of the house of Austria.

In pursuance of the treaty between France and Britain, his most Christian Majesty, with abundance of reluctance, demolish'd the fortifications and fill'd up the harbour of Dunkirk: and under pretence of discharging the land-floods, caus'd another canal to be dug in the neighbourhood of it, call'd the canal of Mardyke, which was found capable of receiving ships of greater burthen than the former. This occasion'd heavy complaints among some zealous Britons against the sincerity of the Grand Monarch; and GEORGE Elector of Brunswick succeeding to the British throne about this time, order'd Mr. PRIOR, his minister at the court of France, to deliver a memorial on that subject to his most Christian Majesty. Mr. PRIOR hereupon represented, that his British Majesty was very much surpriz'd to hear that the said harbour was so far from being fill'd up, according to the treaty of Utrecht, that as large ships might come up the old canal to the hornwork as ever; and as long as that canal subsisted, it could not be denied that there remain'd an harbour at Dunkirk a thousand fathom long, which was capable of holding several hundred ships: whereas the words of the treaty were, that *portus completur*, the harbour should be fill'd up, and *aggeres aut moles diruantur*, that the dykes or banks which form'd the canal should be destroy'd. He further represented, that his British Majesty's surprize was still greater, when he was inform'd, that notwithstanding the words of the ninth article of the said treaty were express, viz. *ne dicta munimenta, portus, moles aut aggeres denuo unquam reficiantur*, that the fortifications aforesaid, the harbour and dykes of Dunkirk, shall never be re-establish'd, they were actually at work to make a harbour much larger than

1-14
Dunkirk
molished.

Memorial
against
making a
harbour
there.

Mardyke

CHAP. than the old canal, which was to come up, as the
XXXIV. old canal did, to the town of Dunkirk; and that
they had laid the foundation of a sluice much larger
than the former, which served to cleanse the har-
bour.

If ships then can come up to Dunkirk by the
old canal, which was to the north, or by the new,
which is to the west, Dunkirk will be equally an
harbour, equally troublesome and dangerous to the
commerce of Great Britain: in both cases the
treaty of Utrecht will be violated. And as the
expectation of seeing the ninth article of the said
treaty executed in all its parts, was the chief mo-
tive that induc'd Great Britain to accept the peace
of Utrecht, his British Majesty had order'd him
to make the most pressing instances that the said
canals should be fill'd up.

The French
King's an-
swer to the
British me-
morial.
To this memorial his most Christian Majesty
answer'd, That the words *portus compleatur* could
never be interpreted as extending to the old canal,
which was very different from the harbour. Nor
could he ever have engaged himself to fill up en-
tirely a canal which is a thousand fathoms long;
this would have been an incredible labour; and
besides, would have been to no purpose, because
the sea would in a short time carry off what re-
main'd of the dykes.

That the canal of Mardyke was made to carry
off the waters of the canals of Furnes, la Moere,
Bourg and Bourbourg, which formerly were dis-
charg'd by the sluices of Dunkirk, and thereby
prevent the over-flowing great tracts of lands.
That those four antient canals were altogether
forty-eight fathoms broad, and consequently it
was necessary that the new canal should have a
sufficient breadth to receive all those waters, and
carry them to the sea. It was necessary also that
the sluices should bear proportion with the breadth
of the canal, and the quantity of the waters which
they were to hold, for they were made to prevent
the tides getting up into the country, and keep in
the waters of the four antient canals at high wa-
ter. That these were the motives which oblig'd
the King to cause the new canal of Mardyke to
be open'd, but he had no view or intention to
make a new port at Mardyke, or build a town
there.

This dispute between the French and British
courts concerning the harbour and canals of Dun-
kirk, continued till the year 1717, when the
French put an end to it by the following con-
cessions, viz.

The most Christian King desiring sincerely to
perform every thing that has been heretofore sti-
pulated with the crown of France, and not to
omit any thing that the King of Great Britain
may think necessary for the entire demolition of
the port of Dunkirk, and for removing all suspi-
cion that there was an intention to make a new

port at the canal of Mardyke, which might serve for CHAP.
some other use than draining the water which would XXXIV.
drown the country, and the necessary commerce
for the subsistence and maintenance of the people
who inhabit that part of the country, which is
only to be carried on by small boats, which are
not allowed to be above sixteen foot wide; his
most Christian Majesty doth engage and promise
to execute every thing which the Sieur IBER-
VILLE, his most Christian Majesty's Envoy, hav-
ing full power for that purpose, did agree to at
Hampton-Court, as is contained in a memorial of
the 19th of September 1716, sign'd by the Lord
Viscount TOWNSHEND and Mr. METHUEN,
Secretaries of State, on the part of Great Britain;
which is as follows: That the great passage of the
new sluice of Mardyke, which is forty-four foot
wide, shall be demolish'd from top to bottom;
that is to say, by taking away all the bajoyers,
boardings, bulks, longrines and traversines from
the whole length thereof, and by taking off the
gates, the wood and iron-work thereof shall be
taken asunder; and all these materials may be
employed elsewhere, to such uses as his most Chri-
stian Majesty shall think fit, provided however
that they should never be made use of for any
port, haven or sluice, at Dunkirk or Mardyke,
or any other place within two leagues distance
from either of these two places; the intention of
the parties contracting, and the end they propose
to themselves by this treaty, being, that no port,
haven, fortification, sluice, or bason, shall be
made at Dunkirk, or the sluice of Mardyke, or
any other place whatever along the shore, at such
distance upon that coast. That the little sluice
shall remain as it is at present as to its depth,
provided the breadth thereof be reduced to sixteen
feet. The jetties and fascinage from the Downs,
or the place to which the tide rises at high water,
down to the low ebb along the shore, shall be
razed on both sides of the new canal, and made
level with the shore; and the stones and fascines
that are above the said level may be carried away,
and employ'd for such uses as his most Christian
Majesty shall think fit; provided however that
they never be made use of for any port or haven
at Dunkirk or Mardyke, or any other place what-
ever, within two leagues distance of any of these
two places; the intention of the parties contract-
ing, and the end they propose to themselves by
this treaty, being, that no jetty (or dyke) or fas-
cine-work, shall ever be made again upon the
shore of this coast, at the distance aforesaid on
either side. The demolition of the jetties (or peers)
on both sides of the old canal of the port of Dun-
kirk, shall be entirely finish'd and made level with
the ground, over all, from the lowest ebb, to with-
in the town of Dunkirk; and if there shall re-
main any piece of fort-blank chateauver'd, or
Bonne

CHAP. Bonne Esperance, it shall be totally laid even with
XXXIV. the ground. When this treaty shall be ratified,
the King of Great Britain, and the Lords the
States General of the United Provinces may send
commissaries upon the place, who may be wit-
nesses to the execution of this article.

The tyrann-
y of the
French ad-
ministration.

I proceed now to shew by what methods the
French King so long supported the charges of the
late war against most of the Princes of Europe.
It is very evident that the taxes, how high soever,
nor even the rents of all the estates in France, if
they had been brought into his treasury, could
have enabled him to carry on the war. He found
himself under a necessity of seizing all the coin
belonging to his subjects, which did not amount
to less than an hundred millions in specie: but this
indeed he did by degrees, and under specious pre-
tences; though when he found any of his subjects
obstinate, and determin'd not to part with their
money, they were compell'd to it by military exe-
cution.

Alterations
made in the
value of the
coin.

This was the grand resource whereby LEWIS
le Grand more than once restor'd his affairs when
they were look'd upon as desperate. But to de-
scend a little to particulars: The Louis d'Or, for
instance, which was current before the war at
eleven livres, was call'd in and received by the
officers of his Majesty's mint at that value; after
which the very same piece having receiv'd a new
stamp, was paid back again to the proprietor at
twelve livres, and some time after at thirteen,
whereby the King got twenty or forty pence out
of every Lewis d'Or, without any other charge
than the stamp. But the King having still fur-
ther occasion for money, he order'd all the cur-
rent species to be brought into his mint, and that
it should no longer be taken by private persons.
At first he return'd other species in lieu of that
which was paid at the mint; but under pretence
it could not be recoin'd fast enough to exchange,
the officers of the mint were order'd to give bills
for the value of the sums they receiv'd, which
were to be paid on demand when the new species
should be coin'd: by this means he got all the
ready money into his hands, and did not pay the
bills the mint had given out. This we may be
sure exasperated the people sufficiently; where-
upon he thought fit to order, that those bills
should be taken in all payments for ready money.
Nor did they only give out bills for the money
brought into the mint, but also for several mil-
lions more; so that had the Monarch been so
honest to have return'd specie for the specie he had
receiv'd, yet he could never have found specie
enough to discharge the supernumerary mint-bills,
which had been given the subject in discharge of
other debts the crown had contracted. At length
these mint-bills lost their credit so much, that the
King thought fit entirely to suppress them, and give

Mint-bills
given to the
subject for
specie.

the people others in the room of them, sign'd by
the farmers and receivers of the revenue, who
were order'd to pay off both principal and inte-
rest as the taxes came into their hands. But even
these new bills were at 35 and 40 per Cent. dis-
count at the conclusion of the peace at Utrecht.

In the mean time the government having part-
ed with almost all their ready money to support
the charges of the war, and the species being a-
gain come into the hands of the subjects, they
found a new expedient to draw it from them, name-
ly, by crying down all the present coin, and order-
ing it to be brought into the mint under the severest
penalties, at the current price, giving the subject
a new species, on which they set a much higher
value, in the room of it: for instance, the Lewis
d'Or, the intrinsic value whereof is not more
than fourteen livres, they issued at twenty livres,
and the silver species in proportion, which brought
an immense profit to the crown, but entirely ruin'd
their foreign trade, for strangers held up the price
of their merchandize in proportion to what they
lost by receiving their coin at such extravagant
rates; whereupon they found themselves under a
necessity of lowering the coin again, which oc-
casion'd unconceivable losses to private people; for
a man who look'd upon himself, suppose, to be
worth twenty thousand pounds in cash one year,
the next found it reduc'd to fourteen or fifteen,
notwithstanding the Lewis d'Ors, or crowns he
had in his custody, continued numerically the
same.

The money
call'd in,
and issued
again at a
higher va-
lue.

Some money'd men however, observing that
there were certain times fix'd for lowering the
coin gradually, thought of an expedient to pre-
vent these losses, which was generally follow'd in
France. They lent their money to merchants
without interest for eighteen months, (being the
time appointed for the last reduction of the coin);
and the merchants, in hopes that the profits they
should make in that time would exceed their losses
by the lowering the species, very willingly took
the money, and gave notes for it, and immedi-
ately imported such goods from foreign parts as they
knew were most wanted in France, particularly
salt beef, butter, cheese, and other provisions from
England and Ireland, which were then sold at ex-
travagant rates in France. But the market soon
became over-stock'd with these goods, and they
were sold thirty per Cent. cheaper than the prime
cost. Other people being of opinion that the bills
of the farmers and receivers of the revenue would
resume their credit on a peace with the Empire,
laid out their specie in purchasing those bills at 40
and 50 per Cent. discount: but the government
finding it impossible to pay off those bills, which
amounted to five or six hundred millions of livres,
made such bad payments, that these new adven-
turers were glad to part with their bills again at
sixty



CHAP. fixty and seventy per Cent. discount. These practices naturally occasion'd the breaking of an infinite number of merchants and bankers all over the kingdom, and reduced the people in general to the most miserable circumstances; which were still heightned by the methods some of them took to prevent their being involv'd in the common calamity, as the sending many millions in specie out of the kingdom to avoid the loss they were like to sustain by bills of exchange, or exporting their treasure abroad to prevent his Majesty's seizing of it.

XXIV. In this deplorable condition was the kingdom of France when LEWIS the Fourteenth was summon'd to give an account of his administration. He found himself indispos'd on the eleventh of August, and on the fourteenth was seiz'd with the cramp, gout, and sciatick pains: on the twenty-fourth however he apprehended himself to be so well recover'd, that he design'd to have din'd in publick, but was afflicted with such sharp pains, that he order'd every body out of the room, except Marshal VILLEROY, with whom he remain'd in private two hours. He told him that he saw his last hour approaching, and must seriously think on death; and the same day was taken with a violent fever, and a sore he had in his leg appear'd to tend towards a mortification: whereupon he thought it proper to receive the Viaticum; and on Sunday the first of September, N. S. about eight in the morning, he expir'd.

His marriage and issue. This Prince was the son of LEWIS XIII and ANNE of Austria. He was born the fifth of September 1638, and married MARIA THERESA, daughter to PHILIP IV, King of Spain, anno 1660; by whom he had issue only one son that liv'd, viz. LEWIS Dauphin of France, who married MARY ANNE CHRISTINA, sister to the late Duke of Bavaria; by whom he had issue three sons, viz. 1. LEWIS Duke of Burgundy, born anno 1682. 2. PHILIP Duke of Anjou, now King of Spain, born anno 1683. 3. GASTON Duke of Berry, born in 1684. LEWIS the Dauphin died anno 1711; whereupon LEWIS Duke of Burgundy, his eldest son, succeeded to the title of Dauphin. This Prince married MARY ADELAIDE, eldest daughter to the Duke of Savoy, now King of Sardinia, anno 1698, and died anno 1712; leaving issue of this marriage three sons, of which the two eldest, stiled Dukes of Britany successively, died soon after him in their infancy; but LEWIS his third son, born anno 1710, surviv'd them all, and sits at present on the throne of his great-grandfather LEWIS XIV, of whose marriage and issue I shall speak hereafter. PHILIP Duke of Anjou, the second son of LEWIS the Dauphin, and uncle to the present French King, succeeded to the crown of Spain anno 1700, by virtue of the late King's will, CHARLES II, whose

marriages and issue I shall take notice of in the modern history of Spain. As to the Duke of Berry, the late Dauphin's third Son, he died without issue.

CHAP. XXXIV. The natural children of LEWIS XIV by Madam DE LA VALIERE were MARY ANNE DE BOURBON, born in 1666, and married in 1680 to LEWIS of Bourbon Prince of Conti, who died without issue by her. By Madam DE MONTESPAN, 1. LEWIS AUGUSTUS DE BOURBON Duke of Maine, born in 1670, who by his wife LOUISA, daughter to the Prince of Condé, has a daughter call'd Mademoiselle D'AUMALE, born in 1697, and a son LEWIS AUGUSTUS Prince of Dombes, born in 1700. 2. LOUISA FRANCES de Bourbon Mademoiselle de Nantes, born in 1673, and married to LEWIS Duke of Bourbon in 1685; whose children are Mademoiselle de Bourbon, born 1690; LEWIS Duke of Enguien, born 1692; LOUISA Mademoiselle de Charolois, born 1693; and LOUISA ANNE Mademoiselle de Sens, born in 1695. 3. LEWIS ALEXANDER DE BOURBON Count of Tholouse, born 1678, late Admiral of France. 4. FRANCES MARY de Bourbon Mademoiselle de Blois, born 1681. His Majesty's only legitimate brother was PHILIP Duke of Orleans, first married to HENRIETTA MARIA, daughter to CHARLES I. King of England, by whom he had one daughter, married to the Duke of Savoy: he was afterwards married to CHARLOTTA ELIZABETH, daughter to CHARLES LEWIS Elector Palatine; by whom he had issue PHILIP Duke of Chartres, late Duke of Orleans, who married FRANCES MARY de Bourbon Mademoiselle de Blois, by whom he had issue the present Duke of Orleans, born anno 1703, and four daughters.

The admirers of LEWIS le Grand look upon his life as one continued series of wonders; even his birth is esteem'd miraculous, his mother having had no issue after a marriage of twenty years and upwards: others on the contrary ascribe this extraordinary birth to the contrivance of Cardinal RICHLIEU, who with the assistance of the Queen's Confessor, had persuaded her Majesty for the good of the church and state to admit the embraces of several gentlemen, among whom the Chevalier LE GRAND, Master of the Horse to LEWIS XIII, was so happy as to give two sons to the royal family, LEWIS XIV being the eldest: but I must confess I give very little credit to the story, the Queen and the Cardinal continuing irreconcilable enemies to the last. As to the person of this Prince, he was tall and every way proportionable, his hair almost black, his features tolerably regular, but his face a little pitted with the small-pox; he danc'd and perform'd all his exercises perfectly well: his character will best be discover'd by the history of his reign; men seem to think of him very differently,

The person of Lewis XIV.

CHAP. rently, according to the various notions they entertain of glory. But I should not be forgiven by my readers, if I neglected to give some account of his amours. He is generally said to have had five avow'd mistresses, besides other ladies with whom he may have trifled away an hour or two by the by.

His mistresses.

The first was Mademoiselle DE MANCHINI, Cardinal MAZARIN's niece, more admir'd for her wit than her beauty; whom the King was so taken with, that he would have married her if the Queen-mother had not found means to divert him from it. When she was sent away, 'tis said, his Majesty shed tears very plentifully.

Mademoiselle DE LA VALIERE, one of the Duchesses of Orleans's maids, was the next; her person was not very engaging neither, she was short and thin, and had a very bad mien, her teeth also were very indifferent, but she had an inexhaustible stock of wit, good-humour and vivacity, which charm'd the Monarch, and is said to be the most generous and disinterested of all his mistresses, never importuning his Majesty for any favour for herself or her friends, and behav'd herself with that humility and condescension to every body while she was in favour, that she was universally esteem'd. This intrigue happen'd soon after the King's marriage with the Infanta, for whom he had but very little complaisance; whereupon the Queen prevail'd on his Majesty's Confessor to lay before him the ill consequences of that way of life: the King thank'd the good father for his advice, but let him know at the same time that he had no further service for him. And 'tis observ'd, that the opposition the King met with in his amours rather augmented than diverted his passion for Madam DE LA VALIERE, who still remain'd sole mistress of his affections; and so tender he was of her, that being in great danger on her delivery of a daughter, he held her in his arms, crying out to the physicians, Save LA VALIERE, and take my crown. But even this mistress was turn'd off at length to make room for another; whereupon she retir'd into a convent, where she is said to have compos'd half a dozen verses on the occasion, in her own language, which have been render'd into English thus;

*For me the Kings of heaven and earth have strove,
Which of the mighty two should gain my love.
But conquering heaven has brought me to this place;
What earthly happiness can mine surpass?
Since from the greatest Prince's mistress I
Am now become spouse to the Deity.*

The Countess of Montespan, a lady of exquisite beauty, succeeded Madam DE LA VALIERE: as she was married, great offers, 'tis said, were made to the Earl her husband to procure his consent; but no considerations could move him to

part with her voluntarily; whereupon his Majesty CHA. and the Lady struck up a bargain without him, XXXII and the unfortunate nobleman thought fit to retire into the country, that he might not be a witness of his disgrace. The Countess of Montespan made use of the interest she had in the King to advance her own relations; and having a great many children by his Majesty, continued long in favour at court, though she had very little merit besides her beauty to engage the Monarch's heart.

Mademoiselle DE FONTANGE was the next object his Majesty cast his eyes upon; she was a young lady of abundance of wit and good-humour, and had the prudence to find out an advantageous match for her self, before she was dismiss'd by the King.

The celebrated Madam MAINTENON succeeded FONTANGE; she was of the family of Aubigny, and either born in America, or carried thither very young, and was brought to Europe again by the Governour of Martinico: while she was in this family a young Marquis who admir'd both her wit and her beauty, made his addresses to her. She was a tall woman, well-shaped, and had an agreeable mien; her hair was black, her features regular, and had fine eyes. The Marquis her admirer either never intended to marry her, or satiated with enjoyment, left her: however, he had the honour to make her a present of a purse of pistoles, of which she made so good use, that she found means of introducing her self into some of the best families in Paris, where she met with the inimitable SCARRON, who was exceedingly smitten with her charms; his person indeed was somewhat deform'd, but as he was a man of quality and estate, and of a most agreeable conversation, she very readily consented to take him for better or worse. This gentleman, 'tis said, took abundance of pleasure in polishing and improving her natural parts: but Madam MAINTENON, or rather SCARRON, had too ambitious a soul to be content with leading a private life, how agreeable soever; having made some acquaintance therefore with Madam MONTESPAN, or some other of the King's mistresses, she found means to make her self known to his Majesty, who was so charm'd with her wit, that he thought her conversation too great a happiness for a subject, and thereupon took the liberty of removing her from old SCARRON's bed to his own. As to her person, she was now past her bloom; but her judgment was so improv'd, that she is said to have had the greatest share in the administration; and in effect to have supply'd the place of prime minister as long as she liv'd. The King had no children by her, but several by her predecessors, as appears in the account of his issue.

LEWIS XV, the only surviving son of LEWIS XV. Lewis XV. Duke of Burgundy, grandson of the Dauphin, and great grandson of LEWIS XIV, succeeded to the

H A P. the crown of France on the first day of September
XXIV. 1715, N. S. being then in the sixth year of his
age. The late King by his will appointed a council of Regency, consisting of the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Maine, the Count de Thoulouse, the Chancellor, the President of the royal council, the Marshals VILLEROY, VILLARS, UXELLES, TALLARD and HARCOURT, the four Secretaries of state, and the Comptroller-General of the finances; and order'd that the person of the minor King should be under the guardianship of the said Council of Regency; that the Duke of Maine should have the guardianship of his Majesty under the authority of the said Council, and the Duke of Villeroy be his Governour under him; and that all the officers of the King's guard and household should obey the Duke of Maine's commands with respect to the person of the King minor, his guard and safety. He further order'd, that all affairs which were to be determin'd by the King's authority, either concerning war or peace, the disposal and administration of the finances, the nomination of persons to bishopricks, abbeyes, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices; the appointing the officers of the crown, Secretaries of state, Comptroller of the finances, and all officers of the army and navy; the officers of the courts of judicature and finances; the Governours and Lieutenant-Generals in the provinces and towns; the staff-officers and officers of the household; and generally all offices, commissions and employments, the filling whereof belonged to the King, should be considered in the Council of Regency, and determin'd by a majority of votes.

The Duke of Orleans assumes the regency.

Notwithstanding the late King had appointed a Council of Regency, the Duke of Orleans, who was next heir to the crown in case of the death of the minor King, claim'd the office of Regent as due to him by his birth, to which he obtain'd the concurrence of the parliament of Paris, and thereupon assum'd an authority equal to their greatest Princes; nor was LEWIS XIV himself ever guilty of more arbitrary and destructive measures, which the Duke endeavour'd to excuse from the necessity he was under of extricating the crown from that load of debts with which he found it oppress'd; for at the Grand Monarch's death, it is said, that the government was no less than three hundred millions sterling in debt, besides the vast sums they had struck off by raising and lowering the coin, &c.

The Regent, as usual at the beginning of an administration, publish'd some popular edicts; by one of which he restor'd to the parliament of Paris their antient privilege of debating and considering acts of State that were transmitted to them before they pass'd them.

By another edict dated the 12th of October 1715,
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he tells them, that being fully persuaded of the indispensable necessity of keeping the gold and silver species on the foot they were then fix'd for ever, (being about the intrinsic value) for preserving a just balance in commerce, which was the basis and foundation thereof, the King ordain'd, that the last value set upon the species of gold and silver should remain for ever fix'd without alteration, viz. the Lewis d'Or at fourteen livres, the crown-piece at three livres ten sols, and the other species in proportion. But the Duke of Orleans finding himself settled in his regency without opposition, within a month afterwards publish'd another edict, whereby he raised the Lewis d'Or to twenty livres, and the other species proportionably, on its being issued out of the mint; though at the same time he obliged the subjects to pay them into the mint at sixteen livres: so that here the government gain'd at once a fifth part of all the money in the kingdom. To make this still more plain, every person who brought five Lewis d'Ors, or five crowns to the mint, received back but four in return, only the government were pleas'd to set the same value upon the four, as the five went at when they were paid in; and in this there might have been no great hurt, if those they dealt with, and especially foreigners, had not raised the price of their goods in proportion to the rise of the coin: but a Lewis d'Or, whose intrinsic value was but fourteen livres, would purchase no more merchandize when it was raised to twenty, than it would before, which inclin'd the balance prodigiously against them.

He raises the coin.

Another method the Regent took to raise money, was the erecting a new court of justice, call'd the *Chambre Ardente*, to call all such persons to an account, as had been concern'd in the management of the publick revenues during the late war, out of whom he extorted very considerable sums, to the great satisfaction of the people, who were pleas'd to see the instruments of their oppression punish'd, and obliged to refund their ill-gotten treasure.

About the same time the Pretender and some of his adherents having embark'd for Scotland in the ports of France, the Earl of Stairs, the British minister at that court, presented a memorial to the Regent, complaining of it: but this seems to have been all grimace, for the Regent constantly gave notice to the British court of the Pretender's motions from time to time; and if he did not stop those few officers and arms that were sent to Scotland, it was either because the opposing the Chevalier at that time of day would have oblig'd a considerable party in France, or because he knew those small supplies could be of little service to him; and besides, his conniving at it might serve to conceal that intimate correspondence there was all this while between the Regent
Y y y y and

CHAP. XXXIV.

CHAP. and King GEORGE, which proved the ruin of the
XXXIV. Pretender's designs.

1716. The disputes concerning the Constitution Unigenitus gave no small disturbance to the beginning of the Regent's administration; each side hoped to gain him over to their party, and wrote and preach'd with all the bitterness imaginable against one another. At length he hoped to have accommodated the matter between them, by issuing an edict, commanding the reculant bishops to accept it, with certain explanations. But this was far from putting an end to the controversy, both parties appeared still more exasperated than ever.

The poor Protestants were in great hopes the penal laws against them would have been relax'd during the Regent's administration; but either he never intended them any such favour, or he did not think fit to disoblige so great a body as the clergy, who perpetually importun'd him to put the laws in execution against them. Nor do we find their sufferings at all abated during the Regent's ministry; all that the King of England could prevail with the Regent to do, was to release three or four score of those unhappy wretches from the galleys who had been sent thither purely upon the account of religion.

A dispute between the Princes of the blood, and the late King's base issue.

The late King having legitimated his base issue, and conferr'd the same privileges on them as those born in lawful wedlock, the latter prefer'd a petition to his present Majesty and the parliament on the 23d of May 1715, desiring he would revoke and annul in his seat of justice, the edict of the month of July 1714, which gives to LEWIS-AUGUSTUS of Bourbon Duke of Maine, and to LEWIS-ALEXANDER of Bourbon Count of Thoulouse, and to their descendants, the right of succeeding to the crown: as also the declaration of the 23d of May 1715, which gave them the title, honours and rank of Princes of the blood.

Sign'd,

LEWIS-HENRY de Bourbon,
CHARLES de Bourbon. And,
LEWIS-ARMAND de Bourbon.

The Duke of Maine, in answer to this petition, publish'd a memorial, wherein he asserts that such a petition could not be receiv'd in parliament, because it requires them to abolish an edict which they themselves had solemnly register'd, and to reverse their own decrees. That the Duke of Bourbon himself also, and the rest of the petitioners, had given their consent to the same edict, and therefore it was at least very indecent for them to endeavour to destroy it. That the granting such a petition would be of dangerous example to the state, the people would apprehend that there was nothing firm and settled, and that edicts and arrets might be subverted at pleasure.

CHAP. To this the Princes of the blood reply'd, that both the parliament and themselves were under a force when they consented to those edicts, and it would have been to no purpose to have oppos'd them in the late reign. That the King could not alter the constitution of the kingdom, and transfer the kingdom to his illegitimate issue or foreigners, and that such acts of state therefore were void. But to this I perceive it was answer'd, that as the Kings of France were vested with the legislative authority, they might repeal or enact what laws they saw fit, and could not be bound by the edicts or customs of their predecessors.

The Peers of France interested themselves in behalf of the Princes of the blood, and presented a petition to his Majesty, insisting that he would annul and revoke the edict and declaration above-said, which gave the Duke of Maine and the Count of Thoulouse the first rank after the Princes of the blood, and vested them with a right of representing the antient Peers at the inauguration of their Kings.

This occasion'd a petition from the Duke of Maine and Count de Thoulouse to his Majesty, desiring that he would determine nothing in this affair till he came of age; but in July 1717, an edict was publish'd, whereby the King revok'd and annull'd the edict of 1714, and the declaration of 1715; decreeing however that his uncles, the Duke of Maine and Count of Thoulouse should continue to receive the honours they had enjoy'd in parliament ever since the edict of 1714, but that they should neither of them be stiled Princes of the blood for the future.

The Czar of Moscovy, a Prince whose curiosity was never satisfied, arriv'd at Paris this summer, and had the satisfaction of viewing every thing that was worth taking notice of in that city and the neighbourhood of it. He afterwards visited the fortifications in Flanders, and especially those of the city of Namur, with which he was extremely pleas'd.

This year the French Court, in order to discharge that immense debt which had been contracted by the government to support the late war, laid the foundation of the famous Mississippi or India company, which was to carry on a trade to Louisiana or Florida with a stock of fifty millions of livres, and shares were to be purchased in it with state-bills. This project appear'd so advantageous, that above thirty millions of livres were immediately subscrib'd into it; and together with the annuities, lotteries, and other methods propos'd for disposing of state-bills, they were in expectation of discharging great part of their debts very suddenly. But the court had recourse to many other projects for raising money before this scheme was brought to perfection. That which was most grievous to the subject was the frequent alteration

CHAP. XXXIV.

An edict in favour of the Princes of the blood, 1717.

The beginning of the Mississippi company.

H A P. in the value of the coin, which the Duke of Orleans carried much further than ever **LEWIS XIV** had done. When he found the people would be no longer imposed upon and wheedled out of their money, he robb'd them of it by plain force, as will appear hereafter.

XXIV. The government having at this time got most of the money of the kingdom into their hands, re-coin'd it, and rais'd the Lewis d'Or to 36 livres, obliging those who had any state-bills, or old specie in their hands, to bring them to the mint and take new specie in the room of them, whereby they cheated the people at one clap of two hundred millions of livres. The parliament observing how prejudicial this practice would be to the publick, made a representation to the Regent against it: to which it was answer'd, that the matter had been duly considered, and could admit of no alteration.

18. The parliament not satisfied with this answer, drew up another representation, setting forth the unreasonableness of this edict, wherein they demonstrate, that a man who carries 125 marks of silver to the mint, which makes 5,000 livres at the rate of 40 livres to the mark, and 2,000 livres in state-bills, receives back 7,000 livres in new species, which weigh but 116 marks, consequently he lost nine marks out of 125 he carried thither, and all his state-bills over and above; and that foreign trade also would suffer an immense loss by the difference between the value the new edict gave to the species and their intrinsic value. The Regent told the parliament he did not send the edict concerning the new species to them to debate upon, but to register it, and that they had nothing to do to intermeddle in the affair. But this body, to whom his Highness at the beginning of his administration pretended to restore their privileges, would not part with them again so easily: they took upon them to prohibit all persons to receive or tender the new species in payment. However, after a long struggle the Regent let them know he would be obey'd; and they found he meant no more by all the glorious promises he had made them, than by their assistance to establish his tyranny, and now he look'd upon himself to be secure, had no further regard to them.

The Court of Aids however were not discouraged from addressing his Majesty on the same subject: they shew, that the dearness of provisions and materials, occasion'd by raising the species, would be the utter ruin of their manufactures: that their artificers, which former alterations of the coin had driven into neighbouring countries, had instructed them in the perfection of their arts, and enabled them to make all those things in which the French formerly excell'd; and by a fatal reverse, that which foreigners formerly fetch'd

from France, and purchas'd with treasure, they now imported from abroad, and enrich'd other countries with their gold and silver. That not only their workmen would be driven abroad, but many other people, whom the excessive price of provisions made it impossible to subsist here. That even in times when the kingdom was reduced to the greatest extremity, the alteration of the coin had never been carried to such an excess as now; whereas they had been promised on the word of a King, which ought to be sacred, that the species should be reduc'd to its just value as soon as the war was ended. That after they had been drain'd for so many years to secure his Majesty in the possession of his throne against a numerous confederacy, they were like to meet with no other reward than an edict which threw them into domestick feuds, and overturn'd all their fortunes; an edict which without the name of a supply, laid upon them the most heavy tax was ever heard of.

While the finances were in the utmost confusion in France, and the Duke of Orleans was taking these oppressive and arbitrary measures to discharge the publick debts, which had exasperated all degrees of men in the nation, the King of Spain meditated how he might reunite those kingdoms and provinces to the Spanish monarchy which had been dismember'd from it during the late war: he seems also to have had a design upon the regency of the kingdom of France, and the succession to that throne in case **LEWIS XV** had died, who enjoy'd a very indifferent state of health. The opportunity seem'd extremely favourable; for the Emperor was then engaged in a war with the Turk, and the intestine troubles he observ'd in France were sufficient to discourage them from entering into a foreign war; and as to the English and Dutch, the advantages they enjoy'd by their commerce with Spain he hoped would prevent their interposing in the quarrel. The Spaniards therefore having fitted out the best fleet they had been masters of for many years, and assembled a powerful army, it was thought at first they had a design against the Emperor's dominions in Italy, which occasion'd an alliance between the Emperor, France and Britain for the security of their respective dominions. The Spaniards however proceeded to invade the island of Sardinia, then in the Emperor's possession, and made themselves masters of it in the year 1717. The following year they made a descent in Sicily, of which the Duke of Savoy had been made King by the treaty of Utrecht, and almost the whole island revolted to them: but a further alliance having been enter'd into between the Empire, France and Britain, which obtain'd the name of the Quadruple Alliance from the number of the parties upon the States General acceding to it, it was resolv'd to oppose the designs of the Spaniards with all their

CHAP.
XXXIV.

Spain attempts to recover the dismember'd provinces.

A confederacy form'd against Spain.

CHAP. might. Accordingly his British Majesty sent a
 XXXIV. fleet into the Mediterranean, which defeated the
 The Spanish fleet defeat-
 ed.
 1719. Spanish fleet, and transported such numbers of the Imperialists from Naples to Sicily, as soon put a stop to the progress of the Spaniards there, and the French prepar'd to attack them on the side of the Pyrenees; so that the war appear'd wonderfully unequal, the poor feeble kingdom of Spain engaged with four of the most potent Kingdoms and States in Europe. And as it might reasonably be expected, the Spaniards were obliged to accept of such terms as the Confederates were pleas'd to grant them; they had lost Port Passage, Fontarabia, St. Sebastian, and the whole province of Guipuscoa; nor could they have hinder'd the French army from penetrating even to Madrid, if they had not prevented it by accepting a peace.

This attempt therefore of the Spanish Ministry to disturb the peace of Europe, at first sight appears very romantick: but it must be consider'd, that when they enter'd upon it, as the Emperor was engag'd in a war with the Turks, they could not foresee the success of their arms, or the peace that follow'd with the Mahometans. The King of Spain also had a considerable party in France; nay, it is questionable whether there were not three parts in four of the nation for him, who would have been glad to have been under his administration, rather than that of the Duke of Orleans. But it must be acknowledg'd that his Catholick Majesty did not sufficiently consider what a fine army of veteran troops the Duke of Orleans had in his pay, an army sufficient to suppress all malecontents at home, and to have made a conquest of the Spanish monarchy, if he had not been supported by one ally. Admitting it to be true, that the Duke of Orleans had no other friends but the soldiery, which were not the hundredth part of the nation, yet the man that commanded that hundredth part with arms in their hands, as CROMWELL upon a like occasion observ'd, would make no difficulty in subduing the other ninety-nine, the unarm'd multitude. There is no depending on the murmurs or discontents of a people, how oppress'd soever, where there is a vast standing army of regular troops: it is on these every monarch and state in Europe depends at this day, much more than in the affections of their subjects. Another very gross mistake the Spaniards made, was, that the British ministry would so far consider the interest of trade, that they would not fall out with them. That the British trade suffer'd extremely by this conduct, is very evident; but whether the ministry ever concern'd themselves much about it, still remains a very great question. As to the Dutch, they did not come into the quadruple alliance till late, and then with so many restrictions, that they did themselves no great hurt. I come now to the terms on which the

peace was made, which in short were these, that CHAP. the Spanish forces should evacuate Sicily and Sar- XXXIV. dinia, and that the King of Spain should accede to the quadruple alliance. As to the conquests the French had made in Spain, it was agreed they should relinquish them; but they were not oblig'd to make satisfaction for the men of war they had destroy'd at Port Passage, or any other depredations; though the English are still obliged to make good the ships Sir GEORGE BYNG destroy'd near Sicily.

By the quadruple alliance (the foundation of this peace) the Emperor renounc'd all right to the do-
 Quadruple Alliance.
 minions of the Spanish monarchy, whereof his Catholick Majesty was acknowledged the rightful possessor by the treaty of Utrecht, and acknowledg'd PHILLIP V, to be lawful King of Spain and the Indies. King PHILIP on the contrary renounc'd all right to the Spanish dominions which his Imperial Majesty possess'd in Italy or the Netherlands.

And by the fifth article it was agreed, that in case of failure of male-issue of the Dukes of Tuscany and Parma, the Queen of Spain's eldest son should succeed to those duchies; and if such son should succeed to the crown of Spain, then they should be inherited by her second and third son successively, and so on.

And it was agreed, that it never should be allow'd during the lives of the present possessors of the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, or their male successors, that any forces, either of the Emperor's or the King of Spain's, or even of the Prince appointed to succeed, should be introduc'd into the said duchies: but for the security of the said succession, garrisons not exceeding six thousand men, should be put into the principal towns thereof, consisting of Swiss troops, to be paid by the contracting powers, and that they should take an oath of fidelity to the present possessors. And lastly, the said parties guaranty to each other their respective territories and possessions.

The King of Sicily having acceded to this treaty, agreed with the Emperor to exchange the island of Sicily for that of Sardinia; which we cannot suppose he did very willingly, but the Emperor was now in possession of Sicily, and the contracting powers had agreed it should be so, and he was from this time call'd King of Sardinia.

Notwithstanding the French were generally inclin'd to King PHILIP in this war with Spain, they were kept in such awe by the standing forces, that I don't perceive there was any considerable insurrection in his favour: the Duke of Richlieu and several great men were secur'd on a suspicion of being in that interest. A court of justice also was erected in Britany, where the malecontents were most numerous, and several men of quality executed for corresponding with the enemy; and
 no

CHAP. no doubt the other provinces would have declar'd
XXXIV. for the King of Spain if he had been superiour in
the field; for never was any country so peel'd and
plunder'd by an avow'd enemy, as the subjects of
France were during the Duke of Orleans's admi-
nistration.

Royal bank
establi'd in
France. The next project the Court fell upon to raise mo-
ney was the establishing a royal bank; in the pre-
amble to the patent for it the most Christian King
recites, that the Sieur LAW soon after his accession
having presented him a project for establishing a
bank, the funds whereof should be part of the
royal revenue, it was examin'd in council, but the
conjuncture not being favourable, the Sieur LAW
then desir'd permission to establish a bank on ac-
count of himself and such a company as he should
form, which was granted him in May 1716. The
fund was to consist of six millions of livres, mak-
ing 1200 actions or shares of 1000 crowns in
bank each, payable to the bearer, wherein both
subjects and foreigners might be interested; the
usefulness of which establishment in remitting the
publick money without draining the provinces of
their specie, induc'd his Majesty to grant him his
protection. That the success of this project occa-
sion'd the examining it again, and the King hav-
ing found it very agreeable to the general good of
commerce and to the benefit of the subject, it was
thought proper the said bank should be continu'd
under the royal name and authority; for which
end the King had purchased all the actions or
shares in it, and was become sole proprietor of
them. For these causes, &c. he declar'd and or-
dain'd, that from the first of January 1718-19,
the said bank should be deem'd a royal bank, and
a director of it establish'd by the crown, who
should receive his orders from the Duke of Or-
leans.

This declaration being sent to the parliament of
Paris to be register'd, that body disapprov'd the
project: they foresaw probably that they should
be obliged to take bank-bills for their cash, which
in time might have as little credit as other state-bills.
The Court, however, determin'd to carry on the
design without their concurrence, and published
another arret thereupon, enjoining all men to look
upon the said declaration as register'd in parlia-
ment, notwithstanding it had been refus'd. His
Majesty also declar'd further, that before the first
of March, besides the general office at Paris, there
should be establish'd particular offices in the towns
of Lyons, Rochelle, Tours, Orleans and Amiens,
consisting of two chests, one of ready money to
pay bills on demand, and the other in bills to de-
liver to such as wanted them. That the species
of bellon [a base mix'd metal] and copper coin
should not be tender'd or receiv'd in payments ex-
ceeding six livres; and as to the species of silver,
it should not be receiv'd in payment in any of the

said towns in sums exceeding six hundred livres, CHAP.
but that all great sums should be paid in specie or XXXIV.
bills. In April 1719, we find the stock of the
bank increas'd to one hundred millions of livres,
and many people crowding into it, the payments
being at first well made.

About the same time the court of France en-
courag'd another project form'd by Mr. LAW, Mississippi
company en-
courag'd by
the court. which was to transfer all the privileges of the East-
India company to that of the Mississippi or West-
India company, and unite them both in one pa-
tent under the title of the India company; and
to their present capital, which already consisted of
an hundred millions of livres, they were permit-
ted to add five and twenty millions more.

As a farther encouragement to this great com-
pany, the Treasurer of the royal bank was or-
der'd to deliver them bank-bills to the value of
twenty-five millions of livres, in order to promote
their traffick to Louisiana: and in July 1719, in
consideration that the said India company had a-
greed to advance the government fifty millions of
livres in specie, they obtain'd the grant of all the
advantage arising from the coinage of gold and
silver for nine years. An arret also was publish'd
for enabling the directors of the bank to issue
two hundred and forty millions in bank-bills,
which with those issued out before, made their
stock to consist of four hundred millions of livres.

In August 1719, India or Mississippi stock had Mississippi
stock rises. obtain'd such credit, that it was advanc'd to 900;
that is, every share of 100 livres was sold for 900,
notwithstanding there had been no dividend of
any profit. This success put Mr. LAW upon the
boldest attempts that ever were heard of: he un-
dertook to advance the government twelve hun-
dred millions of livres at three per Cent. interest,
towards the discharge of the annuities and other
national debts; and to give fifty-two millions per
annum for the general farm of the King's reve-
nues, which was three millions and a half more
than the present farmers gave: both which offers
the crown accepted, and in consideration thereof
enlarg'd their term to fifty years, to commence
from January 1719-20. The company were also
impower'd to borrow the sum of twelve hundred
millions of livres, in consideration of their having
advanc'd the like sum for the government.

It was very much doubted whether the India
company would be able borrow so vast a sum as
1200000000 of livres at so low an interest as three
per Cent. but the nation was at this time (Sep-
tember 1719) so insatuated, that it appears they
might have borrowed twice that money by the
methods they took. The first essay they made
was by selling out actions or shares to the amount
of fifty millions of livres at the rate of 1000 per
Cent. (the price of stock being then at 1100.)
This was immediately fill'd, whereby the company
gain'd

CHAP. gain'd five hundred millions at once. Upon this
 XXXIV. encouragement they sold fifty millions more at the
 same rate, which were purchased in one day. Whereupon a third fifty millions were sold, for which they also found purchasers in one day's time: so that the company, instead of twelve hundred millions, offer'd to lend the government fifteen hundred millions. This indeed was all imaginary wealth; but it may be observed from hence, what an immense debt the crown of France still lay under, when fifteen hundred millions of livres, or one hundred and fifty millions sterling, would not discharge it, notwithstanding the many extraordinary means that had been taken to lessen it since the war.

The French nation, according to my author, was wonderfully pleas'd at this time: they thought themselves all rich, their lands were rais'd to twice the value, they expected wonderful profits from the India company, their bank-bills were prefer'd to ready money, and no man thought it worth his while to attend his proper trade or business, they were all jumping into estates at once.

To keep up the credit of bank-bills, of which there had been made out to the value of six hundred and fifty millions of livres, an arret was publish'd in December 1719, which, among other things, cries down the current species in a manner, and ordains that no tender in ready money should be good, and that only bank-bills should be accepted in payment; and the bank-bills were at length increased to a million of millions. The design of the administration in this step began to be suspected, namely, that they intended to get all the ready money of the kingdom into their hands, and pay their debts with paper, which kept up its credit no longer than while the ministry had served their ends by it: however, Mr. LAW, for the great service he had done the court, in bubbling the people out of their cash, and to give a credit to his scheme, was in January 1719-20 made Comptroller of the finances.

Law made
 Comptroller
 of the finances.

On the 30th of December a general assembly of the India company was held at the house of the royal bank, in the presence of the Duke of Orleans Regent, the Duke of Chartres, and the Duke of Bourbon; where the management of the directors was approved; and it was agreed to divide forty per Cent. their stock or actions being sold at this time at 1885, and subscriptions at 1330 per Cent. The Lords and others who had enrich'd themselves by India stock, thought they could not better secure their wealth than by purchasing jewels with it, and accordingly great sums were sent out of the kingdom for this purpose, which occasion'd the publishing an arret prohibiting the wearing of diamonds, pearls and precious stones, on pain of forfeiture, and a penalty of ten thousand livres; forbidding on the like penalty to import the same into the kingdom.

The Court also suspecting that a great deal of treasure was hoarded up by private men, issued an arret raising the value of it, and permitting the merchants to send it abroad for the purchase of merchandize, which occasion'd every body to bring it out, and discover what they had: whereupon the government immediately publish'd another arret, lowering the value of the gold and silver specie, and requiring every person to bring it into the mint and take bank-bills for it, on pain of forfeiture; and because they imagin'd people would still endeavour to hide it, they gave the India company a power of entering all noblemens houses and convents, as well as those of private people, and to search for specie; nor were the royal palaces excus'd: which, 'tis observ'd, was such an act of tyranny as the reign of LEWIS XIV could never parallel. These cruel and oppressive practices, with the court's disposing of all their stock at once, tumbled it down as fast as it rose, and an infinite number of unfortunate wretches found themselves ruin'd in an instant. And lest the people should convert any of the coin they had left, into plate, the making of gold plate above an ounce weight was absolutely prohibited; as was the making of silver plate without the King's permission, which was to be granted only for table-plate of a certain weight. It appears that within three months before this prohibition, by an account taken from the books of the silver-smiths in Paris, they had made an hundred and twenty thousand dozen of plates, besides dishes, and other plate in their possession; and reckoning each dozen of plates at sixty pounds sterling, the value of the plates only amount to seven millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

In the year 1720, the ministry publish'd an arret, whereby Mississippi or India-stock was reduc'd to 500, and bank-bills, which the Court had paid away as ready money, were reduc'd to one half, a bill of a thousand livres being declar'd to be worth but five hundred; and indeed their credit was now so very low, that people refus'd to take them for any thing; whereupon another arret was issued, to oblige the people to take them. This threw every thing into confusion, and the Regent was forced to place guards in the market-places to prevent tumults; no body would part with their goods without four times the value of them. Money growing extremely scarce, the Court, in order to render it more plentiful, repeal'd their edicts, which prohibited people to keep money by them, and order'd them to recall all the money they had sent abroad into foreign countries, on pain of forfeiting double the sums they had beyond sea. They also oblig'd them to sell all their jewels to foreigners, which was suppos'd. would occasion a great deal of specie to be imported.

H A P. In the mean time the publick debts seem to be
XXIV. as far from being paid as ever, unless wiping off
 part of the score may pass for payment. The
 government, 'tis true, had paid them in India
 stock and bank bills, but then those bills ought to
 have been paid when the bearers came for their
 money; instead of which, comes out an arret,
 which has been mentioned already, that they
 should pass for half the original value, so that here
 at one dash the ministry got rid of half their debts;
 but this would never be call'd payment among
 private men, it would rather be deem'd down-
 right robbery. Nor did the government do their
 business by halves, but before the end of the year
 bank-bills and paper-money was cry'd down, and
 nothing received in payment but the gold and silver
 species. About the same time Mr. Law was re-
 moved from all his employments, and obliged to
 leave the kingdom to satisfy the clamours of the
 people: the government however were so grateful
 to him, for putting them in a way to pay their
 debts by cozening the subject, that they suffer'd
 him to carry off an immense treasure, and even
 assisted him in his retreat, and screen'd him from
 the fury of the people, from which he might have
 found it difficult otherwise to have escaped. The
 general farm and the coinage were soon after taken
 from the India company, and every thing return'd
 to its usual channel. As to the commerce with
 Louisiana, this by consequence came to nothing;
 nor did those in the secret ever hope to make much
 of it; though to bubble and amuse the people
 they were at the charge of fitting out and freight-
 ing an hundred ships, with which they never at-
 tempted to make one single settlement, or carry
 on any one branch of trade, so that it appear'd
 in the end to have been only a foolish and un-
 necessary expence; whereupon the Mississippi or
 India company was absolutely dissolv'd, and the
 trade to the East and West-Indies put on another
 foot.

The ravages made in France by the Mississippi
project, and the oppressions of the government,
 were not the only misfortunes that beset that peo-
 ple this year, for South France was visited also
 with the plague, which swept away a multitude of
 the inhabitants. It was brought to Marseilles by
 a ship that arrived there from Sidon, on the 15th
 of June 1720, N. S. The porters employ'd in
 unloading the vessel, were immediately seized
 with violent pains in the head, reachings to vomit,
 and a general faintness; soon after they broke out
 in blotches and buboes, and died in three days.
 But the magistrates of Marseilles apprehending
 that the trade of the city would be lost if the re-
 port of their having the plague amongst them pre-
 vailed, gave out that the distemper was only a ma-
 lignant fever; whereupon the merchants went to
 the fair of Beaucaire in Languedoc, as usual at

this season, and by that means dispers'd it through **CHAP.**
 all the southern provinces. In Marseilles alone, it **XXXIV.**
 was computed, that in the month of September
 there had died no less than forty thousand people.

The government were no sooner acquainted that
 the distemper which carried off such numbers in
 Provence was the plague, but they order'd all com-
 munication to be cut off with the places infected,
 and publish'd an edict, containing rules and di-
 rections to be observ'd during this calamity, which
 very well deserve a place in the modern history of
 France, though by no means fit to be imitated in
 countries that have any remains of liberty or pro-
 perty left.

As soon as the King's commanding officers have
 notice that any places are affected with the con-
 tagion, they must, without the loss of one mo-
 ment, cause them to be invested at the distance of

*Rules ob-
serv'd in the
countries in-
fected.*

half a league, or thereabouts, so that such a part
 of ground may be left as may afford them the most
 necessary supplies for their subsistence. They
 are at that distance to dispose into barracks the
 troops which form the blockade, and to post their
 corps de garde so near, that they may see each
 other, or easily hold communication by the senti-
 nels, to keep patrols continually all night long,
 and to employ officers of good understanding, vi-
 gilant and inflexible, to take care of the blockade.

If the distemper spreads into houses situate at
 distance from others, so as that they cannot pos-
 sibly be included within the blockade, it is left to
 the prudence and discretion of the commanding of-
 ficer, after he shall have given orders for remov-
 ing the sick of such houses into the nearest infir-
 maries, and for the conducting those who remain
 sound into houses for quarantain, either to cause
 the doors and windows of the aforesaid houses to be
 fastned up, or to burn them if he judge it neces-
 sary.

As there are few places where the inhabitants
 finding themselves block'd up, do not attempt by
 force to open themselves passage and recover liber-
 ty, it is proper to cause orders to be publish'd and
 affix'd, forbidding any on pain of death to stir out
 of the places block'd up; and if, notwithstanding
 such prohibition, any preparations be made to force
 the blockade, the officer who commands is not to
 hesitate a moment, but to advance with the best
 of his men, having their bayonets at the muzzles
 of their pieces, in sight of the places block'd up,
 and threaten the inhabitants to burn their houses
 and goods, and put them all to the sword, if they
 offer to make any such attempt; yet without
 firing upon them, unless it be very proper, and in
 case of necessity.

If by accident some of the inhabitants should es-
 cape the watchfulness of the guards, they must,
 whithersoever they go, be pursu'd and taken with
 precaution, so as that they may not communicate
 the

CHAP. the infection; and being brought back within their
 XXXIV. own bounds, they shall be shot dead in the view
 of their fellow-townsmen: an example absolutely
 necessary for keeping them under due re-
 straint.

Within the extent of the blockade, two barriers are to be fix'd at the nearest places, for furnishing the inhabitants of the place block'd up with what they may want, on settled days of the week. A prudent officer should be plac'd at each barrier with a detachment, to prevent communication; and there must be vinegar there, in which the money is to be dipp'd, as well as all letters, which are to be sent open, and not under cover, or fold-ed up.

All dogs and cats are to be kill'd, as well with-in as without the blockade, for a league distance at least; experience having shewn, that though those animals are not affected with the distemper, they frequently communicate it.

No persons must be suffer'd to come to the posts of guard at the blockade, to speak to any whom-soever, that being to be permitted only at the barriers; otherwise great inconveniencies may happen.

The commanding officers shall forbid, on pain of death, the troops who form the blockade to advance ten foot from the line towards the place which is block'd up; and shall order the guards at the posts to fire upon their comrades who shall transgress this rule. This precaution is absolutely necessary for preventing the communication of the soldiers with the infected places.

It is of great importance, that five or six leagues round the places infected, all the towns, villages and cottages should be shut up, were it only with ditches, and that there should be no entrance but at one passage only, where a barrier should be placed with a good guard, to examine passengers, their baggage or goods, and peruse the bills of health, which they ought to carry about them. As to this inclosing or shutting up of such towns and villages, all that is possibly practicable, ought to be done.

The bills of health ought to contain the particulars, quantity, and quality of the movable baggage or merchandize, which the persons presenting such bills have with them; and if they have any thing found with them, besides what is specified therein, the same shall be burnt without remission, and the bearers of such bills shall be put into prison for some time, and be liable to greater punishment, according to the degree and consequences of their offence.

The commanding officers shall warn the consuls, or other municipal officers, not to give bills of health, especially in the case of removing from usual habitation, but to such persons only whom they are very sure of, and they shall be careful to

stop all those who shall be suspected of having counterfeit bills; and if any one so stopp'd shall make his escape, they shall cause him to be pursued, and when taken, shot dead. CHAP XXXIV

The said commanding officers shall take care to send to the officers at the barrier of the blockade, a list of the current price of each sort of provisions, or other commodities, with order to cause them to be delivered at those rates, for the avoiding the exactions to which the inhabitants of places block'd up are expos'd. But this article ought to be executed with great prudence and circumspection, lest the neighbours should be discouraged from bringing supplies to the barriers; it being better to let goods be sold a little dearer, to places shut up, than to put them to the risque of wanting them. The chief officers ought also to be very careful to chuse in the places infected, some person capable of commanding there, with a number of armed men who may be depended upon, to see the orders of the municipal officers executed, and to give all encouragement to the latter to acquit themselves well of their duty by animating them even by promises of rewards from court, upon the representations which those commanding officers will send thither of their conduct.

Within the places infected, the first care of the commanding officers and of the municipal officers should be to establish one or more infirmaries, according to the necessities and the abilities of the place infected, they ought to chuse as much as is possible for this use houses separate and distant from the place, and see even whether they cannot set up barracks for receiving the sick, which many think is much the better method.

Whatever place is chosen for an infirmary, care must be taken to cause the sick to be carried thither upon the first tokens of the plague that appear upon them.

It is necessary besides to have other houses, some of which should be appointed for receiving those who grow well, as soon as they are in a condition to be removed thither; and others for those who tended the sick, or who staid with them, to perform quarantain in.

The houses which shall be appointed for these two uses should also be chosen at some distance from the other houses of the places infected.

When a rich person is carried to the infirmary, his quilts and sheets should be carried thither with him, and the straw-mats and bedclothes, the wearing apparel and linnen which were used about the body of the sick, must be burnt, it not being sufficient to steep and wash them with wood-ashes, which in several places has not prevented the communicating of the contagion by such linnen.

At the time the sick are carried into the infirmaries care must be taken to have their houses persum'd

CHAP. perfum'd with a strong perfume, then to set open
XXXIV. the windows, and keep the door fast forty days,
after which it must be perfum'd again in the ordinary manner for its thorough disinfection, before any be permitted to dwell in it.

To these directions is annex'd the receipt of a perfume which has been used in Provence with success.

It is necessary to have a number of men that can be depended on, always arm'd, to make those who bury the dead do their duty, and to hinder all communication with suspected houses, to shoot dead any employ'd in the infirmaries, buriers of the dead, or private persons, and even women, who shall steal or hide the bed-clothes or apparel of those infected with the plague. It is also necessary to have in the infirmaries honest persons for intendants, whose great care ought to be to cause the bed-clothes and apparel of those brought thither to be burnt, but to save their quilts and sheets, which may serve other infected patients. The community is to make good to the owners, if poor, the apparel burnt, if in a condition to do it; if not, it must be endeavour'd to be made up by charity and alms, which ought in an especial manner to be applied to this use.

It has been practis'd with success in Provence, to pay to private persons the price of the bed-clothes or apparel they brought in, or which they gave an account of to the parish-priests; without which method it is almost impossible to stop the progress of the contagion, because there are always such things in the hands of some miserable creatures, who will sell them, tho' at never so small a price, to others; the charge of purchasing whatever shall be produc'd is inconsiderable, and will be a very great good.

The Bishops shall be desir'd to give order, that divine service may not be perform'd in the churches, because of the danger of the communication, but in places quite open to the air, or in the field. No assembly or concourse of people of what kind soever is to be suffer'd during the continuance of the contagion, nor till a long time after it has ceased.

By concert with the bishops and parish-priests, convenient places shall be appointed for interring the bodies of those who die of the plague; the pits for them must be twelve foot deep at least, and care must be taken to have lime to throw into those pits, in a sufficient quantity, for consuming those bodies.

The shops of mercers, drapers, and others dealing in goods susceptible of contagion, are to be kept shut as long as it lasts, and till sufficient means have been used afterwards for their intire disinfection by perfuming: but the shops of those who sell the necessary provisions to support life, and whose houses are not suspected, are to be open.

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Whereas the physicians and surgeons do often withdraw themselves, or will not attend the sick, if they cannot be brought to their duty by motives of religion and honour, or by the promise of a reasonable gratuity, they must be compell'd to it, in case of necessity, by the fear of a death more certain and more speedy than that they would avoid.

Those who command without the infected places ought especially to be very active in procuring them all necessary supplies for their subsistence; and if those places want money to buy sufficient provisions, they are to give notice to the Commander in chief, or to the Intendant of the province, who shall oblige the neighbouring communities, that are able, to advance money to them, which they shall be afterwards reimburs'd; and as some communities, especially in such a time as this, are not able to purchase what is necessary for furnishing their infirmaries, in that case the private persons of substance in those places shall be obliged to advance the sum necessary, according to a tax which shall be laid on them by the municipal officers, who shall promise in the name of the communities to reimburse those private persons.

As to the appointing and furnishing of infirmaries, it must not be delay'd till the places are actually visited with the contagious distemper, but the places in the neighbourhood of those which are infected must be obliged to have their infirmaries ready in case of accident; for which purpose there must be collected from the inhabitants such a number of straw-mats, quilts and sheets as each can furnish, allowing them to set their marks on them, to the end each may have again what he contributed, in case the distemper should not come into the place, or that the same may be made good by the community, if the contagion should enter, and if afterwards it should be necessary to burn what was lent for the use of the infirmaries.

Those who shall be cured of the plague shall not be at liberty to converse with the other inhabitants of the place till after they have perform'd two quarantines, and till after they have been perfum'd more than once, and had in general all they wore about them burnt.

The fines, which may often be levy'd for breach of orders not deserving death, shall be applied to the use of the poor of the place; and probably the best use that money can be put to will be to buy them clothes, instead of those which shall have been burnt.

The composition of the perfume (recommended in the directions to be observ'd by order of the government of France, with relation to the plague) is as follows:

To make a quintal (or hundred weight) of
Z z z z per-

CHAP.
XXXIV.

A composition for the plague.

CHAP. perfume, take common brimstone, gun-powder, of
 XXXIV. each fifteen pounds; pitch, resin, black pitch, of
 each seven pounds and an half; white arsenick,
 orpiment, cinabar, antimony, realgal (or red arse-
 nick) of each half a pound; in the want of re-
 algal put four ounces of red precipitate; ivy ber-
 ries, juniper berries, of each fourteen pounds; the
 said berries to be roasted, and the whole to be
 reduced to a very fine powder, and to be well
 mixed together: for the body and basis of this per-
 fume take twenty-five pounds of brandy'd, in which
 the fore-mentioned ingredients are to be mix'd;
 the person that mixes them, with a long wooden
 spatula, should be muffled in such a manner that
 he may not draw in the dust with his breath.
 For perfuming a chamber of fifteen foot square
 use one pound and a half of the perfume, and for
 larger or lesser chambers the dose must be in pro-
 portion.

The method of perfuming is this; all the win-
 dows must be clos'd, the chimneys stopp'd, and ge-
 nerally all holes by which wind and air might
 penetrate; the closets, presses, cabinets and trunks
 are to be set open; the other household-stuff to
 remain in its usual situation: then a whisp of
 hay of three or four pound weight is to be laid
 in the midst of the floor, the dose of perfume is
 to be spread upon it, and the person who sets it
 on fire is to retire out of the chamber as quick as
 he can, fastening the door after him. Care must
 be taken, if wearing apparel, which is not sus-
 pected, be found in infected houses, that they be
 hung up upon pegs, or otherwise, that they may
 thoroughly receive the perfume; and great care
 must be taken to secure the doors, and stop up
 the chimneys and holes in such a manner that the
 smook may not get out.

Twenty-four hours after the windows may be
 set open, and all the openings unstopp'd, and the
 chamber be left airing for three days before any
 one lie in it.

For perfuming persons, the same composition of
 brimstone, gun-powder, pitch, resin, ivy-berries,
 juniper-berries and bran is to be used; leaving
 out all the arsenicks and the antimony. The
 quantity or dose for a person may be one third
 less than that above specified for a chamber.

It must be acknowledged that the measures
 taken by the Court of France to prevent the
 spreading of the plague, were of infinite service
 to the northern provinces of the kingdom; for
 though it continu'd a year and half in Provence
 and Languedoc, and destroy'd vast multitudes of
 people there, (especially at Marseilles and Toulon)
 it never reach'd further. People generally look
 upon the plague as an extraordinary judgment of
 heaven; though it is evidently the sense of all the
 kingdoms of Europe, that it may be spread or
 avoided by human means, or they would not.

oblige persons coming from places infected to per- CHAP
 form quarantine. The same may be said in this XXXIV
 case of drawing lines of circumvallation about
 the places infected, and using such other precau-
 tions as we see the French did, which certainly
 prevented the spreading of the contagion. And
 indeed, though we all allow that heaven can in-
 flict diseases whenever it sees fit; yet on the other
 hand it must be granted, that they may sometimes
 be avoided and removed, and frequently are, by
 human means; or to what purpose is the profession
 of physick?

But notwithstanding the drawing lines, and
 compelling people to remain in places infected,
 removing a wealthy man from his family, and
 burning his house and effects, are methods practis'd
 in arbitrary governments, a law to authorize these
 rigorous proceedings may be very dangerous in a
 land of liberty; for under this pretence, (allow-
 ing the Court to be judges of the necessity of put-
 ting them in practice) how precarious must such
 a law render the lives, liberties and properties of
 the subject? Better one generation suffer by the
 plague, than their whole posterity be reduc'd to a
 state of slavery, and be plagu'd for ever after.

The pestilence itself does not seem more into-
 lerable than the acts of tyranny and oppression
 committed during the administration of the late
 Duke of Orleans. The Parliament of Paris, to
 their eternal honour be it spoken, constantly op-
 posed the Mississippi project, and the rest of his
 destructive schemes: they had wisdom enough to
 see through them, and resolution to refuse the
 registering such edicts as evidently tended to the
 ruin of their fellow-subjects. The Duke-Regent
 hereupon assembled an army of forty-five thou-
 sand men, and quarter'd them in Paris and the
 neighbourhood of that city, in order to keep the
 parliament in awe; and being still apprehensive
 of an insurrection, he order'd that high court to
 remove to Pontoise, a town about six leagues
 from Paris, on pain of their being declar'd re-
 bels; which order they were obliged to comply
 with, and here they remain'd a considerable time.
 And to mortify them still more, the Regent erected
 a new tribunal to register edicts, and administer
 justice during the vacation or recess of the parlia-
 ment, with the same powers as the parliament
 used to exercise. In the mean time the miseries
 of the people were inexpressible, as appears from
 some passages in a letter from the Bishop of Castres
 to the Marquis of Vrilliere, Secretary of State;
 in which he acquaints him with the reasons that
 hinder'd the people of his diocese from contribu-
 ting to the relief of those countries afflicted with
 the plague, so largely as otherwise they would have
 done.

' Notwithstanding my utmost endeavours, my
 whole diocese has rais'd no more than one hun-
 dred

The parlia-
 ment oppos'd
 the tyranny
 of the Duke
 of Orleans.

They are
 banish'd to
 Pontoise.

The mis-
 eries of
 France inex-
 pressible.

CHAP. XXXIV. dred pistoles in money, and five thousand livres in bills and other paper-effects, the inundation of which has done us an inconceivable mischief: here is no more trade, no more confidence; even the most prudent and diligent have no way left to subsist: the decay of trade has render'd even industry it self insignificant and useless: want of trust breaks all friendship, and makes men cautious of lending their money to their friends and nearest relations, tho' formerly they parted with it chearfully to strangers. Charity it self, which always contrives methods of doing good, has her hands tied, since there is now no other way left her, than to weep with those that despair, of ever having their tears wiped away. I daily expect to see my clergy so far reduc'd, that they will not be able to exercise their functions; and the poor nuns wanting the relief their friends used to give them, will be oblig'd to leave their cloysters to seek for bread. There is nothing of an hyperbole in what I say, it is the simple naked truth, so that I find it impossible to execute the orders of his Royal Highness successfully. If the people would still be satisfied with bank-bills, and other paper-securities, they may have enough of them, but we have no money left.

Amidst the many misfortunes that France underwent at this time, the people were infinitely pleas'd with one act of justice of the Regent's, which was the erecting a court to enquire what persons had got estates by stock-jobbing in the Mississippi adventure, and obliging them to refund, whereby he acquir'd a prodigious sum of money. And indeed whoever were losers by that variety of projects which were set on foot at that time, the gentlemen in the administration were always sure to be gainers. And this occasion'd some other courts, no doubt, to take the hint, and follow the steps of the French, as far at least as their respective constitutions would admit.

The French King marries the Infanta. A match being propos'd between the most Christian King LEWIS XV, and MARIA-ANNA-VICTORIA, Infanta of Spain, his Majesty declar'd his assent to it in council on the 17th of September, N. S. tho' this Princess was then but in the fourth year of her age, being born the 31st of March 1718. This, 'tis generally said, was another project of the Duke-Regent's, to establish the succession in his own family; for if the King had died without issue, the Duke of Orleans or his posterity would have inherited the crown of France. But to proceed: Were we to judge of the condition of this kingdom from the vast preparations that were made to receive the Infanta, or by the splendour of the Court at the audience of the Turkish Ambassador about the same time, we might esteem France one of the richest and happiest countries in Europe. The King's robes were cover'd with diamonds and precious stones at that

audience to the value of twenty-five millions, and weigh'd thirty-five or forty pounds weight: all the Princes of the blood and great officers of the crown were cloath'd in the richest habits; and in the great gallery were plac'd three hundred ladies of the first quality, who dazled the eyes of the spectators with the brightness of their jewels and other ornaments: no cries of the miserable could reach these happy seats: the wretched starving people, whose spoils had contributed to render the Court thus glorious and resplendent, were driven far from hence. No foreigner could imagine from the gaiety of the court, that the subjects in general were labouring under the most exquisite calamities, as beyond contradiction they were, if the above-cited relations may be credited: there is no making an estimate consequently of the happiness of a people from the shining appearance of a Court and its immediate dependents.

At the same time the marriage was agreed on between his Catholick Majesty and the Infanta, another was concluded between the Prince of the Asturias, eldest son of Spain, and Madam DE MONTPENSIER, daughter to the Duke of Orleans; and the two Princesses were exchange'd in the isle of Pheasants, on the frontiers of France and Spain, the ninth of January 1721-2; and on the second of March following the Infanta made her publick entry into Paris, where she was receiv'd with all the honours the Court of France could pay to the young Queen.

The finances were still in a wretched condition; the state-bills which the government had issued out were at 75 per Cent. discount, and not long after became worth little or nothing, the ministry issuing an order for their liquidation, as 'twas called; that is, they reduced them as low as they pleas'd; a person that had an hundred pounds due to him by a state-bill, was obliged to take another bill in lieu of it for five pounds or less: and thus the debts of the crown, which were said to be so great in one of the King's declarations, that they could not be computed by arithmetick, were reduced to a very moderate sum; a method of paying of debts that some other countries possibly may be oblig'd to imitate, who mortgag'd their revenues to maintain their Confederates in the late war.

The Duke-Regent thought fit about this time to displace Marshal VILLEROY, Governour to his most Christian Majesty, and to put the Duke of Charost in his room, and some days after communicated his reasons for it to the foreign ministers; the substance of which were, that the Marshal had insinuated things to the disadvantage of his Royal Highness; that he refus'd to retire when the Regent came to talk with his Majesty in private; and that the Marshal aim'd at rendering himself independent of the Regency. The

1722.
State-bills
worth little
or nothing.

CHAP. Cardinal du Bois was immediately afterwards
XXXIV. constituted Prime Minister; and on the twenty-
fifth of October the King was crown'd at Rheims,
at which ceremony the Infanta-Queen was not
present, but remain'd at the palace of Versailles.

1723.
A new sect. A new sect of fanatics were discovered at
Montpelier in the year 1723, of whom some were
condemn'd to death, others imprison'd, and some
sent to the galleys. The government gave a very
imperfect account of their principles, or the rea-
sons of these severe proceedings against them:
they relate only, that the civil magistrate being
assisted by a guard of soldiers, broke open the
doors where these people were assembled, and that
a man dress'd in a white surplice demanded of
the officers in a big magisterial voice, what they
would have; to which the Provost made no an-
swer, but knock'd him down: That another of
them on his knees, holding a book in his hand,
cry'd out to the soldiers, Reverence the word of
God: that several more of them being dress'd in
albs or surplices, the commanding officer asked
one of the congregation who they were, and was
answer'd, they were the Levites of the Holy
Ghost: and as they were pulling down their sanc-
tuary, one of them said, Cause thy soldiers to desist,
and suffer them not to destroy the temple of the
Holy Ghost. The number of these fanatics was
about four hundred, and assembled in a room ad-
joining to their sanctuary, in which there was a
large pulpit, that they call'd the pulpit of ELIAS;
over-against it was a bay-tree in a large vase, with
bottles of water, wine and brandy, and near the
vase a loaf of bread, full of sugar-plumbs and al-
monds, a large picture representing MOSES with
the tables of the law, a fountain to baptize in,
streamers full of inscriptions, alluding equally to
love and religion, and in the middle of the sanc-
tuary a large lamp. This sect began about the first
of January 1721-2, as appears by an inscription on
one of their tables, on which are written these
words; 'Behold, the time is come when all men
' shall be equal; the poor shall be as the rich, and
' the rich as the poor. God has at length mani-
' fested his will by his spirit. His will is, that
' men should learn to pray of women.' And in
another inscription; 'The kingdom of God the
' father was first; then came that of God the son;
' at present 'tis the reign of the Holy Ghost; and
' 'tis by women only that the spirit can communi-
' cate itself to men.' They met regularly on Sa-
turday nights, and continu'd their assemblies till
Monday at break of day. They administer'd a
kind of communion, and heard a sermon; after
which (if they are not misrepresented) the lights
were put out, and the preacher cried aloud, Go
increase and multiply: the women were in com-
mon, every man match'd himself as he could, and
they were married by the preacher before they

left the assembly; but these contracts were no
longer binding than both parties pleas'd, some of
them, 'tis said, had chang'd their husbands several
times. But whether these people were not misre-
presented in many things by their prosecutors, who
were bigotted Roman Catholics, I find is made a
question.

On the tenth of August, N. S. died WILLIAM
DU BOIS, Cardinal-Priest, Archbishop and Duke
of Cambray, Prince of the Empire, principal and
prime Minister of State, Secretary of State for fo-
reign affairs, first President of the general assem-
bly of the clergy of France, &c. and formerly
Preceptor to the Duke of Orleans, upon whose
death his Royal Highness took upon him the ad-
ministration of affairs of state, and acted as Prime
Minister.

The inhabitants of French Flanders being vi-
sited with a fever the latter end of this summer,
which carried off great numbers of them, it was
immediately given out to be the plague, that dis-
temper having lately raged in the southern parts
of France, and several people, 'tis said, died at
first of the fright; but the Court sending down
physicians to examine into the nature of the dis-
ease, they found it no more than a fever, which
tho' it appear'd dangerous, they observ'd might
very easily be cured, where people did not give
way to fear, nor let blood after the symptoms were
manifest. The patients also were advis'd not to
provoke or hinder sweating, or to drink wine,
brandy, beer, or any spirituous liquors; but they
were allowed small beer, barley-water, or broth
made of chickens, veal, or mutton, after having
skimm'd off the fat. Those that observ'd this re-
gimen, generally recover'd.

The King having nominated several Bishops and
Abbots to the vacant benefices in France this year,
was pleas'd to reserve considerable pensions out of
them; particularly out of the Archbishoprick of
Cambray, a pension of two thousand livres, paya-
ble to the Baron of Rocheplate, a Brigadier of the
army, and a pension of fifteen hundred livres to
the Chevalier DE HERBOUVILLE: which is a
way of gratifying the creatures of the court and
army that our Princes have not yet hit upon.

On the second of December, N. S. died of an
apoplectick fit the Regent of France, PHILIP
Duke of Orleans, Valois, Chartres, Nemours and
Montpensier. He was the son of PHILIP Duke
of Orleans, brother of LEWIS XIV, and of Ma-
dam ELIZABETH-CHARLOTTE of Bavaria. He
married MARIA-FRANCISCA, a base daughter
of LEWIS XIV, whom that Prince had legitima-
ted; by whom he had issue the Duke of Chartres,
now Duke of Orleans, born the fourth of August
1703, and four daughters. The Duke of Bour-
bon coming to court the very moment the late
Duke of Orleans expir'd, obtain'd the office of
Prime

A fever in
French
Flanders ta-
ken for the
plague.

The King
reserves pen-
sions out of
the bishop-
ricks.

Duke of Or-
leans dies, and
the Duke of
Bourbon
made Prime
Minister.

CHAP. Prime Minister of his Majesty, and his letters patent were sign'd the day following, and register'd XXXIV. in Parliament on the fourth of December: soon after which, the Duke of Villeroy, the King's governor, who had been dismiss'd by the late Duke of Orleans, was sent for to court.

Philip King of Spain resigns his crown to his son. In January following, anno 1723-4, his Catholic Majesty, PHILIP V, made an absolute renunciation of the crown of Spain, in favour of Don LEWIS, Prince of the Asturias, having determin'd to retire with the Queen his consort to the palace of St. Ildefonso, there to devote the remainder of his days to the service of God and the care of his soul. He wrote at the same time to the most Christian King and the Duke of Bourbon, to acquaint them with his resolution, and assure them of a continuance of his friendship, and of the Prince of Asturias, whom he had appointed to succeed him.

The congress of Cambray open'd. The so-much-talk'd-of congress of Cambray, where most of the Princes of Europe had their Plenipotentiaries, in order to explain or supply what was thought defective in the treaty of Utrecht, was open'd on the 26th of January, N. S. 1723; the Imperial ministers having two days before deliver'd to the ministers of Spain, pursuant to the quadruple alliance, the original act of investiture for the duchies of Tuscany, Parma and Placentia, in favour of Don CARLOS, son to the present Queen of Spain.

The value of the coin reduced. The people of France were very little better'd by the change of the ministry, which happen'd on the death of the late Duke of Orleans. The Duke of Bourbon found himself under a necessity of lowering the coin, in order to revive their foreign trade: to this end an arret was publish'd on the 4th of January for reducing the Lewis d'Or, which was then current at 27 livres, to 24, and the other species of gold and silver proportionably. By this means the butchers, bakers, and other retailers of provision, who had any quantity of specie by them, became very great sufferers; and expecting another reduction, they refus'd to part with their goods but at extravagant prices. The magistrates of Paris hereupon sent for the heads of the several trading companies, and commanded them to sell their goods at a moderate rate; but were answer'd, that they could not, because a second reduction of the coin was daily expected, by which they should probably lose as much as they had done by the first. The government thereupon licens'd other tradesmen who were not free of the city, to sell flesh and other necessaries at more moderate rates, whereby they brought down the price of flesh from fifteen pence to seven pence a pound, and other things in proportion. But this exasperated the trading companies in Paris, especially when they found their fears were but too just; for in April 1724, the government again reduc'd the Lewis

d'Or from twenty-four to twenty livres, and other species in proportion. This uncertainty in the value of the coin occasion'd a perfect stagnation of trade, no body caring to part with their goods till the value of money was fix'd, and abundance of people were reduc'd to a starving condition; murders and robberies were frequent in the streets of Paris, nor could any thing have prevented a general insurrection, but the drawing of great bodies of regular forces together to keep the people in awe. The clergy at the same time were engag'd in a kind of civil war about the Constitution Unigenitus, and seem'd to agree in nothing but the persecution of their Protestant brethren, which was carried on with the utmost fury in all parts of the kingdom. The young King was prevail on to publish edict after edict, to cause the penal laws to be executed upon that unhappy people; in the preamble to one of which he is made to say, *That of all the great designs which his great-grandfather LEWIS XIV form'd during the course of his reign, there was none he had more at heart to pursue and see executed, than that of extinguishing heresy out of his kingdom.*

Paris, like London, increasing every day in its extent, by the numerous buildings added to it, the government thought fit this year to publish a declaration for fixing the limits of it. The Court seem'd determin'd also to compel the Bishops and Clergy of France to accept the Constitution Unigenitus; for an arret was publish'd against the Bishop of Montpellier, the famous anti-constitutioner, confiscating his temporalties, and declaring his benefices vacant. With such rage did the clergy persecute each other for they knew not what, the controversy being chiefly about grace and free-will, which perhaps will never be settled as long as the world stands.

Lewis King of Spain dies. LEWIS, the young King of Spain, died on the 31st of August of the small pox, after a reign of seven months and some odd days, whereupon his father PHILIP V was prevail'd on by his subjects to resume the government; and it was agreed that the young Queen-dowager, daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, should return to France and enjoy her dowry there, (which amounted to 500,000 livres) in pursuance of the marriage-articles.

The French King sends back the Infanta. The French Court considering that his most Christian Majesty could not possibly have any issue by the Infanta of Spain in many years, determin'd to send that Princess home, and marry his Majesty to one of riper years. Accordingly, on the 22d of March 1724-5, the King of Spain receiv'd a letter from the King of France, wherein his most Christian Majesty express'd the great concern he was under upon his separation from the Infanta; but said, that a King being born for his subjects rather than himself, he could not excuse himself from yielding to the strong solicitations of all his

CHAP. States to marry forthwith, that he might have issue, XXXIV. and thereby prevent the troubles and revolutions which might happen in the kingdom if he should die before the Infanta (who was but seven years of age) was marriageable.

1725. The King and Queen of Spain were not a little piqu'd at this conduct of the French, and having receiv'd advice that the Infanta set out from Versailles to return to Madrid on the fifth of April, they sent back Mademoiselle DE BEAUJOLIS, daughter of the late Duke of Orleans, who had been contracted to Don CARLOS, with her sister the Dowager-Queen of Spain, and these Princesses were exchange'd on the frontiers of France and Spain about the middle of May following on the Infanta's arrival there; whereupon his most Christian Majesty declar'd, that he had determin'd to marry the Princess MARY LECZINSKI, daughter of King STANISLAUS; and the marriage was celebrated first by proxy at Strasburgh, and afterwards in person by their Majesties on the fifth of September 1725; the consequence of which was an alliance between Spain and the Emperor, afterwards call'd the Vienna Alliance: for the Spaniards were so provok'd at sending back the Infanta, that they refus'd the Emperor nothing he demanded; there was now no further need of a congress at Cambray to decide their differences: and had the British ministers laid hold of the same favourable juncture, probably they might have obtained what terms they pleas'd of Spain.

And marries the daughter of King Stanislaus.

The Vienna alliance.

By the Vienna treaty, after confirming the quadruple alliance, and the reciprocal renunciations of the parties to the Spanish territories in their respective possessions, the Emperor granted the investiture of the duchies of Tuscany and Parma in favour of Don CARLOS, the Queen of Spain's son: then they guaranty'd their several dominions, engag'd reciprocally to favour the commerce of each other's subjects, and particularly his Imperial Majesty's subjects were permitted to import merchandizes from the East-Indies to Spain; and all other powers were to be admitted into this alliance who desired it within the term of a year. Besides which, 'twas given out there were some secret articles to the prejudice of France, Britain, and the States General; at least Britain was so apprehensive of something of this nature, that she lost all the glorious advantages she might otherwise have obtain'd at this time, by cultivating a good correspondence with Spain, and enter'd into an alliance with France, a nation whose friendship has ever been fatal to her. The King of Prussia and the States General also became parties to the treaty; but by their future conduct, 'tis evident they never intended to concur with France and Britain in all the measures they had concerted. This obtain'd the name of the Hanover Alliance, having been concluded there on the 3d of September 1725.

The Hanover alliance.

By this alliance the contracting parties guaranty CHAP. to each other their respective dominions and ter-XXXIV ritories, rights and privileges, especially those in relation to trade: and it was agreed, that if any of the parties should be attack'd or molested in any of the abovesaid particulars, that then the other powers, within two months after demand, should furnish the following succours, viz. Britain 3000 foot and 4000 horse, France 8000 foot and 4000 horse, Prussia 3000 foot and 2000 horse, or an equivalent in shipping or money; one thousand foot to be valued at 10000 Dutch florins per month, and a thousand horse at 30000 florins per month: and in case of necessity the said allies should assist each other with all their forces, and declare war against the aggressor.

They engage also to enter into no alliance with any other power, but in concert with the parties hereto, and to communicate all proposals which shall be made to any of them on that head.

By a separate article, their British and Prussian Majesties, as members of the Empire, agree not to furnish their contingent of troops in case of a war with the Empire.

In the mean time the Court of France continued every year to increase their taxes, tho' the nation was in full peace, and amongst the rest a tax of two per Cent. was laid upon all real and personal estates, and even upon those who had money in the funds, which extended to the clergy and nobility; in the preamble to the declaration for levying of which tax it is recited, that the King with- The debts of France, and the methods of paying them. in the compass of seven years, viz. from 1716 to 1723, by raising the value of the coin, and new stamping it, had gain'd upwards of three hundred and fifty-three millions of livres; and in the years 1719 and 1720, by the royal bank notes which had been issued by the government, (and never paid) above three millions of millions; and that notwithstanding these prodigious profits, the crown was still so far in debt, that it paid fifty-one millions of livres annually for interest-money, tho' that interest was but two per Cent.

There were several other edicts and declarations The parliament's vote to record the King's edicts. read on his Majesty's coming to the parliament the eighth of June, which being very long, the first President desir'd they might deliberate upon them before they pass'd that assembly; but the King, as had been usual in the late tyrannical administrations, requir'd them to be register'd immediately without any debate; which was done accordingly, the members being sensible it would be to no purpose longer to oppose it: but thus much must be said to the honour of those gentlemen, that tho' it has not for many years been in their power to resist the force put upon them, they have so far maintain'd their character, as to deliver their opinions against most of the destructive schemes that have

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LEWIS the XV
the
Present King of France

have been introduced since the loss of their liberties: and notwithstanding that vast body of troops which the French maintain in constant pay to keep things quiet, such has been the oppression of the people, that there have been frequent tumults and insurrections of late years in this kingdom, particularly in Paris and Rouen, which are never without numerous garrisons, or bodies of forces in their neighbourhood; there were two insurrections this very year on account of the extravagant rates of provisions, occasion'd by the frequent alterations in the value of the coin, &c. Bread was generally sold at eight and ten pence the pound, and other provisions proportionably at this time.

The general assembly of the clergy, and most of the parliaments of France, made their representations to the throne against the various taxes and oppressions which were the occasion of this general distress, but none with more freedom than the parliament of Britany: they tell his Majesty, that under the calamities of the two last long wars, they had liberally and cheerfully made a sacrifice of their lives and fortunes, in hopes that at the end of the wars they should likewise see an end of their miseries; but tho' the peace they had so much long'd for came at last, and they had enjoy'd it now twelve years, bitter was the fruit they gather'd from it. Many of the best families were ruin'd by paper-money, a new project introduc'd in opposition to the remonstrances of all his parliaments, and the nation groan'd under the ill effects of it at that day: That the capitation-tax was still levy'd, tho' it was introduced only as an extraordinary resource in time of war, and was to cease as soon as the peace was made.

The tenth penny was only taken off in part, and instead of it four pence was laid on every livre, which was a fifth part of their revenues.

That the frequent alteration of the coin had destroy'd all confidence, and the last diminution of its value alone had lessen'd the subject's cash almost one half.

The dearth and scarcity of the last three years had reduced the people to a miserable condition, and under these dismal circumstances, when they expected some alleviation of their miseries, a new tax was impos'd.

That the strength of the State consisted in trade and agriculture, and the subjects of France were acknowledg'd to be extremely laborious: where they had a prospect of small gain, they would undergo any hardship or fatigue without reluctance; but where no profit was to be had, and nothing to be got by the sweat of their brows, they would be discouraged and dejected. The antient furrows in the untill'd grounds, which made up one half of their lands, seem'd to reproach the present generation

with sloth; but it was their great misfortune, not their fault. They groan'd under the burthen of so many duties and taxes, that they thought it to no purpose to labour or cultivate the earth, but for the necessary support of life; and trade, which was of no less importance, especially in that province, was perfectly at a stand, for want of credit and money to support it. For these, and many other motives equally persuasive, they desire his Majesty to look on them with an eye of compassion, &c.

The forcing the acceptance of the bull Unigenitus, occasion'd also great disturbances among the clergy and religious orders, several of whom were imprison'd, banish'd, and their goods confiscated for opposing it. Even the Abbess DE CHELLES, daughter to the late Duke of Orleans, was censur'd for protesting against it; but she persever'd in her opinion, and let her persecutors know, that she should think herself happy to suffer with so vast a number of innocent people as had been ruin'd for pursuing the dictates of their consciences. But the storm seems to have fallen hardest upon the Carthusian friars, who were many of them oblig'd to become refugees in Holland this year for refusing to accept the Constitution.

It was expected that this year would have produc'd a war between the allies of Hanover and those of Vienna: France, and most of the powers of Europe, augmented their forces, and seem'd prepar'd to take the field; but no hostile attempt was made till the siege of Gibraltar was form'd in the month of February 1726-7, unless his British Majesty's sending a squadron of men of war this summer to lie upon the coasts of Spain, and another to block up the galleons at Porto-Bello, may be reckon'd such, as the Spaniards insist.

In the mean time his most Christian Majesty thought fit to suppress the office of prime minister, and take the reins of government into his own hands; whereupon the Duke of Bourbon was dismiss'd, and the King made choice of the old Bishop of Frejus to assist him in the administration of affairs. The advancement of this Prelate in the French court soon after procur'd him a Cardinal's cap, and he has been since known by the title of Cardinal DE FLEURY. 'Tis said that the most Christian King, in order to shew how acceptable this promotion was to him, publish'd the declaration in favour of the Constitution Unigenitus, whereby he requires it to be accepted throughout the kingdom, and observ'd as a law equally binding both to church and state.

A fire broke out in the forest of Fontainebleau in the month of September this year, by some unknown accident, which continued burning twelve days together, and consum'd an hundred and twenty acres of wood, and three hundred acres of broom, and was stopped with difficulty at

The Court force the acceptance of the bull Unigenitus.

1726.

The French King takes the government into his hands.

Cardinal Fleury first minister.

The forest of Fontainebleau taken fire.

last

CHAP. last by the French and Swiss guards and country-
XXXIV. people, who dug a trench of three leagues in length
to prevent the spreading of it.

1727.
Siege of
Gibraltar.

The French
give no alli-
stance to the
English in
this war.

The most remarkable occurrence which hap-
pen'd in Europe in the year 1727, was the siege
of Gibraltar by the Spaniards, when the King of
Great Britain seem'd to expect, that by virtue of
the Hanover treaty, his most Christian Majesty
should have attack'd Spain on the side of Catalonia,
and oblig'd them to have withdrawn their forces
from before that place. But notwithstanding this
boasted alliance with the French, they suffer'd his
British Majesty to bear the whole charges of the
war alone by sea and land: and tho', it's true, the
English fleet suffer'd very little from that of the
Spaniards while it lay before Porto Bello, yet the
ships were most of them rotted or eaten up by the
worm, and their whole crews, both officers and
soldiers, perish'd by sickness; according to some
advices, several ships were remann'd more than
once: and why the French and Dutch should not
have had their share in this destructive expedition
as well as Britain, I believe posterity will scarce be
able to discover. As to the French indeed, 'tis
said they had engaged that Gibraltar should be de-
liver'd up to the Spaniard, and obtain'd a promise
from his British Majesty to that end. They were
also concern'd in point of interest that it should re-
main in the hands of the Spaniards, who were in
no condition to obstruct their passage through the
streights, as the English might in case of a rupture
between the two nations. But admitting these
particulars to be true, why did Britain then enter
into such a forc'd and unnatural alliance with
France? Could they ever expect to see that Court
so complaisant as to act contrary to their interests
and the engagements they had already enter'd into
with Spain? If they did, 'tis evident they were de-
ceiv'd; for notwithstanding the frequent advices
we receiv'd from time to time that the French were
assembling an army to attack Spain, we do not
find any one motion of their troops that tended
that way; they chose rather to act the part of
mediators, and in effect became umpires of the
differences between Britain, Spain and the Em-
peror. We receiv'd at length preliminary articles
of peace from France, such as the ministry there
were pleas'd to prescribe.

Preliminary
articles of
peace be-
tween the
Emperor,
Spain,
France, Bri-
tain, &c.

These articles were dated at Paris the last of
May 1727, the most material whereof were, that
the Emperor should suspend the commerce between
Ostend and the East-Indies for seven years: that
the privileges of commerce of the English, French
and Dutch should be restor'd them: that imme-
diately after signing the articles all hostilities should
cease, and with respect to Spain, within eight
days after his Catholick Majesty should receive
them: that within four months a congress should
be form'd at Aix la Chapelle, where the rights

and pretensions of the several powers should be
examined and discuss'd.

Soon after the signing of these articles, viz. in
night of the tenth of June 1727, GEORGE King
of Great Britain died, and was succeeded by his
son GEORGE the Second: but this event occa-
sion'd no alteration, either in the ministry or mea-
sures concerted in that kingdom. Some few days
after the siege of Gibraltar was rais'd, in pur-
suance of the preliminary articles above-mention'd,
and Europe once more restor'd to a state of peace.

Te Deum was sung at the cathedral of Notre-
dame in Paris on the 17th of August for the birth
of two Princesses, of which the Queen was de-
livered on the 14th instant; but the joy had been
much greater at court had a Dauphin been born;
and indeed, their hearts were so set upon a son,
that they could not conceal their chagrin at the
disappointment. The King in his letter to the
Archbishop of Paris on this occasion, desires his
prayers that he may be bless'd with a Dauphin
the next time the Queen lies in.

A book having been publish'd by Father LE
COURAYER, to shew the validity of ordinations
in the church of England, was about this time
censur'd by the Cardinal DE NOAILLES, Arch-
bishop of Paris, as containing a doctrine false,
erroneous, scandalous, injurious to the Church and
Holy See, and favouring heresy, schism, &c. The
most Christian King also issu'd an arret, dated
the 7th of September 1727, requiring the said
books to be suppress'd, and that all persons who
had them should bring them to the Register's office
of the Lieutenant-General of the police, under
severe penalties.

A congress having been agreed upon to be held
at Cambray, in order to treat of a general peace
among the Princes of Europe, the Cardinal DE
FLEURY, who was now become umpire of their
differences, prevail'd with them that it might be
held at Soissons. The Cardinal, it seems, did
not care to trust these negotiations to the con-
duct of any but himself, and at the same time
was equally afraid to leave his most Christian Ma-
jesty in the hands of other ministers. The open-
ing of the congress had been delay'd almost a year
on account of some difficulties which had arisen
between Britain and Spain, concerning the true
sense of the preliminary articles; but at length
an act was signed at the Court of Spain, dated
the sixth of March 1727-8, for the due execu-
tion of them by the Ministers of the said pow-
ers; the substance whereof was, that his British
Majesty should forthwith send orders to his Ad-
mirals WAGER and HOSIER, or those who
commanded in their stead, to withdraw from the
seas of Spain and the West-Indies. That the
counterbands, and other complaints of that kind
made by the Spaniards in relation to the Prince
Frederick,

CHAP
XXXIV

K. George
dies.

The Queen
deliver'd of
two Prin-
cesses.

The validity
of orders in
the church
of England
asserted.

Disputed
how the
millinary
articles

CHAP. Frederick, should be decided in the ensuing con-
 XXIV. gress; as also whether the prizes taken by both
 parties at sea should be restor'd. His Catholick
 Majesty, on the other hand, promis'd to raise the
 blockade of Gibraltar, and level the works before
 it: to send orders for delivering up the ship Prince
 Frederick and its cargo to the English South-sea
 company, and to restore the commerce of the
 English according to the Assiento-treaty. To
 cause the effects of the flotilla to be distributed,
 and those of the galleons when return'd. And
 lastly, that his Catholick Majesty, as well as his
 British Majesty, would abide by the decisions of
 the future congress.

The much-expected Congress was at length
 open'd at Soissons on the 14th of June 1728, when
 the several ministers produc'd their full powers
 from their respective masters, viz. those of the Em-
 peror, Britain, France, Spain and the States Ge-
 neral. His most Christian Majesty, that he might
 not be too far remov'd from his Prime Minister
 Cardinal FLEURY during these negotiations, came
 with his court from Versailles to Compeigne, which
 is not more than thirteen or fourteen miles from
 Soissons, from whence the Cardinal might easily
 come to court when he pleas'd in two hours time:
 but it soon appearing that this congress was like to
 have no better success than one of the same kind
 held not many years since at Cambray, the French
 Court return'd to Versailles on the first of July,
 where Cardinal FLEURY also arriv'd about the
 same time, and was follow'd thither by most of the
 ministers-plenipotentiaries.

While the King remain'd at Compeigne, as he
 was hunting in the forest there, his horse started on
 a bridge, whereupon his Majesty threw himself off,
 and receiv'd no manner of hurt; and, according
 to the French writers, he did not betray the least
 emotion or concern on the occasion. Those a-
 bout him were no less charm'd with the courage
 and presence of mind he had shewn, than they had
 been surpriz'd and terrify'd just before at the acci-
 dent; though it is not to be doubted, if he had be-
 hav'd himself ever so meanly, his courtiers would
 have given it a favourable turn. Little truth is to
 be expected where a slave or dependant relates the
 actions of his prince or patron, who has his for-
 tunes in his power.

On the 28th of July the Queen was deliver'd of
 another Princess, to the great mortification of the
 Court of France, who had put up their prayers for
 a Dauphin ever since the last lying-in. The hail-
 storms and unseasonable weather which destroy'd
 the corn and other fruits of the earth in several
 parts of the kingdom this year, was another very
 great misfortune, and oblig'd his Majesty to make
 considerable abatements in the Taille, or land-tax,
 which the natives were in no condition to pay.

The Court of France appearing determin'd to

compel the acceptation of the bull Unigenitus, the
 Cardinal DE NOAILLES, Archbishop of Paris, who
 had long oppos'd it, and could never be brought
 to accept it hitherto, but upon certain con-
 ditions, thought fit at this time to accept it abso-
 lutely; and to declare further, that he would
 prosecute all those who should presume to speak,
 teach, preach or write against the said Constitu-
 tion, or dissuade the clergy from the obedience
 they owed to it.

As the Queen of France had been twice dis-
 appointed in her expectations of a Dauphin, she
 determined to offer up her devotions in the me-
 tropolitan church of Paris, dedicated to the blessed
 Virgin, for better success in her next accouche-
 ment: accordingly on the ninth of October she
 came to that cathedral, and being met by the
 Cardinal DE NOAILLES, Archbishop of Paris,
 in his pontifical habit, at the head of his canons
 at the church-door, that Prelate made the follow-
 ing speech to her on the occasion, which is thus
 render'd into English:

' On this memorable and solemn day, when
 ' your Majesty gives so signal a testimony of your
 ' piety and devotion, the ministers of the Lord
 ' are bound in justice to give to this innumera-
 ' ble multitude which surrounds your Majesty on
 ' all sides, an example of the joy, affection, re-
 ' spect and veneration your sacred presence in-
 ' spires us with; what satisfaction for me that
 ' I can still be the interpreter of their sentiments,
 ' and eye-witness of the homage which your Ma-
 ' jesty is going to pay to the Almighty in this
 ' holy temple.

' Come, Madam, to the foot of his altar,
 ' and even into his sanctuary, and implore the
 ' intercession of that holy Virgin whose succour
 ' and protection always prov'd favourable to our
 ' Kings. Beg of her without hesitation, that
 ' precious gift which is the object of our most
 ' ardent vows, on which depends the happiness
 ' of the King, the comfort of your Majesty, the
 ' tranquility of France, and the quiet of all Eu-
 ' rope.

' All things may be obtained by faith; and
 ' this day we may say with confidence to your
 ' Majesty, what formerly was said to that holy
 ' woman who was so earnestly praying to God
 ' for a son, Depart in peace, and may the God
 ' of Israel grant the just desire your heart has
 ' conceived.'

The King was taken ill of the small pox the
 twenty-fifth of the same month, but had them
 so favourably, that it was attended with no ill
 consequences: his Majesty was in a condition to
 go abroad again the beginning of November.

Leave having been obtain'd of the Grand Sig-
 nior, to transcribe the manuscripts in his library
 at Constantinople, whether Greek, Latin, Ara-
 bian,

CHAP. XXXIV.
 The Arch-
 bishop of
 Paris accepts
 the Consti-
 tution abso-
 lutely.

The Queen
 offers up her
 prayers for
 a Dauphin.

Congress of
 Soissons
 open'd.

The Queen
 deliver'd of
 another
 daughter.

CHAP. XXXIV. bian, Turkish or Persian; his Majesty sent the Abbots SEVIN and TOURMONT, of the academy of inscriptions, to Turkey, to copy such of them as they apprehended to be of the most importance.

A severe winter in France.

The winter was very severe in France this year, which, with the scarcity of provisions, reduced the people to great distress, especially in and about Paris; but they were in some measure relieved by the generosity of the King and the Nobility, who distributed large sums among the poor. In the mean time the snow was frozen so hard, that sledges were become the common diversion of the Court, as in more northern countries; and notwithstanding the poverty and distress of the peasants and inferior sort of people, the nobility and grandes never made a more glorious figure than in these amusements: they were usually clothed in black velvet, set thick with sparkling diamonds, when they were drawn in their sledges on the snow.

1729.

A peace concluded between Spain and England.

Great part of the year 1729 was taken up in fruitless conferences at Soissons, Paris, &c. to settle the differences between Great Britain and Spain; though some are of opinion that the French, who pretended to act the part of mediators, never sincerely desired to see them accommodated. The Spaniards however were at length induced to abandon their great confederate the Emperor, and enter into a separate treaty with the allies of Hanover, on their engaging to secure the reversion of Tuscany and Parma to Don CARLOS, by introducing immediately Spanish troops into those duchies. This was strenuously opposed by the Emperor, as directly contrary to the quadruple alliance. But what will be the consequence of this treaty, must be the subject of future history; no man living can divine at present. I proceed therefore to such other particulars as may best tend to illustrate the present state of France.

CHAP. XXXV.

Treats of the civil government of France.

The civil government.

THE legislative, as well as executive power in France, is vested solely in the King: his edicts are of the force of acts of parliament with us, and he appoints the judges and officers who are to put them in execution. Nothing of consequence in relation to the state was formerly decreed or enacted but by the consent of the three estates, consisting of the representatives of the clergy, the nobility and third estate; but these assemblies are entirely laid aside, and have never been convened since the year 1614. The courts wherein justice is now usually administered are, 1. Their parliaments, which are the last resort where the court does not interpose; but it appears by the prece-

ding history, that state-criminals, of what rank soever, are frequently try'd by judges or commissioners nominated on purpose by the Court; and that the privilege the Peers of France antiently claim'd of being tried only in parliament, is in a manner abolish'd, for which they are chiefly indebted to the administrations of the Cardinals RICH-LIEU and MAZARIN. The King has also his intendants in every government of the kingdom, who are vested with an almost unlimited authority, though the original design of appointing these officers seems to have been to superintend the King's revenues and treasure only. But to return to the courts of parliament, they are fifteen in number, viz. 1. That of Paris. 2. Thoulouse. 3. Rouen. 4. Grenoble. 5. Bourdeaux. 6. Dijon. 7. Aix. 8. Rennes or Vannes. 9. Pau. 10. Besançon. 11. Mets. 12. Douay. 13. Perpignan or Roussillon. 14. Arras. And, 15. That of Alsace, held at Colmar or Strasburgh. These parliaments consist of a certain number of presidents and inferior judges, who purchase their places either of the crown, or of those who are in possession of them; for all magistrates and officers of justice in France purchase their places openly, and the government make a considerable revenue by these sales. They enjoy their posts for life, unless they have been guilty of some notorious crime in the exercise of their offices. The parliament of Paris is much the most considerable of the kingdom, for hither the King frequently comes in person, and here his royal edicts are recorded and promulg'd, till when they have not the force of laws. But from many repeated instances of late, we learn that he will not suffer the parliament to deliberate and debate on the subject of his edicts, as they were used to do before they register'd them, but obliges them to do it without entering into the merits of the case. This parliament also is held in the highest esteem, as it is composed of the Princes of the blood, Dukes and Peers of France, besides the ordinary judges, and takes cognizance of all offences committed by Peers, where the Court does not interpose, and issue a special commission for that end.

The parliament of Paris had antiently under its jurisdiction, the duchies of Burgundy, Normandy, Guienne and Britany, and the counties of Flanders and Thoulouse; whereupon it is evident, that the parliaments of Dijon, Rouen, Bourdeaux, Rennes, Flanders and Thoulouse, have been dismember'd from that of Paris. At present its jurisdiction extends over the isle of France, la Beauce, Sologne, Berry, Auvergne, Lyonois, le Forets and Beaujolois, Nivernois, Bourbonnois, Anjou, Angoumois, Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, Maine, Perche, Tourain, Poitou, Aunis and Rochelois.

The Princes of the blood have a seat and voice in

1 A P. in this parliament at the age of fifteen, and the
XXV. Peers of France at twenty-five; with this difference,
 that the Princes of the blood enter as of right, but
 the Peers cannot sit there till they have taken an
 oath of fidelity, and sworn to do justice to poor
 and rich, to observe the rules of the Court, and
 keep their deliberations secret. Affairs which con-
 cern the persons of Peers, their estates and rights
 of peerage, ought to be determin'd in the grand
 chamber of the parliament of Paris in the first in-
 stance, for which reason it is call'd the parliament
 of the Peers: and they take cognizance in the grand
 chamber also of the regalia, and such things as
 concern the crown and the King's demesns, ex-
 clusively of the rest of the parliaments of France.

This parliament consists of ten chief presidents,
 some honorary counsellors or judges, four masters of
 requests of the household, of one and twenty presidents
 a mortier, so called from the fashion of their caps,
 and of two hundred and thirty-two other counsel-
 lers or judges, an attorney-general, advocates, so-
 licitors-general, registers, notaries, secretaries, &c.
 These members are distributed into, 1. The grand
 chamber. 2. Five chambers of enquests. And, 3.
 Two of requests. The grand chamber is compo-
 sed of ten presidents, the honorary counsellors, the
 four ministers of requests of the King's house, and
 of thirty-three counsellors or judges, viz. twenty-
 one lay judges and twelve ecclesiasticks. Every
 one of the chambers of enquest hath thirty-two
 counsellors or judges. In the first chamber of re-
 quests there are fourteen, and in the second fifteen.
 Besides these eight chambers, there is another call'd
 the Tournelle, which takes cognizance of criminal
 matters where the nobility are not concern'd, for
 these are try'd, as has been observ'd already, in the
 grand chamber; it consists of five presidents, ten
 counsellors of the grand chamber, who serve six
 months by turns, and of two counsellors from each
 of the chambers of enquests, who serve also three
 months by turns; from whence 'tis said to have
 obtain'd the name of Tournelle. In the chambers
 of enquest depositions of witnesses are taken, and
 the proceedings are by way of bill and answer, as
 in the court of chancery in England; and the
 chambers of request take cognizance of causes re-
 lating to privileg'd persons.

On days of ceremony the presidents of the par-
 liament wear a scarlet robe with a mantle lin'd
 with ermins, and a black velvet cap border'd with
 gold lace, in the fashion of a mortar, that of the
 chief president's being distinguish'd by a double
 gold lace: the honorary counsellors, the masters
 of requests, the presidents of inquests and re-
 quests, the attorney and solicitors general, have
 scarlet robes and caps border'd with ermins; the
 chief register for civil causes has a scarlet robe
 and mantle lin'd with ermins; the chief register
 for criminal causes, the four notaries and clerks or

secretaries of parliament, have also scarlet robes **CHAP.**
 and caps lin'd with ermins; the advocates have **XXXV.**
 black gowns and caps, and all the rest of the offi-
 cers black gowns.

The rest of the parliaments of the kingdom
 have their respective districts, and are divided
 into chambers or houses, among which the several
 branches of business are distributed, as in that
 of Paris; only they are excluded from taking cog-
 nizance of any causes which relate to the crown
 or the Peers of the realm. The king's edicts
 also are registred in these parliaments before they
 have the force of laws in their respective dis-
 tricts.

Besides the parliaments of France, there are se-
 veral other supreme courts for particular branches
 of business, as the chambers of accounts, esta-
 blish'd in several parts of the kingdom, and the
 courts of aids. The chambers of accounts are held **The cham-**
 at Paris, Rouen, Dijon, Nants, Montpellier, Gre- **bers of ac-**
 noble, Aix, Pau, Blois, Lisle, Aire and Dole. **counts.**
 This court administers the oath of fealty to the
 Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, &c. examines the
 accounts of the treasury; receives the homage of
 the vassals of the crown; records treaties of peace,
 and other contracts and grants of the crown. The
 courts of aids are establish'd at Paris, Montpellier, **The courts**
 Rouen, Clermont, Montferraud, Bourdeaux, Aix, **of aids.**
 Grenoble and Dijon. These courts are the last re-
 sort in all causes relating to the taxes and revenues
 of the crown.

There is also a court call'd the court of money, **The court**
 which is the last resort in all causes concerning the **of money.**
 coin, metals, mines, weights, and the officers
 and artificers employ'd in the mints.

Another supreme court is that of the waters and **The court**
 forests, which takes cognizance of all offences **of the waters**
 committed in the King's forests, woods and wa- **and forests.**
 ters; and also of all controversies between private
 persons relating to their woods, warrens, rivers,
 islands, mills, fisheries, chafes, &c.

To form a just notion of their inferiour courts of
 justice, it will be necessary to observe how justice
 was administer'd antiently. The Franks as well
 as the Romans, we find, establish'd Counts or Earls
 in all the cities and great towns of the kingdom,
 who were the governours and judges in those places
 and the territories belonging to them: these con-
 stituted Viscounts, who administer'd justice in their
 absence. In lesser towns and districts there were
 inferiour magistrates call'd Vicars, and under them
 still lesser officers, call'd Centeniers, *Centenarii*,
 as their jurisdiction extended over no more than an
 hundred families. These were all at first but tem-
 porary magistrates: the Count was appointed by
 the King, and he nominated the Viscounts, Vicars
 and Centeniers under him. The courts of justice
 of these Counts were call'd Malls, and the assessors
 and judges he call'd to his assistance, *Rachim-*
burgs,

CHAP. burges, of whom he usually had seven. The Duke XXXV. was esteem'd an officer superiour to the Count, but had much the same jurisdiction. The King also held a court in his palace from time to time to determine matters of the greatest importance, calling the Dukes, Earls, Bishops, Abbots, and other great Lords to his assistance.

Under the first race of Kings, great estates were given to the church, whereupon the Prelates, who were possess'd of large fees, committed the administration of justice in their territories to officers call'd Vidames.

Under the second family of their Kings, the Counts, Vicounts, Vidames, Vicars, and Centeniers, continu'd to administer justice in the provinces; but the King from time to time deputed commissaries to hear the complaints of the people, and reverse unjust sentences: these were generally Bishops, Abbots or Counts. The commissaries appointed Eschevins or Aldermen in towns, chosen by the assent and approbation of the people, in the room of the Rachimbures, who had been assessors to the Counts during the first race. These were ordinarily seven, and sometimes twelve; and when there was a vacancy, it was supplied out of the principal inhabitants.

Towards the end of the second race, the Dukes, Earls and Viscounts assum'd the dominion of those territories, which they held before but as Governours or Deputies of the Prince. That usurpation was confirm'd to them in the beginning of the third race, and the King had only the counties of Paris and Orleans left him, besides some demesns in the other duchies and counties. He then administer'd justice at Orleans and Paris by his Viscounts, and every year deputed officers into the other provinces to hear the complaints of his immediate subjects; and these deputies were called Bailiffs, because to them was bail'd or given the protection or guardianship of the subject, though in some provinces they were call'd Seneschaux, or stewards.

The King however continu'd still to take cognizance of affairs of the highest nature; to which end he conven'd assemblies of the grandes, and these were call'd Parliaments, the grandes that constituted them being stiled Barons of the kingdom, and afterwards Peers of France; they were either Bishops, Dukes or Earls, great vassals holding immediately of the crown: and to these the King added other members learned in the laws, who were stiled Maitres du Parlement.

A little before the reign of PHILIP-AUGUSTUS, Provosts were established, who were substitutes to the Bailiffs. The great Lords, who had usurp'd the inheritance of the several provinces of which they were at first but governours, imitated the King in the appointment of their courts and officers of justice; they had their great councils, bai-

liffs, stewards, &c. in their respective territories; CHA but instead of the office of Vicar, that of Castell- XXXI lan was introduc'd, to whom the administration of justice was committed in castles and the districts belonging to them, afterwards called châtellanies. The counties of Champagne and Poitou had each of them seven Peers or Barons, who sat with their Earl in his great council; but generally the rest of the counties had but four a-piece: and this was the original of Peers and Barons in the provinces.

The Bailiffs and Seneschals finding business increase upon their hands, substituted Lieutenants, who were gentlemen learned in the law, to assist them. At first their office continu'd only a year, as the Bailiffs did, but at length both of them became hereditary in their families. These were however always accountable to the high court of Parliament, which at first follow'd the Court, and was afterwards fix'd at Paris; and when the distant provinces became re-united to the crown, for the ease of the subject several parliaments were erected in other parts of the kingdom, to whom the people might appeal from those inferiour courts, as has been intimated already.

The Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, Castellans, or their substitutes, are still judges of the inferiour courts in the country; and in towns, the Provost and Eschevins, or Mayor and Aldermen, as in our corporations, to which they have added a judge of the police, who takes cognizance of some special criminal cases. But they differ from us in this very material point, that their trials are not by juries in any of their courts; the Bailiff, Seneschal, &c. with their respective assessors, are judges both of the law and fact.

The civil law generally prevails in France, besides which every province and district has its particular customs; but the King's edicts, ordinances, declarations and arrears, (for by all these names are their acts of state called) repeal and alter any of them at pleasure, the legislative authority being vested solely in the Prince.

Besides the courts and officers of justice above-mentioned, France is divided into twenty-five ^{General or Intendant} generalities, every one whereof hath an Intendant, on whom the King seems to rely for the due administration of justice, both civil and criminal, and the ordering of his finances or revenues, more than on any other officers in the kingdom, and to whom all the rest are in a manner subordinate. They are usually members of parliament, and of that body that are stiled masters of requests.

There are also presidial courts establish'd in most ^{Presidial} great towns, who have cognizance of civil causes ^{court} in the first instance, and receive appeals from the bailiwicks and inferiour courts, where the sum in dispute does not amount to more than 500 livres, or twenty livres per annum.

CHAP. XXXV. I come next to inquire into the great councils by which all affairs of state are govern'd, which are six in number. 1. The council of state. 2. The council of finances. 3. The council of dispatches, or that of the Secretaries of state. 4. The privy council. 5. The council of conscience. And, 6. The council of commerce.

The great council is for state-affairs.

1. The council of state, consisting of the King, the Chancellor, and Ministers of State, which forms foreign alliances, determines peace and war, and the most important affairs of the kingdom, being at present the supreme council.

2. The council of finances, which has the direction of the royal revenues, establish'd in the year 1661, on suppressing the office of super-intendant of the finances.

3. The council of dispatches, which transacts affairs relating to the respective provinces, as commissions and orders to the Governours, Commandants, and other officers of the provinces and towns.

4. The privy-council, which seems to meet only for form sake at present, the business being transacted in a cabinet-council.

5. The council of conscience, consisting of the King's Confessor, and some Ecclesiasticks, who apprize the King of the state of religion, and attend when he nominates to bishopricks and abbeys.

6. The council of commerce, held at the eldest counsellor's of state, and consists of the Secretary for marine affairs, the Comptroller-General of the finances, several other Counsellors of state, six Masters of requests, who have been Intendants of commerce, and of the Deputies of twelve trading towns.

The great officers of the crown.

The great officers of the crown are, the Chancellor, who presides in all courts and councils of state in the King's absence; the Keeper of the Seals, four Secretaries of State, the Marshals of France, the Colonel-General of the Horse, the great Master of the Artillery, the Admiral of France, two Vice-Admirals, the General of the galleys, the four great officers of the order of the Holy Ghost, viz. the Chancellor, the Master of the Ceremonies, the Great Treasurer, and the Secretary, the chief Presidents of the several parliaments, the Governours and Lieutenant-Generals of the provinces.

The principal officers of the household are, the Great Master of the Household, the Great Master of the Horse, the Great Almoner, the Great Chamberlain, the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, the Great Butler, the Great Huntsman, the four Captains of the guard du corps, and the chief Porter.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Treats of the finances, or revenues of the crown; and of the forces by sea and land.

Antiently there was but one Grand Treasurer for the kingdom of France, but at present there are twenty-five, viz. one for every generalty into which the kingdom is divided. Of these there are nineteen in the Pais de elections, as they are called; that is, in those provinces where courts of election are establish'd, of which there are several in every generalty; and six in the Pais d'etats, that is, in those provinces where the States are still permitted to assemble, and seemingly to give their consent to the taxes demanded. The Pais de elections are those of Paris, Amiens, Soissons, Chalons, Lyons, Montauban, Bourdeaux, Limoges, Poitiers, Rochelle, Tours, Caen, Alençon, Rouen, Orleans, Bourges, Moulins, Riom and Auch: and the six within the Pais d'etats, are those of Britany, Burgundy, Dauphiné, Provence, Montpellier and Thoulouse.

Of the finances, or revenues of the crown.

Every generalty is compos'd of several elections, which comprehend a certain number of parishes.

In every generalty there is an Intendant deputed by the King, who takes cognizance both of civil and criminal causes, as well as of the finances, and other matters that concern the publick good and his Majesty's interests; only the generalties of Montpellier and Thoulouse, which comprehend the province of Languedoc, have but one Intendant; so that there are but twenty-four Intendants in the twenty-five generalties. There are however six more distributed in Flanders, Hainault, Alsace, Metz, Franche Comte and Roussillon, which makes in all thirty intendancies.

Intendants, their authority.

There are in every generalty two Receivers-general of the finances, who take it by turns annually to receive the taxes of the collectors of the several parishes, and remit them into the royal treasury or exchequer. The whole number of parishes contain'd in the said thirty general intendancies, amount to thirty-eight thousand five hundred and two, in which are comprehended one million five hundred eighty-five thousand one hundred and twelve families, liable to pay the Taille or land-tax.

30 intendancies, in which are 38,502 parishes.

The taxes usually levy'd in France, are the taille or land-tax, the taillon, the subsistence money, the aides and the gabelles.

The several species of taxes.

As to the manner of levying the taille, after the King has determin'd what sum he will raise, an order is issued to every generalty, ascertaining what part of it shall be levy'd in each election. The Intendant, with the two Receivers of the generalty, hereupon visit every election, and with the officers thereof, assign what proportion every parish in the election

The manner of levying the taille or land-tax.

CHAP. election shall raise, having inform'd themselves of **XXXVI.** the alterations that have happen'd in the respective parishes since the preceding year. When the tax is settled, the Intendant sends a copy of the assessment to the royal treasury, and duplicates of the sums assess'd on every parish to the respective elections, who transmit to the collectors of every parish a particular of the sum to be raised by them, with an order to assess the several inhabitants according to their consciences, in proportion to the lands and goods they possess. This assessment or roll is confirm'd by an officer of the election, and the tax levied accordingly by the collectors, who transmit it to the receivers of the election every quarter, and these pay it to the receivers of their generalty; from whence it is either convey'd to the royal treasury or exchequer, or wherever else the government appoints.

The Taille, or land-tax, is only paid by the third estate, that is, by tradesmen, or those that hold by base tenures, like our Copyholders in England, called in France *Roturiers*; tho' others affirm, that those that hold in socage also are included, which are the same with our ordinary Freeholders; and this I am inclin'd to believe from the great numbers there are of them. The Noblesse therefore, (that is, the nobility and gentry who hold by knights service) and the clergy are exempted, unless in Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné, where the lands and immovable estates only are chargeable. Here the Roturiers or copyholders pay nothing for that part of their estates which they hold by knights service; and on the contrary, the gentry pay the Taille for all such estates as they hold by base tenures, for the Taille is a real and not a personal tax there. In all the generalty of Montauban, and in the elections of Agen and Condom, which are in the generalty of Bourdeaux, as also in the election of Lanes, belonging to the generalty of Auch, the tax is also real, that is, paid for the lands, without any regard to the quality of the person who possesses them: but in every other generalty, the clergy and the gentry are exempt from the Tailles, as well as the officers of the superiour courts, and courts of judicature, who are also exempted from watch and ward.

The Burgeses of Paris, and some other free cities, are exempted from the Tailles.

The Taillon was establish'd by King HENRY II, anno 1549, for augmenting the soldiers pay; and is payable by the same persons as the Taille, and amounts to about a third of that tax.

The Subsistance is a tax which was first levied by LEWIS XIV, for the subsistance of his armies in their winter-quarters, and is paid in the same manner as the Taille.

By Aides are understood all duties and customs on goods and merchandizes except salt.

The Gabelles are the taxes arising from salt. **CHAP.** LEWIS the Fourteenth raised this duty beyond **XXXVI.** what it had been in any preceding reigns, dividing the whole kingdom into the great gabelles, the little gabelles, and the countries exempt from gabelles. The country of the great gabelles, where salt is sold at the highest price, comprehends the generalties of Paris, Soissons, Amiens, Chalons, Orleans, Tours, Moulins, Bourges, Dijon, Rouen and Caen. The country of the smaller gabelles, where salt is sold at a less price, comprehends Lyonois, Provence, Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Roussillon: and the countries exempt from gabelles are Poitou, Limousin, Auvergne, Guienne, Gascogne and Bretagne. In the bishopricks of Metz, Toul and Verdun, and Franche Comte, the price of salt is various. The farmers of the gabelles are obliged to buy their salt at the salt-pits and bays at a certain price, and to carry it to the store-houses established by the King, where it is deliver'd out to the people. There is one of these store-houses, or greniers of salt, in almost every great town, which have their directors and other officers belonging to them, who are judges of all offences relating to salt, as the making and selling it without licence, and not bringing it to the King's store-houses, &c. They take cognizance also of the goodness of the salt, and of the weights and measures, and examine if every family takes such a quantity of salt annually as is prescrib'd them by the government.

The other taxes are the capitation, or poll-tax, first established in the year 1695, and taken off at the end of that war, but laid on again in the year 1701.

The tenths of all the estates of the kingdom was levy'd by the crown in the year 1710, and affected not only real estates, but all offices, employments and commissions, which paid proportionably to their annual revenues and incomes; as also all money in the funds or private hands.

Another tax also has been levy'd of late years, from which neither the clergy or nobility are exempted, call'd the fiftieth penny, or the fiftieth part of the produce of the earth; against which representations have been made by the clergy and the several parliaments of the kingdom, but to very little purpose.

The tenths and free gifts of the clergy, who are allow'd for the most part to tax themselves, amount also to a very considerable sum, they being possess'd of a third part of the lands of the kingdom, and it being expected that they should pay at least as great a proportion of their revenues towards the support of the government, as any other subjects.

Besides these, there is a great revenue arising from the crown-lands and woods, fee-farms, forfeitures, fines, &c. and from the high duties imposed

Gabelles.

Capitation.

Tenths.

50th penny.

Tenths and free gifts of the clergy.

The demands, fines, forfeitures, &c.

pos'd

Taillon.

Aides.

CHAP. XXXVI. pos'd on all provisions brought into Paris; all which, are computed to amount to fifteen millions sterling and upwards annually to the government; and it is suppos'd that the King makes as much some years by raising the value of the coin, and other oppressive ways and means, as by compelling the people to take paper for their money, and then compounding with them to take half, or perhaps a quarter of their respective debts, when they come to be paid. And in short, the whole produce of the country is the King's: he takes from the subjects what part of their estates he sees fit, and of late years has scarce left them a subsistence for their families.

Coin. Their coins, real and imaginary, are crowns, livres, sols and deniers. 12 deniers make a sol, or sou; 20 sols a livre, or florin; 3 livres, or 60 sols, make a crown. A French crown is of equal value with 4s. 6d. English: an English crown yields in France 65 sols; a pound sterling yields 13 livres, and an English guinea 14 livres. The other moneys of France are a double, which is two deniers; a liard, the fourth part of a sol; pieces of three and a half, and five sols; the quarter and the half crown; the two livre piece: and of gold, the crown, value 5 livres 14 sols; lys de or, value 7 livres ten sols; the half louis, the whole louis d'or, value 11 livres; double louis, &c.

of the land-
forces. The officers of the land-forces in France, who have the highest command in their armies, are the Marshals, of whom originally there was but one, afterwards there were two; in the reigns of FRANCIS I and HENRY II there were four, and under the reigns of LEWIS XIII and LEWIS XIV their number was not limited. There were actually in the year 1715, no less than fifteen Marshals of France. They enjoy their offices during their lives, and are deem'd officers of the crown. They are judges of points of honour, and have Provosts or Lieutenants in the provinces, who have a jurisdiction over all vagrants, robbers, incendiaries, assassins, &c. of which offences they take cognizance, and judge in the last resort.

The Lieutenant-Generals command bodies of forces under the Marshals; and when they serve in the same army, every one of them commands his day by turns, according to their seniority.

The Marshals de camp are the next officers to the Lieutenant-Generals. Their business is to mark out the encampments, to command the vanguard, and reconnoitre the country.

The Brigadiers command a brigade of cavalry or infantry: a brigade of horse is ten or twelve squadrons, and a brigade of foot five or six battalions.

The Mestre-de-camp is an officer that commands a regiment of cavalry, which is composed of several troops, each of which is commanded by a Captain, Lieutenant and Cornet.

A Colonel commands a regiment of foot, which

consists of several companies, each of them commanded by a Captain and two Lieutenants. CHAP. XXXVI.

The Dragoons are deem'd bodies of infantry, though they serve sometimes on horse-back and sometimes on foot; and the commander of a regiment is stiled Colonel.

There was formerly a Colonel-General, who commanded all the infantry; but that office was suppress'd on the death of the Duke of Epernon in 1661.

There is still a Colonel-General of the cavalry, a Mestre-de-camp General, and a Commissary General, who are superiour to the Mestres-de-camp. The Colonel-General of the Swiss, commands all the Swiss troops in the service of France.

The Colonel-General of dragoons commands all the French dragoons. There is also in that body a Mestre-de-camp General under the Colonel-General.

The armies of France were never so numerous as in the reign of LEWIS XIV. In the war which preceded the peace of Utrecht, they amounted to near four hundred thousand men, and they are not much reduc'd at present. They retain all or most of their officers and regiments, and only discharge some of the private soldiers, which they can easily replace when they please; which method has been imitated of late in Britain.

The author of the *Description de la France*, Number of
publish'd in the year 1719, says, that the infantry regiments.
consisted then of two hundred and sixty-four regiments, without including the two regiments of the household-troops: that some of those regiments consisted of four battalions, most of them of two, and the rest of one: that their cavalry was then compos'd of an hundred and seven regiments, and the dragoons of thirty-six.

That the troops of the household consisted of Guards,
ten thousand men, horse and foot, the cavalry comprehending the four companies of the guards de corps, viz. that of the gendarms of the guards, that of the guard of light horse, the musketeers, and sixteen companies of gendarmerie, every one whereof consisted of sixty gendarmes, or light horse.

The infantry of the household comprehends the regiment of French guards, consisting of thirty-two companies, every company of an hundred and forty men, without reckoning the officers, and the regiment of Swiss guards containing twelve companies of two hundred men each. These guards are always placed at the gates and avenues of the palace where the King resides, the French guards always taking the right of the Swiss.

The Colonel of the French foot-guards is usually a Marshal or Lieutenant-General. The late King, by an edict anno 1691, gave the title and rank of Colonel to the Captains of the guards; and by another edict in 1693, he gave them the rank of Colonels.

CHAP. XXXVI. since 1691, and the Lieutenants of this regiment command all Captains of infantry.

The grand master of the artillery commands all the French artillery, orders the making of gun-powder, and the founding of guns, and has the conduct of that body on marches and sieges. He commands in the French arsenals, and especially that of Paris. He is always Colonel of the regiment of artillery and bombardiers, and in every army has his lieutenant, who commands the artillery. The Engineers are a body of three hundred men, commanded by the Intendant of the fortifications.

Navy royal
and mari-
time forces.

The maritime forces of France were inconsiderable till the reign of LEWIS XIV; but in the last war, says my French author, the naval army (the royal navy) of France not only defended it self against the English and Dutch, but often beat them: though I believe he cannot give one instance of that nature in a general battle; they may have defeated some single squadrons when they happen'd to out-number them, but never the grand fleet, either of England or Holland. The Admiral of France is General of the royal navy, and takes cognizance of all offences committed therein; and he constitutes the members of the admiralty, who administer justice in his name concerning all controversies at sea, either relating to war, the fisheries, or merchandize. He has a right to a tenth of the prizes taken at sea. The King however at present reserves to himself the power of appointing the officers concern'd in building and fitting out the fleet, and buying in provisions and ammunition for the naval magazines and arsenals. The Admirals had formerly a right to wrecks, but LEWIS XIV, by an ordinance in 1681, decreed that they should be restor'd to the owners, if claim'd within a year and a day, after charges paid.

Prizes are adjudg'd by the Admiral and commissioners appointed by the King. The Admiral hath under him two Vice-Admirals, who are usually Marshals of France, and under them are Lieutenants-general of the royal navy, who have the precedence of the commanders of squadrons, and give them orders, which they communicate to the inferior officers. There are usually four Lieutenant-generals, but in the year 1715 there were five. The commanders of squadrons hold the same rank as the Marshals de camp at land; there are at present eleven of these commanders. The captains of men of war are the next to the commanders of squadrons, and when they serve on shore have the same rank as colonels; and there are actually in France an hundred and seventy-one captains of men of war, and fifty-three captains of frigates; and of all kinds of commission officers not less than eighteen hundred, without reckoning the commanders of squadrons. In time of

war there are nine hundred guards marine, distributed in three companies, viz. at Toulon, Brest and Rochfort, who are gentlemen volunteers, taught navigation and other parts of mathematicks at the King's charge, out of whom the vacant commands are supplied. Besides which, his Majesty entertains an hundred companies of marines, of an hundred men each, commanded by the lieutenants of the men of war. It appear'd in the year 1713, that there were fifty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-four seamen employ'd in the royal navy, besides officers, and a vast number of workmen in their ports and magazines, employ'd in making and providing naval stores, upwards of twelve thousand invalids, ten thousand cabin-boys, powder-monkeys, &c.

The royal navy is distributed in the ports of Toulon, Brest, Port Louis, Rochfort and Havre de Grace, where there are magazines fill'd with all manner of necessaries and ammunition for building and rigging out a fleet; which consisted the last war in twenty-six first rates, thirty second rates, forty-six third rates, twelve fourth rates, twenty-seven light frigates, five bomb-gallies, twenty-two firehips, besides flutes, tenders, &c. The first rates being an hundred and sixty-three feet long, and forty-four foot broad, and carrying from seventy to an hundred and twenty guns, and about nine hundred men each. In every port where the King has a magazine, there is an Intendant of the Marine, who takes cognizance of civil and criminal causes, and the revenues relating to the sea-service, and takes care to furnish the magazines with all manner of stores.

The galleys of France are another considerable force, of which there are thirty in the port of Marseilles, and ten more in other ports. The General is independent of the Admiral, and stiled General of the galleys, and Lieutenant-General of the Levant seas. He has under him a Lieutenant-General, and five commanders of squadrons. The principal galley is called the Reale, on account of the royal standard which it carries, and the General goes on board it. The second galley is called the Patron, in which the Lieutenant-General commands. The Reale and the Patron are larger than the rest, and have three hundred slaves on board each, whereas the other galleys have but two. But besides the crew, every galley has a company of foot, consisting of sixty men, commanded by the officers of the galley. There is also a company of young gentlemen belonging to the galleys, called the guards of the standard, who are instructed in navigation at the King's charge, as those of the guards marine are, which belong to the royal navy. There are also belonging to the galleys an Intendant, Inspector, Comptroller, Commissary-General, Secretary-General, and two Treasurers General.

The

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Ports of
royal navy.

Number of
men of war.

Intendants
of the marine.

Galleys.

H A P. The guards of the coast are commanded by their proper officers on all the shores of the kingdom, but are subject to the Admiral of the royal navy. These were instituted to prevent any surprise from an enemy, who should attempt to invade or harass the maritime provinces. They are exempted from serving in the ban and arrear-ban, which are the ordinary militia of France, and enjoy many other privileges, on account of their being always in readiness to prevent a descent from a foreign enemy.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Treats of their religion, and the ecclesiastical government of France.

AS to the religion of the antient Gauls, the first establishment of the Christian religion in France, the opposition made by the Albigenes to the errors and encroachments of the church of Rome, the introduction of Calvinism, the toleration of it by the edict of Nants, the repeal of that edict, the civil wars that happen'd in this kingdom on account of religion, and the persecution of the Protestants; these have been largely treated of in the chapter containing the antient and modern history of France: there remains therefore nothing more than to consider the present state of religion here.

The establish'd religion in France is notoriously that of the Roman Catholick; but the Gallican church pretends to enjoy greater liberties and privileges, and to be less subject to the See of Rome, than any other Christian state of that communion, as will appear hereafter. However, we find the nation divided into two great parties, one of them zealous in defending the rights of the Gallican church against the encroachments of Rome, and the other no less zealous in asserting the Pope's supremacy. Of the latter party are the Jesuits, who at this day seem to have the greatest influence, and to whose indefatigable industry we may ascribe the receiving of the Constitution Unigenitus, after so long and warm a struggle.

All spiritual causes are cognizable at this day in their ecclesiastical courts, provided they are not intermix'd with temporal matters, or concern the state or civil judicatures. On the contrary, all temporal matters, and those which regard the civil government, are subject to lay jurisdiction. The Bishops exercise their authority by an official, who ought to be a graduate and a priest.

Their Bishops antiently were not try'd in the temporal courts, even for high-treason, but by other Bishops, or in Parliament, where all the Bishops assisted; but there are several instances of late years where they have been try'd by lay-judges, or commissioners specially appointed for that purpose.

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And as the Kings of France are no farther subject to the laws of the Holy See than they think fit, consequently all the privileges which the ecclesiasticks enjoy, they derive from the crown, and these may be restrain'd and revok'd when his Majesty sees proper. To entitle any subject of France to the privileges of the clergy, it is necessary that he actually be in holy orders, or at least that he has receiv'd the tonsure, wears the habit of a clerk, serves in the church, and applies himself to no business inconsistent with that character.

The privileges the clergy of France enjoy, are, 1. ^{Privileges of the clergy.} That they cannot be brought before any lay-jurisdiction for personal matters: on the contrary, they cannot bring laymen before their ecclesiastical courts for any cause whatever; and in real or mix'd actions, the clergy themselves must try their causes in the civil courts. 2. The clergy as well as the nobility, are exempted from the tailles, or land-tax. 3. Neither their movables employ'd in divine service, or necessary for their use, nor their books to the value of an hundred and fifty livres, can be seiz'd. 4. In criminal cases they may be try'd before the grand chamber, if they desire it. 5. A person in holy orders condemn'd for any capital crime, may not be executed till he is degraded, unless for treason or assassination. 6. They are exempted from quartering soldiers. 7. Their persons cannot be taken in execution in civil actions, unless they have been guilty of some fraud.

The King nominates to all bishopricks and abbeys, and the Pope afterwards grants his bulls of consecration, &c. to the Bishop, provided the party nominated be twenty-seven years of age, and a doctor of divinity or law. The age requir'd for abbots and priors is twenty-three. The Pope agreed to the King's nomination of Bishops, &c. when the Concordat was made at Bologna, in the room of the Pragmatick Sanction; and the King, on the other hand, granted to his Holiness the annates, or first fruits. But neither Britany, nor the new-conquer'd country, being comprehended in the Concordat, the King always receives a brief, or indulto, from the Pope, when he nominates to those bishopricks. Besides the usual bulls, the Pope sends to an Archbishop the pallium, which is an ornament they wear when they officiate pontifically, and shews their authority over their suffragans.

The crown seizes the temporalities of all vacant archbishopricks and bishopricks, and this in France is called the Regale. The King has also the presentation of vacant benefices belonging to the bishopricks, till the oath of fidelity of the successor be registred in the chamber of accounts, and he has obtain'd an order there to take possession of it. And the King frequently grants pensions to laymen out of the bishopricks and abbeys.

CHAP. XXXVII. The liberties of the Gallican church, which my French author makes distinct from her privileges, are two. 1. The Pope cannot intermeddle in things relating to temporal affairs in any of the King's dominions; and if he does, the clergy are not bound to obey him. 2. Though the Pope be acknowledged head of the church in spirituals, his power is nevertheless bounded in France by canons and antient councils received in the kingdom; for the Gallican church has always held, that a general council is above the Pope.

Liberties of the Gallic church. Assembly of the clergy. The clergy of France cannot assemble without leave of the King: these assemblies are of two kinds, the one stiled general, because it is compos'd of the deputies or representatives of all the ecclesiastical provinces; the other private, because it consists only of such prelates as are about Paris, who are called to treat of some matter of importance, when there is not time to chuse and assemble the deputies of the provinces.

The general assemblies again are divided into ordinary and extraordinary: the extraordinary are called on great emergencies, and the ordinary have their fix'd stated times, and are held every five years. The ordinary assemblies again are divided into great and lesser; the first are called great, because the provinces usually send four deputies to them, two of the higher orders, as Archbishops or Bishops, and two of the inferiour orders, as Abbots, Priors, or other beneficed clergymen of the province. The second are called the lesser assemblies, because the provinces send but two deputies, one of the first order and the other of the second. The great assemblies were heretofore called *Decennates*, because they meet but once in ten years, and in the intervals are held the lesser assemblies; for example, if the lesser assembly be held in 1730, the greater will be held in 1735, so that there are five years between the one and the other.

The great assemblies are held to renew their contract for paying their tenths to his Majesty, which is in force ten years. The business of the lesser is to take the accounts of the Receiver-General: but both the one and the other grant the King a further supply, which passes under the name of a free-gift, which is levied on all the clergy of France, and is more or less, according to the exigencies of the state. There are but sixteen of the provinces that have a right of sending their deputies to the ordinary assemblies, viz. Aix, Alby, Ambrun, Arles, Auch, Bourdeaux, Bourges, Lyons, Narbonne, Paris, Rheims, Rouen, Sens, Thoulouse, Tours and Vienne. The other provinces were not united to the crown when the first contract for tenths was made; but they send deputies to the extraordinary assemblies, which treat of the general affairs of the church of France, of matters of faith, manners or discipline.

CHAP. XXXVII. The clergy of France have always two agents-general, which attend the Court to make their remonstrances to the King and Council, against any edicts or arrets which appear contrary to the interests of the church, or seem to encroach on her jurisdiction, and they are allowed a seat in the Council of State and Parliament of Paris for that end. They continue five years in their office, and are named alternately by the provinces. They ought to be priests of the province that elect them, and to be possess'd of a benefice that pays tenths, and are allowed each of them a salary of seven thousand livres per annum.

Agents of the clergy. The controversies which happen about the levying the tenths, or other taxes or impositions on the clergy, are try'd in the courts of the several dioceses in the first instance; but are afterwards frequently brought by way of appeal to some of the nine superiour ecclesiastical courts, establish'd in several parts of the kingdom, which are the last resort within their respective limits. These superiour courts or councils are held at Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Tours, Thoulouse, Bourges, Bourdeaux, Aix and Pau. The diocesan courts assess and assign what proportion every clergyman is to pay towards the tenths, &c. for though they have obtain'd the name of tenths, the sum rais'd has been sometimes more and sometimes less. The sum which is demanded by way of free gift, is usually named by the court, and they will not often take much less than they ask.

The kingdom of France contains eighteen Archbishopricks, and a hundred thirteen Bishopricks, viz.

1. The Archbishoprick of Aix, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Apt. 2. The Bishop of Riez. 3. The Bishop of Frejus. 4. The Bishop of Gap. 5. The Bishop of Sisteron.

2. The Archbishoprick of Alby, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Castres. 2. The Bishop of Mande. 3. The Bishop of Cahors. 4. The Bishop of Rodez. 5. The Bishop of Vabres.

3. The Archbishoprick of Ambrun, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Digne. 2. The Bishop of Grasse. 3. The Bishop of Vence. 4. The Bishop of Glandeve. 5. The Bishop of Senez.

4. The Archbishoprick of Arles, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Marseilles. 2. The Bishop of St. Paul trois Chateaux. 3. The Bishop of Toulon. 4. The Bishop of Orange.

5. The Archbishoprick of Auch, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Dax, or Acqs. 2. The Bishop of Laitoure. 3. The Bishop of Comenge. 4. The Bishop of Conserans. 5. The Bishop of Aire. 6. The Bishop of Bazas. 7. The Bishop of Tarbes. 8. The Bishop of Oleron. 9. The Bishop of Lescar. 10. The Bishop of Bayonne.

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6. The Archbishoprick of Befançon, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Belley, &c. 7. The Archbishoprick of Bourdeaux, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Agen. 2. The Bishop of Condom. 3. The Bishop of Angouleme. 4. The Bishop of Saintes. 5. The Bishop of Poitiers. 6. The Bishop of Rochelle. 7. The Bishop of Lucon. 8. The Bishop of Perigueux. 9. The Bishop of Sarlat.

8. The Archbishoprick of Bourges, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Clermont. 2. The Bishop of St. Flour. 3. The Bishop of Limoges. 4. The Bishop of Tulles. 5. The Bishop of Puy.

9. The Archbishoprick of Cambray, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Arras. 2. The Bishop of St. Omer. 3. The Bishop of Tournay. 4. The Bishop of Ypres.

10. The Archbishoprick of Lyons, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Autun. 2. The Bishop of Langres. 3. The Bishop of Chalons. 4. The Bishop of Macon.

11. The Archbishoprick of Narbonne, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Beziers. 2. The Bishop of Agde. 3. The Bishop of Carcassonne. 4. The Bishop of Nismes. 5. The Bishop of Montpellier. 6. The Bishop of Lodeve. 7. The Bishop of Uzes. 8. The Bishop of St. Pons de Tomieres. 9. The Bishop of Alet. 10. The Bishop of Alais. 11. The Bishop of Elne, or Perpignan.

12. The Archbishoprick of Paris, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Chartres. 2. The Bishop of Meaux. 3. The Bishop of Orleans. 4. The Bishop of Blois.

13. The Archbishoprick of Rheims, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Soissons. 2. The Bishop of Chalons sur Marne. 3. The Bishop of Laon. 4. The Bishop of Senlis. 5. The Bishop of Beauvais. 6. The Bishop of Amiens. 7. The Bishop of Noyon. 8. The Bishop of Bologne.

14. The Archbishoprick of Rouen, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Bayeux. 2. The Bishop of Avranches. 3. The Bishop of Evreux. 4. The Bishop of Seez. 5. The Bishop of Lizieux. 6. The Bishop of Coutances.

15. The Archbishoprick of Sens, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Troyes. 2. The Bishop of Auxerre. 3. The Bishop of Nevers. 4. The Bishop of Bethlem.

16. The Archbishoprick of Thoulouse, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Pamiers. 2. The Bishop of Montauban. 3. The Bishop of Mirepoix. 4. The Bishop of Lavaur. 5. The Bishop of Rieux. 6. The Bishop of Lombez. 7. The Bishop of St. Papoul.

17. The Archbishoprick of Tours, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Mans. 2.

3. The Bishop of Angers. 4. The Bishop of Nants. 5. The Bishop of Vannes. 6. The Bishop of Cournouailles, or *Quimpercorantim*. 7. The Bishop of St. Paul de Leon. 8. The Bishop of Treguier. 9. The Bishop of St. Brieux. 10. The Bishop of St. Malo. 11. The Bishop of Doll.

18. The Archbishoprick of Vienne, the suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of Valence. 2. The Bishop of Die. 3. The Bishop of Grenoble. 4. The Bishop of Viviers. 5. The Bishop of Geneve.

19. The three Bishopricks are those of Metz, Toul and Verdun, all suffragans to the Archbishop of Triers in Germany.

20. The Bishop of Strasburg is suffragan to the Archbishop of Mentz.

21. The Bishop of Perpignan in Roussillon, to the Archbishop of Terragona in Spain.

They compute there are about seven hundred and fifty abbeys of monks, and two hundred of nuns in France, and about ten thousand other lesser convents. That there are in all upwards of two hundred thousand monks and nuns in the kingdom, and that the revenues of the clergy and religious houses of all kinds, amount to twenty-six millions sterling per annum.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Treats of the King's succession to the crown; of his minority and majority; titles, prerogatives, ornaments, arms, coronation, orders of knighthood; and of the Princes of the blood, nobility, gentry and commonalty.

THE French boast much of their salique law, which limits the succession of the crown to the male issue: but whether by that law the eldest son only was to inherit the kingdom, or it was to be divided equally among the sons, they do not seem to insist much upon. If we were to be guided by the custom that prevail'd during the two first races of their Kings, all the sons would have an equal right; where the deceas'd King made no disposition or division of his dominions, they were parted of course between his male issue. **LOTHAIRE** was the first that succeeded to the whole monarchy where there were more brothers than one, and this was not till the year 954. But further, notwithstanding this pretended salique law, the Kings of France, when the legislative authority was lodg'd in them solely, and the King and States or Parliaments, when the legislative authority was vested in them jointly, have taken upon them to set aside the eldest son of the preceding King, and fix another upon the throne. As in the case of **HENRY V**, King of England, who having married the daughter of **CHARLES VI**, King of France,

CHAP. was declar'd presumptive heir to the crown of XXXVIII France, to the exclusion of the Dauphin; which settlement was approv'd and ratify'd by the Parliaments and States of the kingdom, and HENRY VI, King of England, son of HENRY V, in pursuance of that settlement, was afterwards recogniz'd, and crown'd King of France in Paris.

The Regency during a minority.

At this day, according to the French writers, their King never dies; but in that moment the eyes of the preceding King are clos'd, his eldest son, or in default of male issue, the next Prince of the blood succeeds to the throne, and is vested with the supreme authority, before he is either anointed or crown'd. But where the King is a minor, that is, before he has enter'd the fourteenth year of his age, the administration of the government is lodg'd in a Regent, usually the Queen-mother, if she survive the deceas'd King, or the first Prince of the blood, according as either of them can make interest, or influence the parliament of Paris, whose determination in this matter is usually acquiesc'd in by the rest of the kingdom. But if the deceas'd King appoints a regent by his will, there is seldom any dispute about the matter.

When the King is become major, or enter'd into the fourteenth year of his age, he goes in great state to the parliament of Paris, attended by the Princes of the blood, Peers and great Officers of state, which assembly is usually call'd his bed of justice, and here his majority is declar'd; notwithstanding which, the regent frequently procures himself to be constituted prime Minister, and under that title continues to govern the kingdom till his Majesty thinks fit to take the reins of government into his own hands. There have been instances where the prime Minister has continu'd in the same power during the King's whole life, as in the reign of LEWIS XIII, when Cardinal RICHELIEU had in effect the administration of all affairs, and the King was little more than a cypher. Some Princes, it is observ'd, cannot go without leading-strings; and if you take them out of the hands of one minister, they immediately put themselves under the conduct of another.

Stile of the King.

The French King stiles himself, LEWIS, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre. The Pope in his bulls gives him the title of eldest Son of the church, and the most Christian King, as he is stiled by foreigners; but his subjects, in writing or speaking of him, call him the King, or his Majesty only, and in speaking to him give him the appellation of Sire.

Arms.

The arms of France are three flowers de lys Or, in a field Azure, supported by two angels in the habit of Levites, having each of them a banner in his hands with the same arms; the crest is an open crown; the whole under a grand Azure pavilion strew'd with flowers de lys Or and ermins,

and over it a close crown with a double flower de lys Or; on the sides of it are flying streamers on which are written the words used in battle, *Mont-joye, St. Denis*, and above them on the royal banner or oriflame, *Lilia non laborant neque neunt*, taken from scripture; which are, 'tis said, an allusion to the salique law that excludes females from the supreme command.

The marks of sovereignty, or royal ornaments, as the French call them, when his Majesty appears on solemn occasions, are the scepter, which he wields in his right hand, and the hand of justice, which is a kind of scepter too, that he holds in his left; the latter is a staff about two foot long, at the end of which is an ivory hand: the King uses it chiefly at the coronation, the scepter only on other days of ceremony.

There is no set time prescribed for the coronation, or anointing of the Kings of France; but the ceremony is perform'd whenever the court thinks fit. They are usually crown'd at Rheims, by the Archbishop of that city, assisted by five other ecclesiastical Peers, and six noblemen, who represent the other six antient lay-peers of France. The oil with which his Majesty is anointed, according to their traditions, was brought from heaven by a dove, and is kept in a phial called the holy bottle. The crown of CHARLEMAIN is at first set upon the King's head; but being very weighty, is exchang'd for another. As for the rest of the ceremony, I refer the reader to the French historians, who are very large upon this head, as they are upon all matters of ceremony.

As to the prerogative of the Kings of France, in taking place of all the Kings of Europe, which their writers endeavour to maintain, it was never yielded them by Spain, till that monarchy was reduc'd so low, that the Spaniard was in no condition to dispute it; and I am apt to think that the Sovereign of Russia, who hath of late assumed the imperial title, ever did, and always will expect the precedence. The Sovereigns of Britain have never given up this point, nor is there any manner of reason they should, since France has been actually conquer'd by England, and our Princes have always given England the precedence in the royal stile. It would be ridiculous while they write themselves Kings of Great Britain, France, &c. that they should give place to the French King. Even CROMWELL, who only called himself Protector of the commonwealth of England, in his treaties with that nation, obliged them to place his title before that of the French King's, as he call'd him; for he insisted that the French King had no right to stile himself King of France; and this happen'd but in the reign of the last Monarch, LEWIS le Grand.

The Kings of France touch for the evil as well as the Kings of England. According to tradition, of their touching the evil.

Coronation

Prerogative of the Kings of France above other Princes.

CHAP. XXVIII tion, CLOVIS receiv'd this privilege from heaven, at the time he became a Christian; though others say, their Kings have not used it more than six hundred years. Before his Majesty touches, the first physician and the physicians of the place examine the patient: the King makes a cross upon the party's forehead, and says to every one of them, The King touches, and God heals you.

The nobility of France consists of four degrees; 1. That of the Princes of the blood. 2. The higher nobility. 3. The ordinary nobility. And, 4. The nobility lately made. He is denominated first Prince of the blood, who stands next the crown after the King's children. The late King legitimated his base issue, and gave them the precedence of all the nobility after the Princes of the blood. The Duke of Maine and the Count de Thoulouse, two of his sons by his mistresses, by an edict in July 1714, he declar'd legitimate, and them and their children and descendants, born in lawful marriage, capable of succeeding to the crown of France after the last of the Princes of the house of Bourbon. And by another edict in 1715, he declared, that in parliament, and all other courts and places, there should be no distinction made between these and the Princes of the blood. But in the year 1717, LEWIS XV revers'd both those edicts, reserving only to the Duke of Maine and the Count de Thoulouse the honours they enjoy'd in parliament by the edict of 1714.

The twelve
ancient Peers
of France.

The Dukes and Counts, Peers of France, after the Princes of the blood, have the precedence among the higher nobility. Antiently there were but six ecclesiastick and six lay-peers; three of the ecclesiasticks were Dukes, viz. the Archbishop of Rheims, and the Bishops of Langres and Laon; the other three ecclesiasticks were Counts, viz. the Bishop of Beauvais, the Bishop of Chalons, and the Bishop of Noyons: the three lay-Dukes were the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Normandy, and the Duke of Guienne; and the three Counts were those of Champagne, Flanders and Thoulouse. The lay-peerages have been re-united to the crown, except Flanders, which at present has another sovereign; and the Kings of France have since created many Dukes, Counts and Peers, without limiting them to any certain number; and these take place according as they are register'd in parliament. However, at a coronation six Princes or Noblemen are appointed to represent and perform the offices of the six antient lay-peers. Those who are Dukes and Peers have a right to sit in parliament, and several other privileges annexed to their peerages: but there are a great many Dukes who are not Peers, and consequently are excluded from those privileges; but are rank'd however among the higher nobility. The officers of the crown also are in the same degree, as the Chancellor, the

CHAP. XXXVIII Grand Master of the Household, the Admiral, the Marshals of France, the Grand Master of the Artillery, and, according to some writers, the Grand Chamberlain, the Great Huntsman, the Great Master of the Horse and the Great Almoner, the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, and the Captains of the Guard du Corps.

The knights of the order of the Holy Ghost also are ranked with the higher nobility; as also the Governours of provinces and Lieutenants-general.

In several provinces, as in Normandy, private gentlemen have the title of Noblemen; but in much the greatest part of the kingdom they go under the denomination of Esquires.

Inferiour
nobility and
gentry.

The ordinary nobility are divided into those who have been such for time immemorial, and those families who have been created by patent: if the first can shew they have enjoy'd that honour an hundred years, it is sufficient to give them the privileges of the Noblesse (as they are call'd) and exempt them from the tailles, and some other taxes.

The nobility which is obtain'd by being members of parliament, or of the superiour courts, is but personal, and does not descend to their posterity, unless the grandfather and father have enjoy'd such offices successively, and exercis'd them twenty years, or died possess'd of them. The crown has also granted the privileges of nobility to the Aldermen or Magistrates of some cities.

Nobility may be lost by following any trade, or taking a farm of lands; but when LEWIS XIV endeavour'd to restore maritime affairs in France, he did by his declaration expressly permit persons of quality to apply themselves to foreign commerce, without derogating from their nobility.

Nobility
forfeited.

The exercise of mechanick arts, or any mean office or employment, deprives a person of his nobility.

The gentlemen of Britany wave their nobility while they apply themselves to trade, and when they leave it off, resume their privileges again without a new grant.

Thus we see the French include all their gentry under the general title of Nobility or Noblesse. As for the third estate, the Roturiers, the most wretched of these miserable people, which comprehends their tradesmen, yeomen, and husbandmen, or peasants, they are liable to the land-tax and many others from which the nobility and gentry are exempted, as well as to the quartering of soldiers. Nor is this all, they are as much tyranniz'd over by the quality, as the quality and the rest of the subjects of France are by the court. If a peasant or a tradesman meets a gentleman upon the road, he gets out of the way as soon as possible, and makes ten thousand cringes as he passes by, or he may expect to be well drubb'd without remedy: whereas an English farmer, or a common

CHAP. mon waggoner, will frequently dispute the way with a person of quality and a numerous equipage, and perhaps turn a coach and fix out of the road; and if a law-suit is commenc'd on any damage receiv'd, shall have as much justice done him as a nobleman.

The Protestant refugees happier than the present subjects of France.

The poor Protestants have been often pitied that they have been forc'd to fly from their dwellings and take refuge in foreign countries; but considering how kindly they have been receiv'd every where, especially in England, where they have been naturaliz'd by thousands, and obtain'd the privileges of free-born Britons for a trifle; that many of them have gotten great estates, and most of them are in a way to maintain themselves and their families very handsomely; they may thank heaven for suffering them to be expell'd a country which about that time began to be a scene of so much misery. How have those they left behind them either been forc'd into the army, where they have undergone inconceivable hardships, or plunder'd of their goods and money to maintain the glory of their grand monarch. No man at this day can say he is master of any thing in France: if he is suspected to have any treasure, it shall be borrow'd of him, or the money shall be call'd in and paper-bills given him in the room of it, which shall first be compounded for half the money they were given for, and then the remainder paid, if ever, in money that is not of half the intrinsic value which is put upon it. Add to this the discouragement that these arbitrary proceedings have given to trade and industry, insomuch that great part of their lands lie uncultivated, they plant and sow no more than for their present necessity; and this has of late years occasion'd frequent famines, insomuch that they forsake their country to find bread, as the Protestants did formerly to avoid persecution. But the Sovereign of this miserable people is our good allie, and therefore I shall not dwell any longer on this melancholy subject; only give me leave to wish, that none of the Princes of Europe may endeavour to imitate the maxims that Court has been govern'd by, to aggrandize a single family, or immortalize their names in the manner LEWIS XIV attempted to establish his.

Orders of knighthood.

The three orders of knighthood in France are, the order of St. MICHAEL, the order of the Holy Ghost, and the order of St. LEWIS. The order of St. MICHAEL was instituted in the year 1469 by LEWIS XI, in honour of St. MICHAEL the archangel, and consisted of thirty-six knights at first, but has been since enlarged to an hundred. It is not esteem'd very honourable at present, only it is necessary a person should be admitted of this order before he receives that of the Holy Ghost.

The order of the Holy Ghost was instituted in 1578 by HENRY III, King of France and Poland. This order is compos'd of an hundred persons,

without including the Sovereign, and is conferr'd on the Princes of the blood, Peers, and other great men of the first quality.

The order of St. LEWIS was instituted in the year 1693, by LEWIS XIV, and was design'd purely for the encouragement of the Generals and Officers of the army.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Contains a further account of their diet and diversions.

THE diet of the French consists chiefly of bread and herbs: the common bread, or *pain de goneffe*, which is brought twice a week to Paris, is purely white, firm and light, and made altogether with leaven, mostly in three pound loaves. That which is baked in Paris is coarser and much worse.

As for the fine manchet, or French bread, it is of late, since they have made it of yeast, so bitter, that it is not to be eaten, and we far exceed them now in this particular; but the grey salt they make use of is incomparably better, and more wholesome than our white salt.

In Lent the common people feed much on white kidney-beans and white lentils, of which there are quantities in all the markets, and to be had ready boiled. This lentil is a sort of pulse we have none of in England.

Their roots differ much from ours: here are no round turnips, but all long ones, and small, but excellently well-tasted, and are of a much greater use, being proper for soups also, for which ours are too strong; we have indeed of late got them into England, but our gardeners understand not the managing of them. The sandy plains of Vaugerard near Paris are famous for this sort of excellent root.

Potatoes are scarce to be found in their markets, which are so great a relief to the people of England, and very nourishing and wholesome roots; but there are store of Jerusalem artichokes.

They abound in vast quantities of large red onions and garlick, and the long and sweet white onion of Languedoc; also leeks, rockambole and shallots are in great use.

The leeks are here much smaller than with us; but to recompence this, they are blanch'd with more care and art, and are three times as long in the white part, which is by sinking them early so deep in mellow earth. There is no plant of the onion-kind so hardy as this, and so proper for cold mountains, and it is excellent against spitting of blood, and all diseases of the throat and lungs.

Though the lettuce be the great and universal sallad in France, yet it does not come near ours for

HAP. for the largeness and hardness of it, except the
XXIX. long Roman lettice, which is incomparably beyond
our Silesian.

In April and May the markets are served with vast quantities of white beets.

The asparagus here are in great plenty, but for the first month they are very bitter.

They are so great lovers of sorrel, that they plant whole acres of it in the fields; and nothing is more wholesome: it supplies the place of lemons against the scurvy, or any ill habit of the body.

But after all, the French delight in nothing so much as mushrooms, of which they have daily, and all the winter long, store of fresh and new gathered in the markets. They raise them on hot beds in their gardens.

Of forc'd mushrooms they have many crops in a year; but for the months of August, September and October, when they naturally grow in the fields, they prepare no artificial beds.

They make in the fields and gardens of Vaugerard long narrow trenches, and fill them with horse-dung two or three foot thick, on which they throw up the common earth of the place and cover the dung with it like the ridge of a house, and over all they put long straw or long horse-litter: out of this earth springs the champignons after rain; and if rain comes not, they water the beds every day in winter. They are six days after their springing or first appearance before they pull them up for the market. On some beds they have plenty, on others but few; which demonstrate they come of seed in the ground, for all the beds are alike.

They destroy their old beds in summer, and dung their grounds with them: they prepare their new beds the latter end of August, and have plentiful crops of mushrooms towards Christmas, and all the spring till after March.

The Moriglio mushroom is much esteem'd in France, and is mostly gathered in woods at the foot of oaks. There are some of them as big as turkey-eggs. They are found in great quantities in the woods in Champagne about Rheims and Notre Dame de Liesle. They string them and dry them, and they seem to have a far better relish than the champignons.

The city of Paris is well serv'd with carp, of which there is an incredible quantity spent in Lent. They are not large, but very clean of mud, and well-tasted.

They have a particular way of bringing fresh oysters to town: they put them up in straw-baskets, cut from the shell, and without the liquor. They are thus very good for stewing, and all other manner of dressing.

There is a vast plenty of macreuse, a sort of sea-ducks, in the markets all Lent, which are esteem'd as fish, and therefore they take them with

great industry. They have a rank fishy taste, yet for want of other flesh are very welcome.

As for their flesh, mutton and veal, if they are good in their kind, they come little short of ours; but their veal is not to be compar'd with ours, being red and coarse. Their meat is leaner and drier, and is long kept before it is spent, which gives it a higher and saltier taste; for as meat rots, it becomes more urinous and salt. Our people indeed covet the freshest meat, and cannot endure the least tendency to putrefaction; and we have good reason to do so, because our air is twice as moist as theirs, which does often cause in the keeping of meat a mustiness which is intolerable; whereasthe air of France being so much drier, keeping of meat not only makes it tender, but improves the taste; so that could we secure our meat in keeping it from that unfavoury quality, it would far out-do the French meat, because much more juicy.

As for their fruits, the bon-chretien and virgoleuse pears are admirable.

The Kentish pippin, as we call it, also is excellent: but two other sorts of apples stock the markets; the winter calvil, or queening, which though a tender and soft apple, yet continues good till after Easter: also the pome d'apis, which is serv'd here for shew more than use, being a small flat apple, very beautiful, very red on one side, and pale or white on the other, and may serve the French ladies at their toilets for a pattern to paint by.

The wines about Paris are very small, yet good in their kind; those de Surene are excellent some years. In all the taverns they have a way to make them into the fashion of Champagne and Burgundy.

The tax upon wines is now so great, that whereas before the war they drank them at retail at 5 d. the quart, they now sell them at two and three shillings the quart, and dearer; which has enhaunced the rates of all commodities and workmens wages, and also has caused many thousand private families to lay in wines in their cellars at the cheapest hand, which used to have none before.

The wines of Burgundy and Champagne are most valued, and indeed not without reason; for they are light and easy upon the stomach, and give little disturbance to the brain, if drawn from the hogthead, or loose bottled, after their fashion.

The most esteemed are Vin de bonne of Burgundy, a red wine, which is Dolce piquante.

Volne, a pale Champagne, but exceeding brisk upon the palate, is said to grow upon the very borders of Burgundy, and to participate of the excellency of both counties.

There is another sort of wine called Vin de Rheims; this is also a pale or grey wine, it is harsh, as all Champagne wines are.

The

CHAP. XXXIX. The white wines of value are those of Mascon in Burgundy.

Mulso in Champagne is a small and not unpleasant white wine.

Chabri is a quick and sharp white wine well esteem'd.

Vin de Turenne in Anjou of two years old, is one of the best white wines drank in Paris.

Gannetin from Dauphiné is a very pale and thin white wine, very like the Verde of Florence, sweet and of a very pleasant flavour.

The red wines of Burgundy, des quatre Feuilles, as they say, or of four years old, are rare, but they are esteem'd very wholesome, and are permitted to the sick in some cases to drink of. They are fine, and have a rough but sound taste, not prickly. This term des quatre Feuilles, is used also to Velne, or any other sort of wine which is kept any time.

There are also in esteem stronger wines at Paris, as Camp de perdrie, and Coste bruslee, both red wines from Dauphiné, of very good taste, and hot upon the stomach.

De l'hermitage upon the Rhone is much admir'd. But the most excellent wines for strength and flavour are the red and white St. Laurence, a town betwixt Toulon and Nice in Provence; this is a most delicious muscat. These are of those sorts of wines which the Romans called *vinum passum*, that were made of half sun-dried grapes, for the grapes (especially the white muscadine grapes) being usually sooner ripe than the common grapes of the country called Esperan, viz. the latter end of August, they twist the bunches of grapes, so breaking the stalks of them that they receive no longer any nourishment from the vine, but hang down and dry in the then violently hot sun, and are in a few days almost turn'd into raisins of the sun; hence from this insolation the flavour of the grape is exceedingly heightned, and the strength and oiliness, and thick body of the wine, is mightily improv'd.

Besides these, here are also the white wines of Orleans, Bourdeaux claret, and those excellent wines from Cahors; also Cabreton white and red from about Bayonne, strong and delicious wines; and all sorts of Spanish wines, as sack, palme, mountain Malaga, red and white sherries; and indeed the French are of late very desirous to drink of the strongest wines.

Besides wines, there is no entertainment without drinking at the desert all sorts of strong waters, particularly ratissia's, citron-waters, &c.

Vattee is a sort of perfum'd strong water from Provence, made (as it is pretended) of Muscat wine, distill'd with citron-peels and orange-flowers.

Fenouillet de l'isle de Ree is valued much, 'tis like our anniseed-water.

These and many other sorts of strong waters and strong wines, both of France, and Italy, and

Spain, are brought in at the latter end of the de-CHAP. fert in all great feasts, and they drink freely of XXXIX. them, which custom is new, the late long war introduc'd it: for the nobility and gentry suffering much in those tedious campaigns, applied themselves to these liquors to support the difficulties and fatigues of weather and watchings, and at their return to Paris used them at their tables. The Parisians, both men and women, are of late strangely alter'd in their constitutions and habit of body, from lean and slender they are become fat and corpulent, the women especially; which is supposed to proceed from nothing so much as the daily drinking strong or sweetned liquors, as coffee, tea and chocolate, which are as much used in private houses in Paris as in London. These sugar'd liquors, 'tis said, add considerably to their corpulency.

But amongst the drinks that are in use in Paris, Cyder, cyder from Normandy must not be forgot. It is the best of that kind of liquor, of the colour of claret, reddish and brown. The apple that it is made of is called Frequin, round and yellow, but so bitter that it is not to be eaten, and yet the cyder that is made of it is as sweet as any new wine. It keeps many years good, and mends of its colour and taste.

There are also many publick coffee-houses, where tea, coffee and chocolate may be had, and all the strong waters and wines above-mention'd; and innumerable ale-houses, where the natives tipple very freely: the French are far from being that sober people they were in the last age.

There are two sorts of water which they drink at Paris, water of the river Seine, which runs through the town, and the water brought in by the aqueduct of Arcueil, which is one of the most magnificent buildings about Paris. This noble canal of hewn stone conveys the water fifteen miles to Paris.

The river-water is very pernicious to strangers, and to the French also that come from any distance, but not to the natives of Paris, causing looseness, and sometimes dysenteries; the many ponds and lakes that are let into it to supply the sluices upon the canal de Briare, are in part the cause of it; but those who are careful of themselves purify it by filling their cisterns with sand, and letting it sink through it, which way clears it, and makes it very cool and palatable.

As for the spring-water from the Maison des Eaux, it is wholesome in some respect, and keeps the body firm; but it is very apt to give the stone, which the people of this town are infinitely subject to.

The usual diversions of the French are either plays, gaming, walking, or taking the air in coaches. They have two kinds of play-houses, one for opera's, and another for comedies; their opera's



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THE BAY OF BISCAY

C. Ortegall

ASTURIA

GALLICIA

LEON

BEIRA

EXTREMA

DURA

ALENTEJO

ANDALUSIA

ALGARVE

SEVILLA

Str. of Gibraltar

English Miles

M

2 Deg. East from London



CHAP. opera's in Paris are extremely fine, the musick and
XXIX. singing admirable, the stage large and magnificent,
and well fill'd with actors, the scenes well suited,
and chang'd almost imperceptibly; the dancing
exquisite, and the cloathing rich, proper, and with
great variety; many of the nobility frequent them
every day, and sing them, all frequently joining
their voices with the actors. The disposition of
the theatre for comedies is much the same, but
less; there is some little comical entertainment
exhibited at the end of almost every play, which
'tis to be presum'd the English took from them.
They avoid all obscenity and immorality upon the
stage as much as possible, and yet they are frequent-
ly prohibited acting, at the desire of the clergy,
who look upon them as tending to incite and en-
courage vice.

They are pretty much given to gaming, but
games of meer hazard are prohibited. Great part
of the time of people of quality is taken up in visit-
ing in their coaches: in the evening they take the
air in the Course, which consists of three pleasant
walks of trees along the banks of the river Seine,
inclosed at each end with magnificent gates, and
in the middle is a circle to turn in. The middle
alley contains four lines of coaches, and the side
alleys two a-piece, and they may amount in the
whole sometimes to six or seven hundred. Those

who have a mind to take the air further out of CHAP
town drive to the Bois de Bologne or the Bois de XXXIX
Vincennes; and as Paris is of a round form, it
is but a little way to the fields from any part of
the town.

About eight or nine o'clock in the evening most
of the coaches return to the gate of the Tuilleries,
where the company light, and walk in the fine
gardens of that palace; nor can there be a more
delightful scene, as one of our countrymen ob-
serves, than the middle walk of the Tuilleries when
it is filled with so much good company. This
garden is vastly great, bounded with a terrace well
planted with trees and the river Seine on one side,
and another terrace on the other, having great par-
terres in the middle, and fountains always play-
ing: at one end of the gardens is the magnificent
palace of the Louvre, and at the other a fine pro-
spect of the neighbouring fields: the rest is dispos'd
into walks of trees, copses of wood, and grass-
plots, with alcoves and seats at convenient dis-
tances. The reader, no doubt, will observe; that
I have not been so full upon every head as I might;
but the world being generally of opinion I have en-
larg'd too much upon France in proportion to the
rest of the work, in submission to their judgment
I shall finish the description of France here, and
go on with the present state of Spain.

T H E P R E S E N T S T A T E O F S P A I N.

C H A P. I.

*Treats of the situation and extent of Spain; of its name and original inhabitants; of the air, the face of
the country, mountains, rivers, plants, animals and minerals.*

CHAP. **S**PAIN, including Portugal, once a province
I. of it, is the most western part of the con-
tinent of Europe; being bounded by the
sea, or bay of Biscay, on the north; by the Py-
renean mountains and the Mediterranean sea to-
wards the east; by the Mediterranean and the
Atlantick ocean on the south; and by the same
ocean on the west: extending from the thirty-
sixth to the forty-fourth degree of north latitude,
and taking up thirteen degrees of longitude; Cape

Creus, or the most easterly part of it, lying three CHAP.
degrees to the eastward of London, and Cape Fi- 1.
nisterre, or the most western part, ten degrees to
the westward of London: so that its breadth from
north to south in a direct line is exactly 490 miles,
and its length from east to west about 680 miles.
The form of it is generally said to resemble an ox-
hide spread upon the floor, of which the Pyrenean
mountains, which divide it from France on the
north-east, may be reckon'd the neck.

CHAP. I. The most ancient names we meet with of this country, are those of *Iberia* and *Hesperia*; the first of which it is said to have obtain'd from its being look'd upon as the end of the world, the word *Iberia* signifying as much: or according to others, from the river *Iberus*, now Ebro. The Greeks gave it the name of *Hesperia*, on account of its western situation in regard to them, *Hesperus* signifying the western or evening star. The story of its having had two Kings called *IBERUS* and *HESPERUS*, who communicated their names successively to this country, is look'd upon as fabulous. As to the common name of *Spania*, (Spain) or *Hispania*, or as it is called by the Spaniards, *Espania*; this, a French writer of credit is of opinion, was given it by the Phenicians, from the vast flock of lapwings they found here, *Sepana* in their language signifying a lapwing; and in confirmation of this opinion it is urg'd, that upon the Emperor *ADRIAN*'s medals, the lapwing is the device for Spain.

Original inhabitants. There is no manner of certainty as to the original inhabitants of this country; only in general it is very reasonable to suppose, that it was peopled either by the Gauls, who lay contiguous to it, or from the coast of Barbary, from which it is separated by a very narrow streight, called the Streight of Gibraltar.

The Phenicians, or Canaanites, were the next that planted colonies here, who being obliged to abandon their country to the Israelites, coasted along the Mediterranean seas, settling themselves first at Carthage on the African side, and afterwards on the island of Cades or Gades near the continent of Europe. Here they traffick'd with the people of the country, and either by permission or force built several towns and fortresses on the main land, as Malaga, Andera, &c. The inhabitants of Marseilles, who were originally Phocians, a people of Greece, that subsisted by trade and navigation as the Phenicians did, planted colonies in the most eastern parts of Spain, between the Pyrenees and the river Ebro, building the town of Rhodes, now Roses, and several other places on the coast of Catalonia. But the Phenicians becoming the most considerable maritime power, possess'd themselves at length of all the south part of Spain, which they held without a rival for between two and three hundred years, till the Romans, jealous of their power, enter'd into a war with them about the year 513 from the foundation of Rome, and compell'd them to relinquish that part of Spain which lies to the eastward of the Ebro. By a second war, which ended A. R. 553, the Carthaginians were oblig'd to abandon the rest of their territories in Spain to the conquering Romans. The northern parts however being mountainous and difficult of access, and possess'd by several warlike nations, maintain'd

their liberties for an hundred and seventy years afterwards, till the Emperor *AUGUSTUS* being at peace with the rest of the world, determin'd to bring the whole country under his dominion; and notwithstanding they held out some time among their rocks and almost impenetrable forests, being attack'd on every side by such numerous armies of veteran troops, they were at length oblig'd to surrender, whereby the Romans became masters of all Spain. I shall not enter farther into the history of the country here, having reserv'd a chapter on purpose to treat of the ancient and modern history of it, as usual.

They generally breathe in Spain a pure dry air, hot, but exceeding healthful: indeed in some provinces it is moist, as in Galicia, and in Catalonia and the northern parts; and upon the mountains it is excessive cold in winter. In the rest of the country it rarely rains, unless in spring and autumn: the heavens are serene, and the sun is seldom intercepted by a single cloud. The winter is so moderate in the valleys, that they have very little occasion for fires nine months of the year. If there be ice sometimes, it is not above the thickness of a crown-piece, and snow is hardly ever seen but near the mountains. The fields are cover'd with flowers and odoriferous herbs, at the time we are lock'd up in frost. On the contrary, it must be confess'd that during the months of June, July and August, the heats are insupportable to foreigners, especially in the heart of the country and towards the south; the heat of the sun at those times is so intense, that many of their small rivers and brooks are entirely dry'd up, and the roads and fields are insufferably dusty; and what adds to the excessive heat, is the calmness of the summer season, when we seldom meet with the least breath of air, the wind not blowing so frequently as it does in more northern countries. Those that live upon or near the mountains, or near the sea-coast, indeed are often bless'd with refreshing breezes, and the nights are generally cool and refreshing; nor is there any danger of continuing in the open air till midnight, as there is in some other hot countries.

The face of the country is rough and uneven, encumber'd with abundance of high mountains, whose tops seem to touch the clouds, some of them running the whole length of the country from east to west: among these the Pyrenees have been always the most celebrated; nor are they inferiour to the Alps, of which the poets have said so many wonderful things. They separate Spain from France, as has been observ'd already, extending from the Mediterranean to the Ocean, which is a space of about eighty-five leagues, and the greatest breadth of them is about forty-five. They begin at Port Vendres in Roussillon on the Mediterranean, and extend to Fontarabia on the bay of Biscay, traversing Catalonia and Arragon, and dividing

CHAP. I. dividing Navarre into two parts: but in this space it has several names, according to the countries it borders upon: in Roussillon it is divided into two branches, of which that that separates it from Languedoc is call'd the Anti-Pyrenees, and that which divides it from Catalonia is call'd the Col de Pertuis. There are other branches of it bordering on these countries, call'd Mont Canigon, Sierra de Guara, Col de Praxa, Col de Argentiére and Port de Viella. Those which divide Gascony from Arragon are the mountains of Jaca and St. Christian, where is the famous Pic de Midi, resembling a sugar-loaf upon a table, which is said to extend to the middle region of the air; and in Navarre, between Pampeluna and St. John de Pie de Port, we meet with the mountains of Adela and Roncevaux. The antient geographers made the Pyrenees extend the whole length of Spain to the Atlantick ocean; nor were they much in the wrong, the rest of the mountains of Spain seeming but branches of these. There are but five passages over that part of them which lie between France and Spain, and those exceeding difficult and dangerous; but they are well planted with trees, and interspers'd with a great number of valleys.

The Sierra d'Occa, antiently called Mount Idubeda, is a mountain which issues from the Pyrenees, and extends to the Mediterranean sea near Tortosa, west of the Ebro. Another branch of it stretches from east to west, traversing the whole kingdom of Spain as far as Cape Finisterra, running thro' Biscay, part of Old Castile, and the two provinces of Leon and Galicia. In South Spain, below Mount Cayo, there issues a branch from this called Orospeđa, which rises insensibly, and near the mouth of the Tagus obtains the name of Sierra Morina, which stretching still farther south, is called Sierra d'Alcaez, where the river Guadalquivir rises; then turning to the south-west, it traverses the kingdom of Grenade, and is continued to the Streights of Gibralter, where we see the celebrated Mount Calpe, opposite to Mount Abila in Africa; which two mounts are called HERCULES's pillars, the *ne plus ultra* of the antients. There are abundance of other mountains of less note, which will be mention'd in the description of the respective provinces.

Rivers. Spain is said to be water'd with an hundred and fifty rivers, of which six only deserve that name; viz. 1. The Ebro. 2. The Guadalquivir. 3. The Guadiana. 4. The Tagus. 5. The Duero. And, 6. The Minho.

The Ebro. The Ebro, in Latin, *Iberus*, by some said to have communicated its name to the whole country, from thence called *Iberia*, hath its source in the mountains of Asturia. It rises from two sources, of which the principal is near the town of Fuenti Ebro, or Fountain Ebro, taking its name from this spring. It runs from the north-

west to the south-east near five hundred miles, receiving in its passage upwards of sixty rivers, of which the most considerable is the Arragon in the province of that name, and the Segra in Catalonia. It traverses good part of Old Castile and Biscay, then enters Navarre, and inclining to the southward, divides that province from Castile, and passing on to Tudela, becomes navigable for small boats there. From Navarre it continues its course to the province of Arragon, which it divides almost in two equal parts, washing the walls of the city of Saragossa. From thence it runs on to Catalonia, and some miles below Tortosa it throws itself into the Mediterranean with great rapidity, forming at its mouth the little islands of Alfaches.

This is almost the only navigable river in Spain, and even this is of little advantage to them, unless between Tortosa and the sea; for notwithstanding it carries vessels for the space of two hundred and fifty miles down the stream, it runs with that rapid force that a boat cannot go up against the stream higher than Tortosa, and it is very difficult to go down on account of the rocks which lie in the channel about twenty leagues from Saragossa. The water of it is esteem'd very wholesome and palatable, on which account it is transported to most towns in the neighbourhood, and to distant provinces. Upon the conclusion of the first Punic war, the Ebro was made the boundary between the Roman and Carthaginian territories, from whence Spain was afterwards divided into two very unequal parts, viz. the Hither and the Further Spain in respect to Rome, that to the westward of the Ebro being nine times as large as the other.

The Guadalquivir, antiently called Boetis and Tartessus, and by the Moors, Vadalcabir, which signifies in Arabick a great river, was by corruption afterwards called Guadalquivir by the Spaniards. It rises in the most eastern part of Andalusia, on the confines of Grenada and Murcia, near the celebrated mountain called by the antients Orospeđa, and by the modern Spaniards, Sierra Segura; at the foot of which several rivulets rise, and meeting together form a lake, from whence this river issues. It traverses the whole length of Andalusia from the north-east to the south-west, passing by Cordoua, Seville and St. Lucar, falling into the Atlantick ocean about fifteen leagues south-west of Seville, and eight to the northward of Cadiz. Its waters glide very gently along, and it is navigable as high as Seville for pretty large vessels, and has the advantage of the tide so far; but is so full of sands, that they frequently miscarry. From Seville up to Cordoua it will carry only small boats, and above Cordoua the rocks that lie in it spoil the navigation.

The Guadiana, in Latin, *Anas*, rises in New Castile,

CHAP. I. Castile, in the vast plains of Monteil, or la Mancha. It issues from certain lakes, called by the natives the lakes of Guadiana. It takes its course at first from east to west, passing by Calatrava, Medelin, Merida, and Badajos in Estremadura, after which it turns about to the southward, and falls into the Atlantick ocean near Agramonte. Both antients and moderns relate abundance of odd stories of this river, as that it runs ten leagues under ground near Medelin, for which reason the Latins called it *Anas*, or the Duck; but this our modern geographers affirm is an error: thus much however is agreed to be true, that a little below its source it passes between high mountains which prevent the sight of it for three or four miles, after which it appears again in the lakes which the Spaniards call the Eyes of the Guadiana. Afterwards in its course a little above Calatrava, it is so cover'd with rocks which hang over it, and rushes, that the river does not appear. From Merida to Mertola, two towns about thirty-five leagues distant from each other, it is so full of rocks on the right and left, that no boat can go upon it, and it is very dangerous crossing of it. In summer-time there is very little water in this river, and the little that remains does not seem to run. It appears among the rocks to have more of the nature of a torrent than a river, which, during the rainy season, has roll'd down great heaps of stones from time to time from the neighbouring mountains. It is no wonder therefore if some people have imagin'd that it had lost itself under the earth, since it scarce appears for several miles during the scorching heats.

Tagus.

The Tagus is the largest and most considerable of all the rivers of Spain. The Portuguese, who reap the greatest advantage from it on account of trade, call it the King of rivers. It has its source in New Castile, near Albarazin, and runs about four hundred miles from east to west, first taking its course over New Castile, and washing the walls of Toledo, passes by Almaraz and Alcantara in the Spanish Estremadura, after which it enters the Portuguese Estremadura, and passing on forms a little bay about a league over, which serves for a port to the city of Lisbon, and six or seven miles below falls into the Atlantick ocean. This river was famous antiently for its golden sands, but I don't find there is any of that rich mineral to be met with in this river at present.

Duero.

The river Duero rises on the confines of Navarre and Arragon, in that part of the mountain Idubeda which goes under the name of Sierra de Cogollo, near the town of Aguillac del Campo. It first runs through the middle of Old Castile, and passing by Soria and Aranda, traverses the kingdom of Leon, washing the walls of Tordesillus, Toro and Zamora, and entering Portugal, after a winding course falls into the Atlantick Ocean a

little below Porto. The entrance is very dangerous on account of the rocks and sands that lie at the mouth of it, infomuch that vessels can only come in at high water. It runs about three hundred miles from east to west, but is not navigable on account of the rocks and cascades with which the passage is obstructed.

The Minho, the least of the six Spanish rivers, rises in the north-east part of Galicia, near the town of Castro del Rey, and running south-west through that province, passes by Luga, Oreuse and Thuy, falling into the Atlantick Ocean near the confines of Portugal.

If we were to follow the antients in their descriptions of Spain, it would appear the richest, the pleasantest, and the most beautiful country in the universe, little short of a terrestrial paradise. Some of them place the Elysian fields here, while others assure us it is more fruitful than Africk or Gaul: that it is neither parch'd by the excessive heat of the sun, as the former, nor disturb'd by winds and storms like the latter: that it abounds in corn, wine, and the most delicious fruits: that their olives are to be prefer'd to those of other nations, and their vines give place to none: that those parts which do not produce corn afford excellent pasturage: but above all, that here are found all kind of precious minerals in the greatest abundance, as gold, silver, &c. in their mountains, and their rivers carry golden sands: that they had not only sufficient of every thing desirable to supply their own country, but serv'd as a granary to Rome, and almost all Italy: that the mountain Orospea, which signifies the silver mount, obtain'd its name from the silver it produc'd: that in Galicia gold was so plentiful, that the husbandman often broke up great pieces with his plow: that Lusitania and Asturia were equally rich, where they sometimes found pieces of gold of half a pound weight: And that to this country the antients sent their fleets in search of these precious minerals, as the Europeans now do theirs to the continent of America. The Phenicians, who first arriv'd at these happy shores, 'tis said, found silver so very common among the Turdetani, that their most common utensils and moveables were made with it, and that they purchas'd it of the natives for toys and baubles; and that having amass'd such prodigious quantities that their ships could not contain it, they were oblig'd to make anchors of the rest.

This relation has certainly very much the air of fiction at this day, and yet is not entirely to be rejected: allowances indeed must be made for the poetical vein of their writers, and the eastern manner of expression; they certainly never expected to be understood literally and strictly, any more than the modern Asiatics or Italians; their words ought to be taken in the sense they were under-

Produce of
the country
according to
the antients

CHAP. I. understood at the time, and in the country they wrote; and as in prophane, so in sacred story the want of this caution has occasion'd a multitude of mistakes. But to proceed: A late French writer seems to insinuate, that the Tarsis from which HIRAM and SOLOMON fetch'd their treasure, was situated in the south-west part of Spain, there having been a town of that name between the branches of the river Bœtis, or Guadalquivir, and that river it self, formerly call'd Tartessus. The situation of Tyre in the Levant sea, and the Tyrians and Phenicians trading hither also, would render this surmise extremely probable, were it not expressly said, that these fleets of HIRAM and SOLOMON were built in the Red Sea, in the land of Edom, and set sail from thence, and consequently must steer their course either to the Indian or African shores. I shall only observe further, that the Scripture says, silver was as plentiful in Jerusalem as the stones of the street in the reign of King SOLOMON, which I hope few people understand literally, any more than they do the above-mention'd figurative expressions in prophane histories. Having premised thus much from the concurrent testimony of the antients, I make no manner of doubt but there were formerly mines of gold and silver in Spain, as there are no doubt still, though not worth the working, since better are discover'd; or, which is the same thing, others that may be wrought much cheaper. The richest silver mine the antients discover'd in Spain, was two or three miles distant from Cartagena, where forty thousand workmen were continually employ'd, and yielded the Romans daily twenty-five thousand drachms of that precious metal. Asturia, Galicia and Lusitania, furnish'd them annually with twenty thousand pounds weight of silver. Near the Pyrenees a mine was discover'd which yielded HANNIBAL three hundred pounds a day. When SCIPIO AFRICANUS took Carthage in the second Punick war, he found there two hundred and seventy-six thousand cups or vessels of gold, most of them of near a pound weight, a vast quantity of silver coin, and an infinite number of other silver vessels and utensils; by the riches of which one town, as my author observes, we may make some estimate of the rest of Spain.

If it be demanded, what are become of those rich mines that produced all this treasure? Are they exhausted that they have afforded no gold or silver for several ages? To which it is answer'd, there may be the same mines still, but as gold and silver are of late years become more plentiful, and easier come at in other places, it may not be worth the while to open these. Before the gold on the coast of Africk, in China, and in the East Indies was discover'd, and before we had any communication with Potosi, and the other gold and silver mines of America, those metals were more scarce, and con-

sequently more valuable than they are at present, CHAP. I. and it might turn to a much better account to work them then than it does now: the slaves who dig in them also are maintain'd at a much less charge in the Indies than they could be in Spain, especially since we are very well assur'd, that Spain was much better cultivated, and yielded greater quantities of corn and other provisions, than it does under the management of the present lazy generation, who plant or sow little more than will serve their own necessities; whereas the Romans drew a great deal of their provision from thence. But besides the rich minerals above-mention'd, they have at this day good mines of quick-silver, sulphur, lead, alom, copper, and the iron and steel of Biscay is in the greatest esteem of any in Europe. Here are also found several kinds of precious stones, as agates, cornelians, garnets, crystal, marble, alabaster and jasper.

As to the produce of the earth at present, their mountains are generally cover'd with oaks, fir-trees, and other excellent timber, and the lower parts of them with grass and a variety of sweet herbs, on which are fed large flocks of sheep and goats, the wool of the former esteem'd the finest in Europe, and without a mixture of which the most valuable cloths cannot be made. The Spanish wheat is excellent, and their bread would be equally good if it was not sometimes spoil'd in the making. They have plenty of barley, the food of their horses and mules, but scarce any oats. They do not think it worth their while to make hay, though they have grass enough, but feed their horses and mules with straw in the room of it: and indeed there is scarce any part of the year they want pasture for their flocks and herds, so that hay is by no means so necessary here as it is in colder countries, where our grounds yield little or nothing in winter. They have very rich wines, and in great plenty, such as Malaga, Galicia, Alicant, Barcelona, and many others. Besides the fruits common to us here, they abound in oranges, lemons, citrons, prunes, raisins, olives, figs, capers, chesnuts, pomegranates and almonds. Many medicinal and odoriferous herbs and flowers grow wild here, which with us will not arrive at any perfection with the utmost care; and their oil, wax and honey, is as good as any in Europe. There is so much silk grows in Spain, that 'tis said to employ a million of people, in feeding, gathering and curing the worms; spinning, weaving, and other manufactures of silk or velvet. Other parts produce flax, hemp, cotton, sugar, saffron, pitch, rosin, &c. And as to their animals, their horses have always been esteem'd for their swiftness, as their mules are for their strength, and being sure-footed, on that account are generally used in travelling over this mountainous country: nor do they want very good horses for draught. The flesh of

CHAP. II. of their sheep is admir'd as well as the wool they produce; the flesh of their goats and kids also is good food, and their hogs and dry'd bacon are reckon'd equal to those of Westphalia. Wild hog, deer, rabbits, hares, fowl, and all manner of game, are plentiful, especially in their mountains and forests; and the seas, which almost surround them, well stock'd with fish. But of all these particulars I shall give a more distinct account in the description of the respective provinces.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the persons and habits of the Spaniards; of their genius and temper; diet, diversions and way of travelling.

Persons of the Spaniards.

THE Spanish men are generally tall and well made, but few of them corpulent. Their complexion is swarthy, their hair black, their features just, with brisk sparkling eyes. They shave their beards, leaving long mustachio's on the upper lip. The women are generally small and slender, and value themselves much on their pretty little feet, and fine hands and arms, and take abundance of pains to prevent their breasts growing out of size, by binding plates of lead upon them.

Their habits.

The men who pretend to dress, part their hair, and tie it behind with a ribbon. Their habits are generally black, and consist of a fine shirt, a short waistcoat, and breeches close to their thighs; fine black stockings, and white thread underneath. On their feet they wear pumps made of very pliant leather; and every peasant almost has a monstrous long sword on one side, and a dagger on the other. The collars of their waistcoats are stiff, and cover'd with a kind of ruff, but not so large as those formerly worn in England, and over all they throw a short cloak, but so contrive it as to have the right hand at liberty.

Their ladies paint their swarthy skins.

The ladies in Spain lay on their paint very thick, and are not at all ashamed of it; and not only on their faces and hands, but a great way down their backs, for they wear their stays so low behind, that their tawny shoulders without it would make but a very indifferent appearance. They dress in their hair, wear stays, and fardings, or hoops of brass-wire, to bear out their clothes. Their gowns are black, and under them, 'tis said, they wear half a dozen other garments. Their coats are so long that they trail upon the ground and hide their feet, for these they conceal as carefully as any of their hidden beauties. When they go abroad they wear a kind of clogs or pattens, which make them appear half a foot taller than they really are, and a veil which covers them from head to foot. Flannels lace, muslin and fine linnen are much worn by the quality, and most of them have several sets of jewels. On the top

of the stays the Spanish ladies wear a breast-plate of diamonds, to which there hangs a chain of pearl, or other precious jewels. Necklaces are not in use here, but they have abundance of bracelets upon their arms, and rings on their fingers, and such weighty pendants in their ears, as stretches them to an unreasonable length. The *Agnus Dei's*, and little images and pictures of the saints, may be reckon'd part of their dress, for we seldom see either men or women without a great many of these trinkets, besides their beads. Spanish gravity being become a proverb amongst us, it is almost needless to observe with what deliberation they do every thing: their pace is so extremely slow, that at a little distance it is not easy to discern whether they move at all; and in short, the air and mien of this people is the very reverse of the French; and this brings me to treat of their genius and temper.

The Spaniards are generally men of a piercing wit and elevated genius, but very little improv'd by study or conversation, for want of schools and academies where the sciences are taught in the modern way; for those that do study, apply themselves chiefly to the antient philosophy or school-divinity, and are such slaves to the opinions of the antients, that they will admit of no other systems. ARISTOTLE, SCOTUS, and ST. THOMAS, as they call him, are infallible oracles with them; and he would be thought a poor physician, who did not follow HIPPOCRATES, GALEN or AVICENNA. On the contrary, they slight the rules of the antient poets, and take up with very mean compositions of their own; from whence my author observes, that they have neither good philosophers, poets, or physicians among them; notwithstanding which, he admires them for their wisdom, secrecy, constancy, and patience in adversity: he says they are slow in determining, but usually conclude judiciously at last; that they are generous, magnificent, liberal, delicate in the point of honour, sincere friends, agreeable companions, grave in their discourse, true to their words, great enemies to lying, and extremely temperate in eating and drinking. As to their veracity, many signal instances have been given of it by those who have written of this country; among which, I shall relate but one. A gentleman having kill'd another in a duel, fled into the house of a noble lady, and beg'd her protection against the officers of justice that were pursuing him. The lady, upon his earnest entreaty, promis'd to conceal him; and she had no sooner put him into a private place, but the officers enter'd her doors; and having search'd, as they thought, every part of the house without finding him, they concluded he had escap'd from thence, and went about their business. Not long after the only son of the lady was brought home dead, whom she under-

Their genius and temper. Natural and acquired parts.



Habits of the Spaniards

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II.

understood had been murder'd by the very man she had concealed; however, such was her regard to her word and honour, that she gave the offender an opportunity of escaping from her house in the dark, letting him understand at the same time, that now she had perform'd her promise to him, he must expect to be prosecuted with the utmost vengeance; and that she should leave no place unsought till she had found him, and deliver'd him up into the hands of justice.

But to proceed: The Spaniards being naturally devout, the clergy, who have the government of their consciences, have converted this commendable quality into the grossest superstition and bigotry, and taught them such a veneration for their priests, that they kiss their hands, and the very hem of their garments, paying them a worship very little short of what they pay the Deity. Nor have they, as foreigners observe, less respect for the ladies than they have for their priests, they do in a manner idolize that sex; they never say any thing shocking before them, and their well-bred men frequently approach them with bended knees, kissing their hands instead of their lips; and if a lady does them the favour to commend any thing they have, as a ring, a watch, a jewel, or other toy they are masters of, they never fail to make her a present of it; by which means, 'tis said, some young gentlemen have run through considerable fortunes; for the ladies knowing their power, too often exercise it in this particular: but none of them are such tyrants as the big-bellied women, who command every thing they are pleased to long for; and a Prince would be thought a brute who should deny them any thing.

Their vices
and defects.

Among their foibles, the great opinion the Spaniards have of themselves, and their contempt of foreigners, are none of the least. As they seldom travel, they know little of the beauties of other countries, and look upon their own as a terrestrial paradise. One of their preachers in a Lent sermon observ'd, that if the Pyrenean mountains had not interpos'd when the devil shew'd our Saviour the kingdoms of the world, and thereby prevented his viewing Spain, he had probably been overcome by the temptation.

To the pride and vanity of the Spaniards are added many other vices, as their wretched indolence and laziness, their revenge, avarice, lust, and credulity in believing the feigned miracles and fabulous stories of their monks without examination. As to their revenge, when a gentleman apprehends himself affronted, he does not think himself oblig'd to run the hazard of a duel, as in other countries, but makes no scruple of destroying his enemy privately, by causing him to be poison'd, shot, or otherwise assassinated. Their neglecting to apply themselves to agriculture and husbandry, is generally look'd upon as the effect of idleness; whereas

it is certainly to be imputed to their pride, or rather the custom of their country, where a man is look'd upon with the utmost contempt who submits to these vile employments, as they are esteem'd: their pretended quality will not suffer them to plough their lands, or plant their vineyards. There is not a peasant among them without a roll of his pedigree: every one of them can shew that he is descended in a right line from the old Gothick Christians, who assisted their King PELAGIUS in expelling the infidel Moors; and big with the pretended honour, their lands must lie unmanur'd, if foreigners did not plant and sow them for the whimsical proprietor, and generally run away with the best part of their profits. The French usually do them this favour, and carry home considerable fortunes into their country; but this is to be understood chiefly of the two Castiles and the midland provinces, for the natives of Galicia do not only manure their own lands, but assist the Castilians in their husbandry: and in Grenada, Andalusia, and the southern provinces, peopled chiefly by the descendants of the antient Moors, they do not look upon husbandry as a contemptible employment. King PHILIP III, in order to break his subjects of this unaccountable humour of starving in the midst of plenty, or at least on lands that might be render'd extremely fruitful by a moderate industry, publish'd an edict, declaring that every owner of lands should be deem'd a gentleman, and have the title of an Esquire, who apply'd himself to husbandry, besides being exempted from going to the wars. PHILIP IV published a declaration to encourage foreigners to reside in Spain, offering all those who should apply themselves to husbandry, trade or grazing, that they should be exempted paying of taxes, or any duties to the crown, which encourag'd great numbers of artificers and labourers to resort thither from the provinces of Auvergne, Limousin, Guienne, Languedoc, and Bearn in France; but after they have raised a tolerable fortune, they usually return home to spend it, and leave the Spaniards as poor at least as they found them. It is a miserable thing, as my author observes, to see a peasant sitting before his gate, or on a bulk in the street, in a tatter'd cloak, and his arms a-cross, or perhaps playing upon a wretched guittar in summer, when he should be gathering in the fruits of the earth, while foreigners are reaping his corn, and getting in the vintage, and perhaps go away with the best part of the crop for their pains, while the owner remains almost destitute of necessaries. But surely no people sustain their poverty with such an air of gravity and satisfaction, we hear no murmuring on this account let their wants be ever so great: nor do they know how to keep, any more than they do how to improve what they have; economy

CHAP. is a perfect stranger here ; it is beneath them to
 II. look into their affairs ; they live as it were from
 hand to mouth, and never did people observe that
 precept better, of taking no thought for the
 morrow.

The reason
 Spain is de-
 populated.

It is not without reason that foreigners are
 astonish'd to see so rich and fruitful a country,
 favour'd with a pure heathful air, in a manner for-
 faken and depopulated ; but there are many good
 reasons to be assign'd for it, besides those already
 mention'd, of which the incontinence of the young
 fellows, as well as of the married men, is look'd
 upon as one of the chief. When a lad is arriv'd to
 fifteen or sixteen years of age, his friends provide
 him a concubine, whom he hires for a month, a
 year, or as long as he sees fit, perhaps because he
 should not marry to disadvantage ; and as the
 Spaniards are generally much addicted to venereal
 pleasures, they are so wasted and exhausted before
 they come of age, that they are very unfit to per-
 form the duties of the marriage-bed, and often
 contract diseases, which the miserable children feel
 the effects of as soon as they are born. And as
 they generally find more satisfaction in their mi-
 stresses than in their wives, and consequently give
 the latter all the reason in the world to be jealous,
 they take care to lock up the miserable creatures,
 or place spies upon them, lest they should reta-
 liate the injury, as the Spanish women frequently
 do when they have an opportunity, provok'd to
 it by the tyranny and injustice of their husbands.

Another reason given for their want of people,
 is the expulsion of many hundred thousand Moors
 and Jews in the reign of PHILIP III, from the
 provinces of Andalusia, Grenada and Murcia.
 The continual wars that the Spaniards carried on
 for near two hundred years in Flanders and Italy,
 also swept away abundance of their men : and
 the riches of America, where they hoped to ac-
 quire gold and silver without labour, drew over
 many thousand families thither. Add to this the
 multitudes who have taken the vow of celibacy,
 and are lock'd up in monasteries or nunneries, and
 all the clergy in general, to whom their religion
 and laws prohibit wives, and we shall cease to
 wonder, either at the uncultivated lands, or the
 paucity of inhabitants in Spain.

Give me leave here, before I proceed further,
 to consider the different characters of the Spaniards
 given us by different writers. An English tra-
 veller now before me, concludes his account of
 them in these words : ' And thus I take my leave
 ' of Spain, in hopes of meeting with better ac-
 ' commodation in Italy ; it being certain, that the
 ' general poverty, and villainous inclinations of
 ' the people here, will make one thank God to
 ' have pass'd their country with safety : and as
 ' I am taking my farewell of them, I must declare
 ' it as an undoubted truth, that all the time I staid

in Spain, I neither saw nor heard of any ho- CHAI
 nourable or generous action done by a Spaniard, II.
 but frequently of the direful effects of their vain
 pride, poverty, thefts, murders and deceits, which
 are too often committed here.'

On the contrary, another writer says, ' After
 ' all, to give the Spaniards their due, such of them
 ' as have had the good fortune of a liberal edu-
 ' cation, and improv'd themselves by travelling
 ' abroad, must be owned to be persons of a solid
 ' understanding and uncommon vivacity : that they
 ' both speak and write concisely, are very apt for
 ' politicks, temperate, constant and laborious ;
 ' naturally inclin'd to generosity, true friendship
 ' and bravery : all which taken together, make
 ' their manners not appear so odious to me, as to
 ' some people perhaps who have not examin'd
 ' them.'

From the whole, the Spaniards do not seem to
 want natural parts or good inclinations ; their
 greatest misfortune is their conversing so little with
 the rest of the world ; they are situated at one ex-
 tremity of the earth, as the Chinese are at the
 other ; neither the one or the other travel them-
 selves, or are much visited by other people, un-
 less in their port-towns : from whence it proceeds,
 that both nations have entertain'd a notion of their
 own self-sufficiency, and a contempt of the im-
 provements that have been made in arts and sci-
 ences by the rest of mankind. Add to this, that
 the Spanish clergy, lest the people should break
 through the clouds of bigotry and superstition
 that surround them, discourage all manner of
 learning, and intercourse with foreigners ; so that
 where they have imbib'd any false or destructive
 opinions, it is almost impossible they should be un-
 deceiv'd. I make no manner of doubt therefore,
 but it must be very dangerous and uneasy for fo-
 reigners, and especially Protestants, who have not
 a good share of patience, as well as prudence, to
 reside amongst them. If you touch upon the string
 of religion, and seem to reflect on any part of their
 superstition, it is well if you be not deliver'd over
 to the inquisition. If you are too free with the la-
 dies, you will run the hazard of a poignard : and
 if you endeavour to expose the folly of their pride
 and indolence, there is no great friendship to be
 expected from them. On the other hand, where
 a man can wave his zeal for his darling notions in
 religion, and suspend his complaisance for the fair
 sex, and forbear reflecting on their absurdities, for
 aught I can find he may meet with a very favour-
 able, and even hospitable reception in Spain, and
 especially from persons of distinction.

They eat but little beef in Spain. Their meat - Their food,
 ton and goats flesh are admirably good, and their
 hogs, which are fed with chesnuts or acorns, make
 excellent pork and bacon, said to equal that of
 Westphalia. Their rabbits are as good as ours, and
 their

CHAP. II. their partridges larger. The hares which feed in the vineyards while the grapes are growing, are so fat that they are easily knock'd on the head, but are not eaten in any other season. Pidgeons, pheasants, and other wild fowl, are plentiful enough, and their sea-fish is excellent; but they have not much good fish in their rivers. The common people live chiefly upon bread, wine, pease, beans, or other pulse, roots, herbs and fruit. Flesh is very seldom seen in their houses, any more than in their cooks shops, where you will meet with pease, beans, leeks, onions, garlick, and perhaps a little broth of ordinary meat boil'd to rags. Here the servants belonging to persons of quality at Madrid usually dine and sup, both men and women, for there is no more victuals dress'd in their lords houses than will serve the master, his wife and children; which is the reason that at an entertainment, the servants are ready to snatch the meat out of the dishes as it is going to table: and we are told of some gentlemen that are forc'd to have locks to their pots and stew-pans, lest their servants should run away with their victuals before it is dress'd.

Persons of distinction usually live in a certain method. As soon as they are up they drink a glass of water cool'd with ice or snow, and immediately after a dish of chocolate. At dinner the master of the family sits down to table in a chair, while the women and children sit cross-legg'd like Turks, and eat upon a carpet spread on the floor. Their meals are usually light and sparing, perhaps a pheasant, a pair of pidgeons, an ollio, or a ragou high-season'd with garlick and pepper; and after all, a desert of delicious fruits, which they have in great perfection. When dinner is over, they sleep till two in winter, and in summer till four, all which time the shops are shut up, and you scarce meet any thing in the streets, as one observes, but Frenchmen or dogs. When they get up again and are dress'd, they eat sweetmeats, or drink a dish of chocolate, and after it a draught of water. The supper is not much heavier than the dinner; a little hash, or ragou, and a tart, or something of that kind. The lady drinks nothing but water, and the lord but very little wine. Butter and cheese are scarce in Spain, and that they have is very indifferent; oil is used for frying and sauces instead of it, and being of the best sort, in some measure supplies the place of butter.

creations. The evening here, as in other hot countries, is spent in taking the air, or making visits. They go from their houses about four or five in the evening, and seldom return till eleven or twelve at night. The men meet abroad in the publick places of resort, or at the play-house, where the ladies, if there be any, are always conceal'd from the male audience by a lattice, for which reason possibly they chuse to visit one another at their houses. The floors of their apartments being

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cover'd with rich carpets, and long velvet cushions CHAP. II. placed round their rooms, the ladies sit cross-legg'd on them after the manner of the Turks, which being contrary to the custom of other Europeans, is supposed to have been introduc'd here by the Moors. When a lady makes a visit, the mistress of the house, and all the company, rise up and meet her at the door of the antichamber. They do not kiss at meeting, but shake hands, giving each other no distinguishing titles, as your Highness, or your Grace, &c. but when they address themselves to a lady, stile her Donna Maria, Donna Elizabetha, and the like. They frequently play at cards, and sometimes very deep, and observe a perfect silence while they are engaged in this diversion. As to their conversation, it runs chiefly upon politicks; and if they speak of the absent, it is very seldom to their disadvantage, as is too frequent in other places. They converse with abundance of friendship, and as they have a good share of wit, their company is very entertaining. Before they break up they are usually treated with sweetmeats, and it is no unusual or indecent thing to carry away a handkerchief full of them. Besides these the ladies frequently drink chocolate, the produce of their American plantations. Instead of candles, when it grows dark, the servants bring in fine silver lamps with abundance of branches; and as their oil is sweet, they do not create any offensive smell, and give a very good light.

Our countryman CARLTON relates, that the ladies here visit in great state: that they are usually carried in a chair by four men, the two first always bare-headed; two others walk as her guard, and another carries a lanthorn to light her home; then follows a coach drawn by six mules, with her women, and another with her gentlemen, several servants walking after, for they never suffer the servants to overload a coach, as with us; and their pace is answerable to the gravity of the people. There are few coaches except the King's drawn with horses, though there is no country affords finer for that purpose.

Their plays and opera's, 'tis universally agreed, are wretched entertainments. There are two play-houses at Madrid; but CARLTON says, that both their action and their musick are so very bad, that they don't deserve mentioning: the most remarkable thing he observ'd of them was, that whenever the Ave-bell rung, as it constantly does at six in the evening, all the actors, as well as the audience, fall down upon their knees, and having spent some minutes in their devotions, the entertainment is renew'd again.

Masquerading is in fashion here as in other European countries, with this addition, that they masquerade on horseback as well as on foot. But what is peculiar to them, is their bull-feasts, of Bull-feasts, which

CHAP. which we meet with various accounts from
 II. our modern travellers. A French lady, whose works are now before me, relates, that the King having appointed a bull-fight at Madrid, several cows were driven into the neighbouring forests, and being pursu'd by wild bulls, the females decoy'd them into stables prepar'd for them near the places where the combat was to be; and sometimes there are not less than thirty or forty brought into Madrid in this manner, the streets whereof are lin'd and barricado'd on the sides to prevent these furious creatures doing any mischief; and if any of the bulls endeavour to return and make their escapes, they are follow'd by a body of men on horseback and on foot, arm'd with lances, spears, and other weapons, who force them along: and where a Cavalier is so fortunate as to bring back a bull that has broke from the rest, the honour is almost equal to that of having kill'd him in single combat.

These bulls being well fed for a certain time, the fiercest of them are made choice of for the sport; and on the day prefix'd, the Placa Major, or great square in Madrid, is cover'd with sand, and surrounded with a strong barricade six foot high. The buildings here are uniform and beautiful, with a piazza on all sides, over which there are balconies cover'd with velvet or tapestry, for the reception of the quality who come to see the engagement. The King's balcony is in the middle of one of the longest sides, (for the square is an oblong) and is distinguish'd by the richness of the carving and gilding, and the canopy over it. Directly opposite to his Majesty, are the balconies of the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers of the popish communion, for I don't find that the Ministers of the Protestant powers have any place assign'd them here any more than in the King's chapel, though they may be admitted to see the sport with them. On the right of his Majesty are the balconies of the several councils of Castile, Aragon, the Inquisition, &c. distinguish'd by their respective arms embroider'd on crimson velvet. Next to these are plac'd the judges, grandees, titulados and city-companies, according to their quality: nor are their ladies or daughters excluded; all of them entertain'd at the charge of the publick, with dry'd sweetmeats, fruits, water cool'd with snow or ice, &c. They are presented also with ribbons, fans, gloves, and other toys, to a very great value, the expence being borne out of the fines and forfeitures belonging to the King or the city, which are laid up from time to time for this purpose. Underneath the balconies are scaffolds erected for the common people, unless under the King's, which place is reserv'd for his Majesty's guards. Foreign ministers, and persons of distinction, having enter'd the square with their coaches and equipages, take several turns before the King

comes, and salute the ladies in the balconies, who on this occasion appear without their veils, being cover'd with diamonds and other precious jewels from head to foot, making a very dazzling appearance in a place where the sun usually shines out in its full lustre. The King being come into the square, the coaches immediately withdraw, and all the company take their places; after which the square is water'd by the water-carts, and the guards with their officers are drawn up under the King's balcony, without any other barricado before them, than what they make with their halberds and pikes, which they present against the bull if he approaches them, but are oblig'd not to retreat or stir a foot, let the danger be never so great.

Every thing being prepar'd, six Alguazils, or city officers, enter the square, mounted on fine horses richly accoutred after the Moreisco fashion; their business is to introduce the knights who are to encounter the bulls: they are dress'd in white habits, with plumes of feathers in their hats, and each of them a white wand in his hand: but this festival I am describing being appointed on account of the King's marriage, was more splendid than usual, as the lady from whom I take this relation informs us. The first day the Alguazils introduc'd six Cavaliers prepar'd for the combat, mounted on fine horses set off with the richest furniture, and feathers in their hats. They were follow'd each of them by a dozen led horses, and as many mules, loaden with lances about five foot long, finely painted and gilded. The Mules were cover'd with velvet, embroider'd with their respective arms. The gentlemen themselves were dress'd in black, embroider'd with gold and silver, with diamond hatbands, and scarfs of different colours, with black cloaks tied back behind them, so as not to hinder the use of their arms. They had on their legs little white buskins, and long gilt spurs with one sharp point only, after the manner of the Moors, and like them rode in short stirrups, which brought their knees as high as the saddle. They were attended each of them by forty footmen, some cloath'd in gold-mohair trimm'd with lace, others in carnation colour brocaded with gold or silver, but all in foreign dresses, imitating Moors, Hungarians, Indians, &c. who carried each of them abundance of lances.

Being conducted by the Alguazils over the Place-Major, on approaching the King's balcony they made a profound reverence, and demanded leave to engage the bulls; which being granted with wishes for their success, all the trumpets sounded, and the people shouted, crying, *Viva los bravos caballeros*; after which they separated, and having saluted the ladies of their acquaintance, sent away all their footmen out of the lists, except two for each Cavalier, who carried their lances, and kept

p. kept close to their respective masters. At the same time enter'd several robust fellows from distant parts of the kingdom, in order to fight the bulls on foot.

The Alguazils having receiv'd the keys of the stables of his Majesty, let out a bull, and made their escapes as fast as their horses would carry them, fighting being none of their business. The bull no sooner came into the square, but the young fellows on foot shot their arrows or threw darts at him, which sticking in his flesh he raged and stamp'd, threatening destruction to every thing in his way: one of the Cavaliers hereupon approaching him with his lance, the beast run at him with all his fury, but was dexterously avoided by the knight, who slipt on one side, and as the bull pass'd, wounded him with a lance; which being broken, one of the footmen supply'd his master with another, with which he attack'd the beast again in the same manner: this increas'd his fury to the last degree, and the Cavalier seem'd to be in great danger; but I perceive the footmen came in to his assistance and reliev'd him. The author of this relation, who was an eye-witness, says, that he saw a Black advance only with his dagger to one of the bulls in his full rage, and strike him with that force between his horns, that he fell down dead that moment; whereupon the Alguazils came in with four mules as usual, and dragg'd the beast out of the rails, under the sound of trumpets and the acclamations of the people. There were it seems no less than twenty bulls let out to fight on this occasion one after another, one of which run with such fury at Count CONINGSMARK, who was one of the combatants, that he wounded him in the leg, and let out his horse's guts; notwithstanding which, the Count, supported by one of his footmen, attack'd the bull on foot with his sword only, and gave the beast a terrible wound in the head; whereupon turning about to the lady of his affections, he kiss'd his sword, and was carried off half dead with the loss of blood. It seems where the bull has insulted a Cavalier, by forcing his lance out of his hand, throwing off his hat, wounding his horse, or any of the company, the knight is bound in honour to give him a wound in return, or die in the attempt; and if the horse appears daunted at the bull, the Cavalier must light and engage on foot: the rest of the knights also are oblig'd to dismount and follow him, not to engage themselves, but to see if they can terrify the beast by marching against him in a body; and if the creature retires to the further end of the square, they have satisfy'd the law of duelling, as they call it.

The same day a Biscayner leap'd from his horse on the back of the bull he was engag'd with, and continu'd there a quarter of an hour, and in the end broke off one of the bull's horns. If a bull

defends himself so long that they are tired of him, they bait him with dogs, and hamstring him, and another bull is let out. 'Tis almost incredible with what dexterity the combatants manage their horses and arms, keeping within a foot of the beast almost an hour together without being touch'd. At this feast a young gentleman of Toledo was toss'd up into the air by a bull, and so bruiz'd by the fall that he died upon the spot; two others were mortally wounded, and four horses kill'd; and this is nothing to the mischief that happens sometimes.

Our countryman CARLTON, whom I have mention'd already, relates, that while he was prisoner at la Mancha, upon the taking General STANHOPE and the English forces prisoners at Brihuega, and the retreat of Count STAREMBERG, a bull-feast being appointed to be held at la Mancha, a week's time was allow'd for building stalls for the beasts, and scaffolds for the spectators; and on the day the bulls were brought into the town, the Cavaliers of the place rode out about a league to assist in forcing them along, and the beasts were put in stalls or dens, made as dark as possible, to render them the fiercer on the day of battle.

The sport being to last three days, on the first, all the gentry of the place and the neighbouring country in their richest clothes resorted to the great square, and took their places on the scaffolds, while the people having provided themselves with spears and darts, stood ready for the encounter; for the bull does not only fight with the Tauriro, (who is a person usually hir'd on these occasions in the lesser cities) but with the whole multitude, who throw their darts at him as often as they have opportunity. As soon as the door of the stall is open'd, and the bull perceives the light, he comes out snuffing up the air, and staring about him stamps upon the ground, as in defiance of his enemies. Soon after the Tauriro clothed in white, and holding his cloak in one hand and a two-edg'd sword in the other, enters the lists; on whom when the brute has set his eyes, he moves at first gently towards him, then gradually mending his pace till he comes within twenty yards of the Tauriro, he springs forwards and runs at him with all his force. The Tauriro having slipt on one side and avoided him, throws the cloak over his horns, and cuts him over the neck if he can, there being one particular place, which if he hits he easily brings him to the ground. CARLTON says, he saw a bull himself so stunn'd with one stroke, that he could not move, and the blood flowing plentifully out of the wound, after a violent trembling the creature fell down dead. But this rarely happens, he usually receives a great number of wounds by swords and darts before he dies; and whenever he feels a fresh wound, he redoubles his fury

CHAP. II.

Another bull-kill, by Carlton.

CHAP. II. against the Tauriro, who having avoided him again, seldom fails to give him another wound.

When the Tauriro is wearied out, they bring in their dogs, hamstring the beast, and pierce him with their darts till he expires; after which, he is carried out of the barrier with the loud acclamations of the people, as if some signal victory had been obtain'd. Our author relates, that he saw the Tauriro, who was hired on this occasion, and was esteem'd one of the best in Spain, mount one of these bulls, cutting and slashing him till he had wearied the beast out, and then dismounting, kill'd him with ease, to the great satisfaction of the multitude, who made the air ring with their shouts; and on such occasions money is thrown to the Tauriro by the spectators for his encouragement.

On the third day of the Feast, a young gentleman of quality, named Don PEDRO ORTEGA, perform'd the part of a Tauriro on horseback, when the seats were crowded with people of fashion that came from distant places to see the encounter. He enter'd the lists finely mounted on a manag'd horse, attended by four footmen in rich liveries, who after their master had rode round the square, and paid his compliments to the company, withdrew from the danger. Then the bull was let out, and having stood a little while staring about, fix'd his eyes upon his adversary, and run at him with the utmost fury. The Cavalier having dextrously avoided the brute, wounded him with a dart in the shoulder; whereupon the people shouted, their viva's were repeated, and the lady of his affections wav'd her handkerchief as a mark of her satisfaction. The Cavalier endeavour'd always to keep his horse on the side of the bull, for the advantage of striking him; and throwing another dart, fix'd it in his flank: but notwithstanding the gentleman behav'd himself to admiration, and often receiv'd the viva's and huzza's of the people, the bull at length getting his horns between the horse's hinder legs, threw both man and horse to the ground, and it was expected he would have kill'd them both, when to the surprize of every one he withdrew to the farther side of the square, and stood staring about him. In the mean time, the Cavalier was carried off not much hurt.

The foot Tauriro hereupon enter'd the lists again, imagining he should have met with an easy conquest; but the same bull made him frequently retreat into the places contriv'd for the security of footmen; nor was he able to dispatch the creature at last without the general assistance, the bull having near an hundred darts stuck in him before he fell, besides many cuts and gashes in his flesh. This sport seems so very barbarous to the present King, that he has been heard to say, it deserves little encouragement. At the same time his subjects are so enchanted with the diversion, that he does not think fit entirely to abolish it; though

these entertainments are of late much less frequent than they were formerly.

I shall mention but one kind of diversion more, which seems almost peculiar to this people, and that is the serenading their mistresses in the night-time, with vocal or instrumental musick. Not a young fellow scarce, when the love-fit is upon him, but spends his evening, and perhaps the best part of the night, in such amusements, though they have little more knowledge of the lady they pretend to adore, than Don QUIXOT had of the celebrated DULCINEA. Their voices are something better than their instruments; for the last, to an Italian, and even an English ear, are intolerable.

As to their way of travelling, they find themselves under a necessity in long journeys to make use of mules or litters, the country is so mountainous; but in the plains where they go but from town to town, they frequently travel in coaches drawn by four or six mules. It is usual to carry good store of hams and tongues and other provision with them, there being but very little to be met with on the road; and their lodging is rather worse than the entertainment: it is very difficult for a man to get a room to himself in an inn, there being several little beds or cabins round the walls, he is under a necessity of sleeping with such company as he finds in the house. The muleteers and servants indeed usually lie with their cattle in the stables, and consequently do not give him much disturbance.

CHAP. III.

Shews the several provinces Spain is divided into, and contains also a particular description of New Castile, Madrid the capital, and other great towns, with their palaces, churches, publick buildings, &c.

THE first division the Romans made of Spain, was into two parts, viz. Citerior or Hither Spain, and Ulterior or Further Spain, in regard to the river Ebro, which separated the two Empires of Rome and Carthage: but when the Romans had made an entire conquest of this country, they divided it into three great provinces, 1. Tarracensis. 2. Bætica. And, 3. Lusitania. Tarracensis extended from Cape Creuz in Catalonia to Cape Finisterra in Galicia, containing Leon, Galicia, Asturia, Biscay, Navarre, Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and the two Castiles.

Bætica, which took its name from the river Bætis, now Guadalquivir, extended from Cape de Gates in Grenada to the mouth of the Guadiana, comprehending Grenada, Andalusia, and a good part of New Castile.

Lusitania extended from the mouth of the Guadiana

H A P. diana to the Duero, containing Portugal and Estremadura. These were again subdivided into fourteen districts or jurisdictions, each of them having a sovereign court, of which the Tarraconensis comprehended seven, viz. those of Tarragona, Sarragossa, Carthagenæ, Lugo, Cruna, Braga and Astorga. Those of Bætica, were Cadiz, Seville, Cæyra and Cordoua. And those of Lusitania, Beia, Santaren and Merida.

Modern provinces. At this day Spain is divided into fifteen provinces, exclusive of Portugal, (which being a separate kingdom, will be describ'd hereafter by itself;) viz. 1. New Castile. 2. Old Castile. 3. Leon. 4. Galicia. 5. Asturia. 6. Biscay. 7. Navarre. 8. Arragon. 9. Catalonia. 10. Valencia. 11. Estremadura. 12. Andalusia. 13. Grenada. 14. Murcia. And, 15. The Islands.

New Castile. 1. New Castile, antiently the country of the Carpetani, Oretani and Vaccei, and after the conquest of the Moors, known by the name of the kingdom of Toledo, is bounded by a long chain of mountains, which separate it from Old Castile, Arragon and Valencia, on the north and east; by Andalusia, Grenada and Murcia on the south; and by Estremadura on the west.

The Tagus and Guadiana, two of the most considerable rivers of Spain, have their sources in this province, running the whole length of it from east to west. The Guadalquivir also rises here. The rest of the rivers that water it are the Xucar, the Xarama, the Tajuna, the Henarez and the Guadarrama.

The air. This being an inland province, distant from the sea, is colder in winter, and hotter in summer than the maritime provinces, but enjoys however a purer and more healthful air. It is one of the largest and fruitfulest provinces of Spain, especially that part of it which lies along the rivers Tagus and Guadiana, producing wheat, barley, wine, oil, good pasture, great herds of cattle, tame and wild fowl, and all manner of game; but there are scarce

Fertility. any good fish in their rivers. It is usually subdivided into three lesser districts, viz. those of Algar, Sierra and la Mancha. Algar lies to the northward of the Tagus, and affords a great variety of pleasant prospects, consisting of mountains, plains, woods and forests; the chief towns and places whereof, are Madrid, the Pardo, Sarriena, the Escorial, Alcalá de Henares, Guadalajara, Brihuega, Sigüenza, Toledo, Aranjuez and Talavera de la Reyna.

Subdivison. **Chief towns, &c.** **Madrid.** Madrid, the antient *Mantua Carpetanorum*, formerly a little inconsiderable town which belong'd to the Archbishops of Toledo, became the metropolis of Spain about an hundred and fifty years since, when their Kings made it the seat of the government. It is situated in 40 degrees 25 minutes north latitude, 4 degrees west of London, in the middle of a large sandy plain, surrounded with

high mountains at the distance of eight or ten English miles every way, being one of the barrenest spots in the whole kingdom, and affording scarce any trees or herbage. The town, for it is not strictly speaking a city, is about seven or eight miles in circumference, and has neither walls or fortifications to defend it; the gates and the guards that keep them serving only to prevent the running of goods imported and exported; for the duties on wine and all manner of provision brought into Madrid are very high. The streets are generally of a great length, strait and spacious; but miserably paved with small flints: the fairest of them are the Calle (or street) Mayor, the Calle de Toledo, the Calle d'Atocha, and that of Alcalá. There are also several noble squares, as those of San Joachin, Lasganites, San Domingo and Sebada; but the largest and most magnificent is that of the Plaza Mayor, in the middle of the town, being four hundred and thirty-four foot long, and three hundred and thirty-four foot broad, and surrounded by an hundred and thirty-six stately uniform houses, five stories high, with balconies at every story, the whole being sustain'd by pilasters and arches, like those of Covent-Garden in London; they are generally inhabited by drapers, and other substantial tradesmen; and in the middle of the square the great market is held: here also their bull-fights are celebrated on any victory or other great event. The houses are generally built of brick, the apartments being commodious and magnificent; but their lattice windows take away much from their beauty; few of them are glaz'd, for two reasons, one is, that their women can see into the streets without being seen; and the other, that glass in this country makes their houses excessive hot. The houses of the meaner sort of people are built with clay, and make a very indifferent appearance. Building is excessive dear at Madrid, the materials being brought from distant places, and no navigable river to import 'em; therefore when any one ventures upon building, they immediately conclude he is very rich. The best houses have been built by the Viceroy's of Peru, Mexico, Naples, &c. who returning from their governments, usually spend the remainder of their lives at Madrid, as most of the other grandees do. There are neither courts nor great gates before their houses, as the French have before their hotels in Paris, after the manner of Somerset-house in London; but the front of the house comes up to the very street. Whoever builds, the first floor belongs to the King, and he may either sell it or lett it out, unless the owner of the soil purchase it, as is usual, which brings in a great revenue to his Majesty. In the houses of the quality there is generally one apartment for winter and another for summer, and in some we find an apartment for every season of the year.

Their

CHAP. III. Their furniture is extravagantly rich, beyond what we meet with even in France; their hangings are either tapestry, velvet, or silk, trimm'd with gold and silver lace or fringe; and besides fine cabinets, glasses, pictures, busts, &c. we meet with a vast profusion of plate and jewels. Instead of chairs and tables in the ladies apartments, are seen rich carpets, and silk or velvet cushions to sit on, for the women here sit cross-legg'd on the floor, as has been observ'd already.

Without the town there is a little valley through which runs the Mancañares, which is in reality neither brook nor river, but sometimes one and sometimes the other, according as the snows on the circumjacent mountains happen to dissolve. In the heat of summer there is scarce any water discernible, or so very little, that if a person bathes in it, as they frequently do, he first makes a hole in the sand deep enough to wash himself in, and he must wait some time before he finds water enough for his purpose.

Over this river, as 'tis call'd by the Spaniards, PHILIP II built a magnificent bridge, equal almost to the finest in Europe, which is call'd the bridge of Segovia; and though in summer the current that runs under it seems very unsuitable to so noble a pile of building, and has occasion'd abundance of witticisms by drolling foreigners, as that the natives of Madrid would do well to sell their bridge and buy water, and the like; yet in the winter, when it is swell'd by the torrents which fall from the mountains, it covers the neighbouring fields, and runs with such rapidity, that it carries all before it; this noble bridge is then scarce sufficient to resist the force of the current.

As to the palaces in and about Madrid, that call'd the palace royal, the ordinary residence of the Court, is situated on an eminence at the end of the town, from whence there is an easy descent to the Mancañares. The prospect over the neighbouring plains, which takes in the fine walks on the banks of the river, render its situation extremely pleasant. The grand avenue is by the street, or Calle Mayor, the broadest and best built of any in the town. Before the front of the palace there is a large square of fine houses, adorn'd with gilded balconies. This palace cannot be admir'd for its beauty, the pavilions at each end seem to be the only part of the building worth notice. From hence, by three great gates of no extraordinary architecture, we pass through two square courts built on every side, at the end whereof is the grand stair-case that leads to the King and Queen's apartments. There are several other courts, all surrounded by cloysters or piazza's, after the manner of Spain, being very suitable in so warm a climate to screen them from the scorching heat of the sun. In the above-mention'd squares are held their councils and courts of justice, and

here are the lodgings of the ladies of the bed-chamber, and the rest of the Queen's servants. From the grand stair-case we pass through a long gallery, where the guards are plac'd, consisting of three companies, viz. 1. The archers, consisting of Flemming and Burgundian gentlemen. 2. The Spanish guards, compos'd of halberdiers. And, 3. The German guards, compos'd of foreigners of that nation, particularly Lorrainers: each of these companies consisting of about an hundred men. From this gallery we enter the royal apartments. When the King goes out, as he usually does every day to divine service, he passes through the guards in the gallery, who are then drawn up in a double haye, being preceded by the Captain of the guards, but follow'd by very few people.

Notwithstanding the palace in general has no great regularity or beauty, there are some very fine rooms and apartments in it, adorn'd with busts and statues exquisitely wrought, and abundance of pictures by the greatest hands; particularly one by MICHAEL ANGELO, representing our Saviour in the garden of Olives, said to have cost fifteen thousand pistoles. The tapestry and the rest of the furniture is incredibly rich. The greatest misfortune is, that their apartments have scarce any light, on pretence of keeping out the sun; some of them have no light but what they receive from the door, and the rest very small windows. The whole palace is built of white stone, except the two pavilions in the front, which are of brick. The window frames are of fine marble, and glaz'd with crown glass, those few that there are, and every story or range of building is adorn'd with gilded balconies.

There is another palace call'd la Casa del Campo, situate on the banks of the river Mancañares, opposite to that of the palace royal, a musket-shot out of town, and about six hundred paces from the famous bridge above-mention'd; but the building is neglected at present. The most remarkable things travellers mention belonging to it, are a fine brazen equestrian statue of PHILIP III, upon a marble pedestal; a brazen fountain in form of a castle; the park, lying along the river-side, with abundance of fine walks, fish-ponds and basins, where the King and Court divert themselves.

The palace call'd the Buen Retiro, is situated on the declivity of a hill, at the other extremity of the town, near the old Prado, from whence also there are abundance of pleasant views of the neighbouring country. The whole edifice consists of four great ranges of building, flank'd with an equal number of pavilions, which together form an exact square. It has a fine parterre of flowers in the middle of it, with a fountain that waters them. The apartments are large and magnificent, the ceilings and wainscot shining with gold and the most

CHAP. III. most lively colours. The rooms are embellish'd with exquisite paintings, and the hall, where plays are acted, is look'd on as a master-piece; the boxes are each of them large enough to hold fifteen persons, but the lattices before them hide the beauties they contain. The adjoining park, being about three miles in circumference, is a mighty delightful place: here are a great many separate pavilions, where the officers of the court are lodg'd when the King comes to divert himself in the hot season; every pavilion has its garden, with basins and fountains, and there is one larger than the rest, planted with oranges, citrons, and other delicious fruits, with a large basin, where the court take the fresco of the evening in little gilded ships and yachts, about which there are five or six little pavilions. But to conclude: the grotto's cascades, basins, groves and walks of trees, render the Buen Retiro a charming place in summer, for which reason the Kings of Spain usually reside here during the great heats; and the grandees have many of them palaces in Madrid, equal to those of the King's in the beauty of the architecture and furniture, if not in dimensions.

In the squares and great streets of Madrid are several noble fountains, adorn'd with statues or groups of figures: the most remarkable are those in the square of Sebada, the square of the Sun, and that of St. Dominick. The churches and convents also are a great ornament to the town, of which the church of our Lady of Atocha, or the Grove, is the most magnificent. It stands within the walls of the Dominican convent, about a quarter of a league out of Madrid, with which it has a communication by a thick shady walk of elms. Hither people come from all parts of the town to perform their devotions, and here the King sings Te Deum on every happy event. To the nave of the church there joins a chapel, which has no other light but what it receives from an hundred gold and silver lamps, which burn night and day. Here we find a black image of the blessed Virgin, with a little Jesus in her arms, to which many miracles are ascrib'd. She is generally cloath'd in a widow's habit, unless on great festivals, when she is dress'd like a Queen, cover'd with jewels and precious stones, and round her head has a glory made by the brightest gems, equal almost to the sun in its full lustre. The King has a gallery in this chapel, with a lattice before it. The monks of this convent live most austere lives, and by one of their rules never set a foot out of the house.

The church of our Lady of Almunada also is a magnificent building, where there is another image of the blessed Virgin, to which they ascribe abundance of Miracles, particularly her supplying the town with corn in their great distress, when it was besieg'd by the Moors. The history of this event is admirably well painted on the walls of a

chapel dedicated to this saint, where the rails of the altar and the lamps are all of solid silver.

CHAP. III. But the chapel of St. Isidore, the patron of Madrid, 'tis said, exceeds in beauty and riches any of the sacred fabricks above-mention'd. The dome which covers it is adorn'd on the outside with the images of the twelve Apostles; under the middle of it we find the tomb of this saint, with a crown of marble adorn'd with flowers, supported by four columns of porphyry finely wrought. The walls of the chapel are incrust'd or lined with marble of various colours, and the pillars of the same materials. The paintings about it are admirably fine, and the upper part of the dome shines with gold and azure. PHILIP IV built this chapel, which is said to have cost him four millions of livres. In the same church is another chapel of white marble, adorn'd with abundance of marble figures in relief, where every day a mass is said for the soul of PHILIP IV.

Among their hospitals, one was founded by MARY of Austria, for such girls as having lost their innocence, find themselves pregnant. Here they are allow'd to lie-in, and care is taken of them and their children. PHILIP the Fourth, her husband, also founded an hospital at Madrid for bastards and foundling children. The hospital of St. Jerome is vastly large, entertaining continually fifteen hundred persons. Nor is that of St. Martin's much less, erected for such as have the French disease, who are taken care of by the monks belonging to the house.

Most of the royal palaces about Madrid having good walks belonging to them, thither people of condition resort in the evening, or to the Prado, a fine field or meadow adjoining to the town, beautifully planted with trees, where the Beau Monde make the tour in their coaches, as the gentry about London do in Hyde-Park. Besides the palaces already mention'd in and about Madrid, there are three at some distance from the city, viz. The Pardo, the Sarsnela and the Escorial. The Pardo stands about two leagues from the town, on the road to the Escorial. It is a great square building, flank'd with four towers, containing as many grand apartments, which have a communication with each other by galleries supported by a piazza. The rooms are richly furnish'd, and adorn'd with fine paintings; and there are belonging to it delightful gardens, and a large park, where the King frequently hunts.

The Sarsnela stands something further from Madrid than the Pardo, beautifully situated in a sporting country, and is another hunting-seat of the King's; but the building has very little in it that deserves a traveller's attention.

The Escorial is the largest and most magnificent palace in Spain, and according to the natives, the whole world can't produce such a another. It stands

CHAP. III. stands upon an eminence in a rocky mountainous country, about seven leagues north-west of Madrid, commanding all the plain between the palace and that city. There could not have been chosen a more barren spot of ground to erect a royal seat in, where nothing grows without forcing, or introducing foreign earth. It was call'd the Escorial from a village of that name, which lies about half a league distant from it. PHILIP II, the son of CHARLES V, begun this building in the year 1557, and expended upon it a great many millions of treasure during the two and twenty years it was carrying on. He built it in memory of the victory his forces obtain'd over the French near St. Quintin in Picardy on St. LAURENCE's day. 'Tis said, in that doubtful war he made two vows, the one, never to go out of his country to make war again; and the other, to erect a monument to the honour of that saint, the most magnificent of any in Europe, if he gain'd the victory: both which he punctually observ'd, for he never went out of the kingdom afterwards, and built this glorious palace to the honour of St. LAURENCE, from whence it is call'd St. Laurence of the Escorial.

In this fabrick is a vast variety of building, it wants scarce any thing to form a compleat town; for here we meet with a royal palace, a church, cloysters, a college, a monastery, shops of tradesmen and artificers, and the dwelling-houses of great numbers of people. Here also are fine walks, beautiful avenues, a vast park, and large garden, embellish'd with fountains, cascades, grotto's, groves, and every thing that can render a place delightful: and though it be situated in a barren soil, the prospects from it are inexpressibly fine. It is said PHILIP II made choice of this situation to save the expence of carriage, for all this mighty edifice is built with a grey stone hewn out of the adjacent mountains: this stone is very hard and solid, resisting all the injuries of weather, and has this peculiar to it, that it always preserves its natural colour without tarnishing. There is an ascent from the village Escorial to the palace through fine walks of elms, planted in four rows, about half a league in length, which terminate in an Esplanade or plain that surrounds the palace. This esplanade is separated from the court before the principal front, by a dwarf wall breast-high, in which are several gates to enter the court above-mention'd, that is pav'd with stone.

The whole edifice is square, only a little longer than broad, built with the grey stone already describ'd, but so perfectly well cut and polish'd, that it looks like marble, and each corner is flank'd by a glorious pavilion. There are four stories in all the fronts, and in the other parts of the building three. It is computed that there are in the whole eleven thousand windows, seventeen cloysters or

piazza's, twenty-two courts, more than eighteen hundred pillars, an incredible number of rooms, viz. halls, salons, chambers, cabinets, and no less than fourteen thousand doors.

The principal front is turn'd towards the west, too near the mountains, which spoils the prospect from that side; but they contriv'd it so, it seems, that the church might stand in full view towards the east. There are three portals in the grand front at equal distances, of which that in the middle is a noble piece of architecture, being supported by eight pillars of the Dorick order, set on a pedestal a hundred and thirty foot long, and two yards high, consisting of a fine white stone delicately wrought, it being sixty foot from the ground to the cornice, over which there are four pillars of the Ionick order, so finely polish'd that they appear like silver; these support the upper story of the portal, and on each side are two fine pyramids or pinacles. Between the columns are two rows of niches, on the lower of which are the King of Spain's arms, charg'd with a royal crown, the whole graven upon an extraordinary stone brought from Arabia, the graving whereof, 'tis said, cost sixty thousand crowns; from whence, as my author observes, we may judge of the vast expences PHILIP II was at in finishing the rest. In the upper story above the King's arms stands the image of St. LAURENCE, fifteen foot in height, in the habit of a Deacon, holding a book in one hand and a gridiron in the other, intimating what kind of martyrdom he suffer'd, having been broil'd upon a gridiron at Rome in the third century. This statue is of a pure white stone, wrought by JOHN BAPTISTA MONEGRI, a statuary of TOLEDO, a celebrated artist. The north and south sides seem to be the least embarrass'd, and to enjoy the finest prospects.

Through the great gate of the principal front above-mention'd, we enter a noble portico, which leads into a large court, at the end whereof is the church, on the right the monastery, and on the left the King's apartments. We ascend from the great court by stone steps to another portico before the church, adorn'd with eight columns of the Dorick order, which support a fronton, on which are placed six statues eighteen foot in height, of black and white marble, representing six Kings of Israel, those in the middle being DAVID and SOLOMON, under which emblem they would represent CHARLES V and PHILIP II, the one a man of war and blood, and the other celebrated for his wisdom and peaceable disposition. The other four are HEZECHIAS, JOSIAS, JEHOSEPHAT and MANASSES, of whom the three first were eminent for their piety, as the last was for his repentance and conversion: each of these Kings has a crown upon his head brass gilt, of a size proportion'd to the statues. In this portico are three doors which open into the church, those on the sides

H A P. sides have the following inscriptions over them, in
III. golden letters upon black marble, viz. PHILIP-
PVS II, OMNIVM HISPANIÆ REGNORVM,
VTRIVSQUE SICILIÆ ET Hierosolyme
REX, HVJVS TEMPLI PRIMVM DEDICA-
VIT LAPIDEM D. BERNHARDI SACRO
DIE ANNO MDLXIII, RES DIVINA IN EO
FIERI COEPTA, PRID. FEST. D. LAV-
RENTIJ ANNO MDLXXXVI.

PHILIP II, of all the kingdoms of Spain, the
two Sicilies and Jerusalem, King, dedicated the
first stone of this church on St. BERNARD's day
1563, and celebrated divine service in it the first
time on the eve of St. LAURENCE 1586.

The other inscription is as follows: PHILIPP.
II, &c. CAMILLI CAJET. ALEXANDR. PA-
TRIARCHÆ NVNTIJ APOST. MINISTE-
RIO HANC BASILICAM S. CHRISMATE
CONSECRAND. PIE AC DEVOTE CVRA-
VIT DIE XXX AVGVST. ANNO MDXCV.

PILLIP II caus'd this church to be piously and
devoutly consecrated by the ministration of CA-
MILLO CAJETANO, patriarch of Alexandria and
apostolical nuntio, on the thirtieth of August 1595.

This church is built after the model of St. Pe-
ter's in Rome, well enlightned, and pav'd with
black and white marble; the roof finely gilt, the
lamps of gold and silver, having forty beautiful
chapels in it richly furnish'd. The principal cha-
pel where the high altar is plac'd consists of one
great arch, which takes up all the further part
of the church, and is lin'd with jasper from the
pavement to the roof. On the sides of it are two
small oratories, in one of which is a brazen bust of
CHARLES V on his knees in his royal robes, with
all his children about him, as large as the life: and
in the other chapel over against it, is another of
PHILIP II, cloath'd in the same manner and in
the same posture, with his children about him, all
in brass. On the sides of the chapel are little ca-
binets or galleries, whither their Majesties come
from their apartments to hear mass. The basins
which contain the holy water are two great pre-
cious stones of the bigness of a bowl, and so rich
are the rest of the materials, that it is computed
this chapel alone cost five millions of florins. They
ascend the great altar by sixteen steps of jasper, or
red marble, which extend the whole breadth of the
chapel. On the back part of the altar is a square
piece of porphyry plac'd in the wall, so bright and
transparent that you see the whole church as in a
glass. The tabernacle upon the altar is of porphy-
ry, in the form of a dome or cupola, and under
it is such a profusion of gold and precious stones,
that it would amaze one to see such prodigious
riches amass'd together in so small a compass. The
Custodia, or Pix, where they keep the sacrament,
is of the height of a man, and two fathoms thick,
made of a stone more esteem'd than porphyry, va-

lued at five hundred thousand crowns, and 'tis said CH A P.
no less than an hundred men were employ'd in III.
the working of it for fourteen years; and the top
of the Custodia is enrich'd with an emerald of the
bigness of an egg, the price whereof is inestima-
ble. There is room to go round the altar and view
all its beauties, but laymen are not permitted to
touch it. *Odit prophanum vulgus & arcet*, says my
catholick author.

The roof of the church is embellish'd with the
finest paintings; the choir particularly was done
by the famous TITIAN, and is a finish'd piece; it
is a representation of paradise, where we see the Tri-
nity encompass'd with legions of Angels and the
heavenly Hosts, TITIAN himself being drawn on
one side in a kneeling posture.

Among the treasures of the church they esteem Reliques,
the reliques the most precious, and pretend that
they have seven entire bodies of the saints, an
hundred and seven heads, an hundred and seventy-
seven legs and arms, three hundred and forty-six
veins, nerves and sinews, and fourteen hundred
other little holy reliques, as fingers, hair, &c.

The sacristy is a large room, where are kept the
ornaments of the altar, and the habits of those that
officiate. This also is beautified with the paintings
of TITIAN and other celebrated hands. Those
in most esteem are a Christ and a Magdalen. The
sacerdotal habits are richly embroider'd and cover'd
with pearls and precious stones: nor is the work-
manship inferiour to the richness of the materials.
These were most of them given by PHILIP IV,
the father of the late King CHARLES II. Among
other things, they shew here a cross of gold, en-
rich'd with pearls almost as large as a small nut,
rubies, turquoises, emeralds, and diamonds of
great value. From the sacristy we are led
into another room, where are two vessels of in-
estimable price; the one is a single saphire, em-
bellish'd with pearls and precious stones, in the
middle of which is a large bright ruby: the other
is in like manner enrich'd with precious stones,
and said to be made by the Emperor MAXIMI-
LIAN II with his own hands. These serve to
carry out the host in their grand processions. Here
is shewn a book also valued at four thousand du-
cats, where all the remarkable occurrences of our
Saviour's life are admirably painted, with the
psalms and ancient prophecies which have any re-
lation to them, done by one of their monks.

From this elegant church we descend into the The Pan-
Pantheon, so call'd from its being built after the theon.
model of the Pantheon at Rome, of a round form,
and vaulted like a cupola. It is the mausoleum
of the Kings of Spain of the Austrian family, and
placed just under the grand chapel of the high al-
tar of the church just describ'd. The beauty of
this edifice, notwithstanding it is under ground, is
at least equal to that above it. They go down to
it

CHAP. it by five and twenty marble steps, which lead to
 III. a landing-place, at the end whereof they turn and descend lower by three and thirty steps of jasper, and grey and white marble, taken from St. Paul's of Toledo. The top and sides of the stair-case are adorn'd with jasper, so well polish'd, that whichever way we turn we see our selves as in a mirror. At the bottom of the stairs we come to the door of the vault, on each side whereof are two pillars of jasper and two of brass admirably wrought. The mausoleum is of the same dimensions as the chapel over it, and extremely well enlightned, notwithstanding it is under ground. The gold, silver and precious stones glitter on every side, and render it, in the phrase of the Spaniards, a miracle of art. The floor consists of squares of jasper and marble in compartments. The dome, or vault, is sustain'd by sixteen pillars of jasper of various colours of the Corinthian order, behind which are plac'd other pillars in perspective, both the one and the other having brazen gilded chapiters. On the further side of the Pantheon opposite to the door, is a chapel magnificently adorn'd; but the most remarkable thing in it is a cross enrich'd with diamonds and precious stones. The rest of the chapel is divided into spaces or niches between the pillars, containing twenty-six tombs of black marble, with mouldings of gilt brass; these tombs are supported by lions paws brass gilt. The Kings are on the right, and the Queens on the left. Those already interr'd there, as appears by the several inscriptions, are on one side CHARLES V, PHILIP II, PHILIP III, PHILIP IV and CHARLES II. On the other side the Empress ISABELLA of Portugal, wife of CHARLES V; ANNE of Austria, the fourth wife of PHILIP II; MARGARET of Austria, the wife of PHILIP III; ELIZABETH of France, daughter of HENRY IV, and MARY-ANNE of Austria, mother of CHARLES II, both of them wives of PHILIP IV. And as none of the Queens are admitted here who have not brought a son into the world, there is another burying-place assign'd for them and the rest of the Princes of the royal family adjoining to the Pantheon. In the middle of the Pantheon is a fine large brazen branch for lights, said to have cost ten thousand crowns. It is supported by Angels and the four Evangelists, the fathers of light, as my author calls them, all the statues being of gilded brass.

The King's
 apartment in
 the palace.

PHILIP II having thus magnificently built and adorn'd the church, though he design'd to add to it a palace fit for the residence of so great a Prince, always intended the sacred fabrick that he had dedicated to God should excel that he erected for himself. That part of the building which is properly the palace, or the royal apartment, fronts to the north, and is enter'd by a noble portico. It

contains five square courts, one large, and four others less, all of them surrounded by piazza's or cloysters, with open galleries above them in every story. I have already said that the paintings and furniture of the royal palaces in Spain are exquisitely fine, and shall not tire the reader with a long recital of these things over again, but proceed to that quarter which belongs to the religious or monasticks, who are of the order of St. Jerom. This part of the Escorial also is divided into five courts, of the same model and dimensions with those of the palace. The grand cloyster or piazza, which is two hundred and ten foot square, is pav'd with black and white marble, and adorn'd with admirable paintings, and the middle of the court is taken up with a fine garden of flowers. On one side of the square is an elegant chapel with a cupola, supported by pillars of porphyry of excellent workmanship, all the rest of the building being suitable to it.

The library is over the grand portico in the principal front of the building, being an hundred and ninety-four paces long, thirty-two broad, and thirty-six in height. It consists of five galleries, fix'd to the walls one above another on every side; the shelves are made of the finest wood brought from the Indies, and the floor is of marble. It is said to contain an hundred thousand printed books in all languages, besides fourteen or fifteen thousand manuscripts, of which the most considerable are a St. Chrysostom in Greek, a treatise of St. AUSTIN's concerning baptism, said to be written by his own hand, and one entire class of Arabick books, which were part of the Emperor of Morocco's library; but I perceive many of the books were burnt or lost in a fire that happen'd in the Escorial in the year 1671. This library is adorn'd with excellent paintings done by the greatest hands.

The gardens of the Escorial are very large, and well water'd with fountains; but 'tis sufficient to say, that they contain every thing that is to be found in those of the Buen Retiro and other palaces already describ'd, in greater perfection. Adjoining to these is a park of seven leagues in circumference, encompass'd by a wall, in which are woods and large fields, well furnish'd with all manner of game.

Alcala de Henares is situated in a large plain on the river Henares, about fifteen miles to the eastward of Madrid, antiently call'd *Complutum*, famous for its university founded by Cardinal XIMENES in the year 1517. It consists of twenty colleges, and is eminent for divinity and philosophy, as that of Salamanca is for the study of law. The Polyglot bible was printed here at the charge of the said Cardinal. It was formerly a Bishop's See, but united to that of Toledo at present. Their cathedral

Alcala de
 Henares.)

CHAP. III. is a large and beautiful fabrick, and they pretend that they have a stone there which miraculously supply'd them with oil for their lamps, but lost that virtue when the oil was apply'd to prophane uses. The soil about this town, which lies on the banks of the Henares, is very fruitful and well cultivated, but that which lies at a distance from it dry and barren, affording neither trees nor herbage for want of water. They have not only good grain near the Henares, but rich muscat wine and delicious melons; and there is a fountain of such excellent water without the walls, that the King is serv'd with it at his table. The form of the town is oval, the streets strait and handsome, and there is one street that runs the whole length of the town, where the students are lodg'd. The houses are tolerably well built, and there are some squares, the largest of which is surrounded by a piazza, where the tradesmen have their shops. The town has a flourishing trade, and abounds in provisions.

whereof is wash'd by the river Henares, which rises but a little way from thence. CHAP. III.

It is considerable chiefly on account of its antiquity, and being the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Toledo, and a university. As for its fortifications, which the Spaniards boast of, they are not to be depended on. There is scarce any one strong town in this part of the country. Some have taken it for the *Saguntum* of the antients, having been deceiv'd by the resemblance of the names; but that *Saguntum*, so famous in story, stood more to the south. It contains at present about seven hundred families. The most remarkable publick building is their cathedral. The air is cold here in winter, but they are well supplied with fuel and good wine.

Toledo, the capital city of Spain, and the seat of the Gothick and Moorish Kings, call'd antiently *Toletum in Carpetanis*, is situated in thirty-nine degrees forty minutes north latitude, four degrees to the westward of London, and about forty English miles to the southward of Madrid.

It is built upon a steep rock, at the foot whereof runs the river Tagus, encompassing three sides of it; the rest of the city is defended by an old wall and towers, after the Gothick manner of fortification, and was heretofore esteem'd a very strong place; but being commanded by several hills, and having no modern fortifications added to it, is not able to sustain a siege at present: we find accordingly, that whoever was master of the field, was master of this city in the late war. The Tagus, which waters the adjacent country, renders it exceeding fruitful, and their manufactures of wool and silk were once very considerable. The sword-blades that are made here, are in great esteem.

Abundance of people of quality have their houses in this city, the buildings whereof are generally fair, but the streets narrow and uneven, for which reason coaches are very little used at Toledo; chairs and litters are found much more commodious in a town where people are perpetually going up or down hill.

The most remarkable publick buildings are the castle, or royal palace, and the cathedral. The castle, call'd by the natives *Alcazar*, is situated on a high steep rock, which commands all the other hills in the town, and affords a fine prospect of the river Tagus and the neighbouring country. The river is not navigable here, but might be made so at a very small expence, there being water enough, as it runs between two steep rocks. The place was antiently thought impregnable on this side.

In ascending to the castle we come to a noble square, the largest in the town, the houses uniform, built with brick, supported by a piazza, and adorn'd with fine balconies, as usual in Spain. From hence we pass into the castle, which is of a square form,

Guadalajara. Guadalajara is situated higher up the same river Henares, on an uneven rising ground, about ten leagues north-east of Madrid. It is remarkable for the fruitfulness of the soil about it, producing corn, wine, oil, flax and hemp, and here they make butter of goats milk, much esteem'd by the Spaniards. The mountains about it are cover'd with oaks, of which they make charcoal, and supply all the neighbouring country with that kind of fuel. The houses of Guadalajara are generally lofty, and accommodated with fine gardens. The pleasantness of the situation brings abundance of people of distinction to reside here. It is computed there are about a thousand families in the place, seven or eight monasteries, and as many nunneries.

Brihuega. Brihuega is situated four leagues north-east of Guadalajara, on the banks of the river Tajana. It was antiently a seat of pleasure of the Moorish Kings of Toledo, and is considerable at present for its wool and cloth.

The place having a castle and a wall for its defence, was look'd upon as a town of some strength before the late wars; but we find General STANHOPE in the year 1710, with a great body of English forces, most of them veteran troops, having thrown himself into this town, was forc'd to capitulate within four and twenty hours, before any cannon brought against it; which shews that its fortifications are very little to be relied on.

That unlucky conduct of General STANHOPE's, to say no worse of it, in separating from the army commanded by Count STAREMBERG in their march to Arragon, and suffering himself to be surrounded here for want of intelligence, determin'd the fate of Spain, and settled the present King PHILIP on that throne.

Siguenza. Siguenza is situated five or six leagues to the northward of Brihuega, upon a little hill, the foot

ne English
res sur-
iz'd and
ide pri-
ers here,
no 1710.

tenza.

CHAP. form, consisting of four large pils of building, III. with their wings and pavilions. At the entrance we come into a court an hundred and sixty foot long, and an hundred and thirty broad, surrounded by a fine cloyster or piazza. At the farther end of this court there is a handsome large stair-case, which dividing in two parts leads to the galleries above, through which we proceed to the several apartments, that are extremely large and magnificent.

Although the castle be an hundred and sixty yards above the river, it is furnish'd with water from thence by a pump. There is still the remains of a more considerable machine, by which they convey'd water enough from the Tagus to a reservoir in the castle, which supply'd the whole town plentifully with water, but at present it is broken and uselefs; and there are no fountains or wells in the city, they are forc'd to go above three-score yards down to the Tagus from any part of it for all the water they use, which is the reason that Toledo is not so well peopled as formerly, and that their manufactures of silk and wool, in which they used to employ ten thousand people, are very much diminish'd.

The cathedral of Toledo.

The cathedral is the richest and most magnificent in Spain; it is situated in the middle of the town, adjoining to a handsome street, having a spacious court before it, from whence we enter the church by eight beautiful brazen doors with suitable portico's, and from the lofty steeple there is an admirable prospect of one of the finest parts of Spain. The church is three hundred eighty-four feet in length, one hundred ninety-one in breadth, and an hundred and seven in height, built of an excellent white stone. The roof is supported by eighty-eight columns which divide it into five isles, in the middlemost of which there are two choirs finely wainscotted and carv'd; in one of them is kept the host, and contains the sepulchres of many of their antient Kings; the other belongs to the canons, the seats whereof are separated by pillars of marble or jasper. The great door, call'd the door of our Lady, is never open'd but on high festivals: near it is a marble pillar, where, according to tradition, the blessed Virgin appear'd to St. ILDEFONSO in the seventh century. This is had in mighty veneration by the people, and is kiss'd with great devotion, and upon it is the following inscription, viz. *Adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt Pedes ejus.*

The chapels which belong to the cathedral are richly furnish'd, and as large as some churches: the paintings in them are exquisite, and the gold, silver, precious stones and other ornaments invaluable.

The chapel of our Lady of Sagrario.

In the chapel of our Lady of Sagrario, which is all incrust'd or lined with jasper from the floor to the roof, is an image of the Virgin as large as the

life, all of solid silver, with fourteen or fifteen great silver lamps burning before it. There are fifteen cabinets in the walls fill'd with gold and silver vessels and implements, as crosses, cups, vases, mitres, &c. two mitres particularly strew'd with pearls and precious stones, a golden crown of the blessed Virgin's, resembling an Imperial crown, weighing fifteen pounds, enrich'd with diamonds and pearls of a prodigious size. The treasury contains no less riches than the chapels: we see here a group of figures all of solid gold, where our Lady sitting upon a rock of precious stones is presenting our Saviour to St. JOHN Baptist, one of the diamonds of which the rock consists being as large as a pidgeon's egg. But it would be tedious, if not impracticable, to enumerate all the precious gifts and ornaments which have been dedicated to the saints real and imaginary in this vast church, which is in a manner encumber'd with them; I proceed therefore to give some account of the revenues of those gentlemen who have the guardianship of this immense treasure.

The Archbishop's revenue, by those who are modestest in computing his income, is said to be three hundred and fifty thousand crowns per annum. He is Primate of Spain, Great Chancellor of Castile, and Counsellor of State: he has the privilege of speaking in the King's council, or the assembly of the States, next to his Majesty, and is possess'd of no less than seventeen towns besides villages. For keeping the church in repair, there are lands settled to the value of an hundred thousand crowns per annum.

The Grand Archdeacon has forty thousand crowns per annum; the second, fifteen; the third, twelve; and the fourth ten thousand crowns per annum. The Dean has ten thousand, and the rest of the chapter in proportion.

The Bishop's palace, which adjoins to the cathedral, is a large old Gothick edifice, but travellers have not thought it worth a particular description. Toledo is a university, where law is chiefly studied, but I don't find there are more than two colleges in the place; besides which there are thirty-eight convents of both sexes, twenty-eight hospitals and twenty-seven parishes.

Aranjuez is another royal palace, as much esteem'd for the beauty of its gardens as the Escorial is for the magnificence of its buildings. It stands near a poor village, from whence it takes its name, in a peninsula made by the Tagus and the Xarama, about two and twenty miles to the southward of Madrid, and eighteen to the northward of Toledo: they have of late made a perfect island of it by cutting a canal from one river to the other. The palace it self hath very little to recommend it, but the water-works are call'd the wonders of Spain, and by the natives thought not to be equal'd in the world. There are brazen and marble statues, as at

CHAP. III.

H A P. at Versailles, spouting up water in different forms, which falls into basins adorn'd with groups of figures of excellent workmanship. Here we see most of the fictions of the antient poets lively represented; but what I find much admir'd by some travellers, are the artificial trees, from every branch and twig whereof the water spouts and forms a shower of rain very naturally. A large arch of water they mention also, under which a company may walk, and not be wetted by a single drop: besides which, there are numberless fountains, cascades and grotto's, fine walks, and most delicious fruit; which during the excessive heats of summer, must render it a delightful place. Travellers usually find fault with the narrowness of the walks, but these it seems were so design'd on purpose to keep out the scorching sun.

The country about Aranjuez is as fruitful and pleasant as any in Spain, except that about Valencia. There are adjoining to the gardens parks and menageries for wild beasts, with hunting and baiting of which the court frequently divert themselves. Among other exotick animals they have several hundreds of camels and dromedaries.

Talavera de la Reyna.

Talavera de la Reyna is a handsome wall'd town, moderately large, situate in a valley on the south bank of the Tagus, about five and thirty miles to the westward of Toledo. It enjoys a pure healthful air, and a soil fruitful in corn and wine: they have also large herds of cattle, and great plenty of honey. There are several fine churches and convents in the place, as well as gentlemens houses. It was remarkable formerly for its woollen manufacture, but is more famous for its fine earthen ware at present.

Sierra district.

I come now to that subdivision of New Castile call'd Sierra, which lies to the eastward of Algaria, and obtain'd its name from its mountainous situation; for Sierra in the Spanish language signifies a mountain. This is by no means so fruitful or populous as the western part of New Castile; their flocks of sheep which feed on the mountains of Molina are its greatest riches. The chief town is,

Cuença.

Cuença, situated on a little hill encompassed with high mountains near the river Xucar, about fourscore miles to the eastward of Toledo, and as many south-east of Madrid. It is defended by a wall and other works, and made a tolerable resistance when it was besieged in the late war. It is most considerable at present for being a Bishop's See, and the capital of Sierra.

La Manche, or la Mancha.

La Manche is the southern part of New Castile, water'd by the river Guadiana, which runs the whole length of it. This the celebrated MICHAEL CERVANTES was pleas'd to make the scene of his hero DON QUIXOT's inimitable adventures. Here are several fine fruitful plains in this district, as well as mountains: Sierra Morena,

or the mountains of Morena, so often mention'd by Cervantes, lie on the south part of this province. The chief towns are Calatrava, Ciudad Real and Almagro.

Calatrava.

Calatrava is situated on the banks of the Guadiana, on the confines of la Mancha and Estremadura, most considerable for giving its name to an order of knights instituted by SANCHE III, who gave them the town to defend it against the Moors.

Ciudad Real.

Ciudad Real is a pretty little town, south-west of Calatrava, situated in a fine plain, about a league to the southward of the Guadiana. The country about it abounds in corn, wine, cattle, game and honey, but is subject to inundations from the Guadiana.

Almagro.

Two leagues south-east of Ciudad Real lies Almagro, a great open town, but chief of the district call'd Campo de Calatrava. It is situated in a fine fruitful plain, and is not ill built, but most famous for a medicinal fountain near it, the water whereof is said to be an infallible remedy for the cholick.

The rest of the towns in New Castile having little in them that requires a particular description, I shall only mention their names, which are as follow: Mancanares, Las Naves del Merques, Colmenar, Guadarama, Galapagar, Guadalix, Porquerizas, Arganda, Tortosa, Hita, Cadacra, Medina Celi, Arcos, Monteagudo, Uzeda, Cadahalso, Escalona, Maqueda, Illescas, Leganes, Mora, Anover, Fuente Dueña, Pastrana, Zurita, Yepes, Ocagna, Villa Rubia, Molina, Caracena, Valeria, Moya, Alarcon, Alcares, Segura de la Sierra, Velez el rubio, Orgaz, Consuegra, Miquelturra, Elvifo, Almodavar del Campo, El Convento de Calatrava.

C H A P. IV.

Contains a description of the province of Old Castile, and of the principal cities and great towns therein.

T H E Castiles are so call'd, 'tis said, from the great number of castles that were built there during the wars between the Christians and Moors; and the province I am about to treat of was call'd Old Castile on account of its having been longer in the hands of the Christians than the Castile already described. Old Castile was formerly a country dependant on the Kings of Leon, and not honour'd with the title of a kingdom till the reign of King FERDINAND, anno 1016. This province is bounded by Asturia and Biscay on the north; by Arragon and Navarre on the east; by New Castile on the south; and by Leon and part of the kingdom of Portugal on the west. It is of an irregular figure, but its greatest length from the north-east to the south-west is about an hundred

CHAP. dred leagues, and its greatest breadth taken from
IV. Valladolid to Tarragona about fifty leagues. The
principal rivers are the Ebro and Duero already
described; besides which, it is water'd by the Pi-
zuegra, the Arlanca, the Arlancon, the Algarbe,
and the Tormes.

This country is more mountainous than that of
New Castile, and as the air is colder in winter
upon their hills, the tops whereof are great part
of the year cover'd with snow, so are some of their
valleys hotter, occasion'd by the reflection of the
sun. The weather also is more changeable and
uncertain here than it is in the other Castile. The
principal mountains on the south are those of Molina,
Siguenza and Segovia, which divide it from New
Castile; those of Sierra de Tablada on the west,
and a ridge of mountains that separates it from the
Asturia's on the north. And if I might be allow'd
to assign a reason for Spain's continuing so long di-
vided into little kingdoms and principalities, it
should be the natural strength and situation of e-
very state, defended and divided from the rest by
their respective mountains, which render'd the
conquest of them more difficult than it would have
been in a more open country, to such ambitious
Princes as might have a design upon them. We
find that in France, Britain, and every other coun-
try, the mountaineers ever defended themselves
longest against the encroachments of their ambi-
tious neighbours.

Cities.

But to proceed: There are in Old Castile eight
cities, viz. Burgos, Valladolid, Segovia, Siguenza,
Avila, Osma, Calahorra, and St. Domingo de la
Calçada; besides fifteen or twenty other conside-
rable towns.

Burgos.

Burgos, the capital of Old Castile, is situated
an hundred and twenty miles to the northward of
Madrid, on the side of a mountain, extending it
self down into the plain, on the banks of a little
rapid river call'd the Arlancon, which washes one
part of its walls. It has an old castle on the top
of the hill for its defence, much stronger from its
situation than its fortifications. The principal a-
venue to the city is by a handsome bridge over the
river above-mention'd, which leads to a beautiful
gate, adorn'd with the statues of several Kings of
Spain, and of FERDINANDO GONSALVO, the
first Earl that was Sovereign of Castile. The town
is large, but irregularly built, almost in form of
a crescent. The streets are narrow and uneven,
except some few, which are strait and spacious,
particularly that leading to the cathedral. There
are also several handsome squares, adorn'd with
fountains and statues over them. The great square
is in the middle of the town, encompass'd with fine
houses built upon a piazza or cloyster, as usual in
other Spanish cities. There are also several beau-
tiful palaces, particularly those of the house of VE-
LASCO, and that of the Archbishop, which pass

for master-pieces in their kind, as well as the ca-
thedral, which is a noble old Gothick building in
form of a cross, so large, that though mass is said
in five different chapels of this church every day at
the same time, they give no disturbance to each
other. The grand entrance is between two towers,
and the middle of it is cover'd with a noble dome
surrounded with statues. The great altar is wain-
scotted, and admirably carv'd and gilded, repre-
senting the history of our Saviour's life and passion,
and the chapels about the cathedral are equally fine.
But what is most admir'd in Burgos, is the chapel
in the convent of Augustins, enlighten'd by two or
three hundred large gold and silver lamps; besides
which, on each side of the altar are sixty silver
candlesticks six foot high standing on the floor,
each of them as much as a man can carry, and o-
thers on the altar of solid gold. Over the altar
also is a crucifix of gold and silver as large as the
life, with crowns suspended and adorn'd with
pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones; be-
sides which there is abundance of fine painting and
imagery, representing the miracles said to be done
by this crucifix; and the whole chapel is so croud-
ed with the rich vows of superstitious people, that
they are forc'd to remove many of them into their
treasury to make room for others. They expose
it only on particular occasions, and that with a-
bundance of ceremony; masses are said and the
bells are tolled to give notice of it, when every one
within hearing fall upon their knees. The people
are taught to believe that it was sent miraculously
from heaven.

Burgos holds the first rank in the assembly of Burgos,
the states of the two Castiles, or at least disputes it
with Toledo. Their trade is not so considerable
as it has been; but there being always a great re-
sort of strangers to this town, the people are as polite
and hospitable as in most Spanish cities, and their
language is held to be spoken here in its greatest
purity. The corporation is endow'd with great
privileges, and have the revenues of fifty towns
and villages that depend upon them: they have
also the reputation of being industrious, and apply-
ing themselves to business, and are esteem'd a brave
people. It was but a Bishoprick till the year
1571, when Pope GREGORY XIII, at the in-
stance of PHILIP II, created it an Archbishoprick,
of which Calahorra, Osma, Pampeluna and Pa-
lencia are suffragans. To the eastward of Burgos
is a village call'd Val de Buentos, remarkable for
its healing waters, the bathing in which cures the
bloody flux.

Valladolid is situated about thirty-five miles Valladolid,
south-west of Burgos, and ninety north-west of
Madrid in a large beautiful plain on the river Pui-
cerga, a little above its confluence with the Du-
ero; it is surrounded by a wall, which is rather
an ornament than a defence to it, though it was
antiently

CHAP. antiently deem'd a strong place. Here are abundance of fine buildings, noble squares, porticoes and fountains; many of the nobility and gentry have houses here, and it is the seat of some of the superiour courts of justice; which with the briskness of their trade render it one of the most flourishing towns of the kingdom. It is computed there are not less than eleven thousand houses in the place, many of them magnificent structures: Their squares are spacious, particularly that in the middle of the town, which is vastly large, and surrounded with uniform buildings, supported by a piazza, and adorn'd with gilded balconies in every story. There are no less than seventy convents of both sexes in the town, of which that of the Dominicans is most remarkable for the beauty of its architecture, and the riches it contains.

As their Kings held their courts at Valladolid for a considerable time, there is still a noble palace here, which was repaired and beautified by PHILIP IV. There are also several other palaces of the nobility, that very well deserve the attention of a traveller; but having already given the reader some idea of the Spanish buildings and furniture, it would not be agreeable to him to dwell upon these things, unless there were something new and uncommon in the contrivance of them. It was made a Bishop's See in the year 1595, and has a university consisting of several colleges, esteem'd one of the most flourishing in Spain. This city was antiently called Pintia, or rather built upon the ruins of it. The air here is good and tolerably pure, except that sometimes they are incommoded with mists from the river. The fields about the town are wonderfully fruitful and pleasant, and look like one continued garden.

Segovia.

Segovia is situated about fifty miles to the southward of Valladolid, and about thirty to the northward of Madrid, upon an eminence between two great mountains. It is surrounded by a wall and towers after the old way of fortification. The higher part of the hill is cover'd almost with religious houses, and the castle stands on the top of it, which is a place strong by situation, but not at all improved by art.

The town is large and well-peopled, and adorn'd with many beautiful edifices; it is computed that there are seven thousand houses in it, comprehending the suburbs. The soil about it is fruitful, and on the neighbouring mountains they feed large flocks of sheep, the wool of which makes the finest cloth in Europe. Here is also a manufacture of paper; and their trade in general is in so flourishing a condition, that there is scarce a poor family amongst them. Here is also one of the most considerable mints in Spain; but what is the greatest curiosity is, a noble aqueduct built of free-stone, without any cement, and consisting of two rows of arches one above another, that

brings water enough to serve the whole town upwards of five leagues; some ascribe it to TRAJAN, but others say it was the work of the Goths. The water of the river which runs near the town is very bad, and occasions several distempers, particularly the dropsey and palsy, which 'tis supposed was the reason of erecting this mighty fabrick. Segovia is a Bishoprick and university, but the latter of no great fame.

A few miles from thence on the banks of the river Duraton is a town call'd Pedcaça de la Sierra, famous for being the place of the Emperor TRAJAN's nativity, as well as for its castle, where FRANCIS Dauphin of France, and Prince HENRY his brother, were imprison'd on the releasing of their father FRANCIS the first, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia.

The rest of the towns of Old Castile having little remarkable in them, I shall only specify their names; which are, Miranda de Ebro, Najara, Navarette, Guardia, Bastida, Espinosa de los Monteros, Lerma, St. Pedro d'Arlanza, Arandode Duero, St. Estevan de Gormaz, Verlanga, Almazan, Soria, (the antient Numantia,) Logroño, Aguilar del Campo, Agreda, Crugna, Roa, Pagnafiel, Mocada, Coca, Arevalo, Olmedo, Madregal, Pegnaranda, Villa Franca on the Tormes, and Cuellar.

CHAP. V.

Contains a description of the province of Leon, and of the chief towns therein.

THE province, or kingdom of Leon, is bounded by the mountains of Asturia on the north; by Old Castile on the east; Estremadura on the south; and by Galicia and part of Portugal on the west; and is about fifty-five leagues in length from north to south, and forty in breadth from east to west.

The principal rivers are the Duero, which runs from east to west, and divides it into two equal parts; the Pisuerga, the Carrion, the Tormes, the Torto, the Tera, the Elsa and the Orbeo,

The air, soil and produce of this province is much the same with that of Old Castile, and it is equally mountainous. The chief towns which have the denomination of cities, are Leon, Astorga, Salamanca, Palencia, Zamora, Medina de Rio Secco, and Ciudad Rodrigo: besides which, there are fifteen or twenty more of an inferior rank of these Medina del Campo and Ledesma are most considerable.

Leon, the capital of the province, and of the antient kingdom of Leon, situated in a fine fruitful plain, at the foot of the mountains of Asturia, between the two sources of the river Elsa, about fifty-five leagues north-west of Madrid. It

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CHAP. is said to have been first built by the Emperor V. GALBA, and call'd *Legio Septima Germanica*, from the legion of that name which was quarter'd there; and from the word *Legio* it is generally held was form'd the word Leon, which conjecture is confirm'd by some of the antient Roman bricks that have been found here with this inscription, LEG. VII. P. F. It is a large town, consisting of thirteen parishes, six monasteries and five nunneries, but is neither so rich or populous as it was heretofore. The cathedral is said to be the most elegant building of that kind in Spain, and there are no less than thirty-seven Kings of Spain and an Emperor that lie interr'd here. The Spaniards also value it on account of the shrines of several saints, particularly that of St. ISIDORE, whose corps King FERDINAND having obtain'd of a Moorish King in the ninth century, placed it in a shrine of silver upon the altar of St. JOHN Baptist. This was the first city of any importance which the Christians recover'd from the Moors, and the seat of the first Christian King of Spain. It is at present the See of a Bishop, who is suffragan of Compostella.

Astorga.

Astorga is situated in a plain on the little river Astura, or Torto, forty-five leagues north-west of Madrid, and eight south of Leon. It is neither large or populous, nor is there any thing worth a traveller's attention, unless it be a handsome square, and the cathedral. The Bishop is suffragan to Compostella.

Salamanca.

Salamanca is situated partly on little hills, and partly in a plain, on the river Tormes, forty leagues south of Leon, and thirty-five north-west of Madrid. It is a rich populous city, and abounds in all things necessary for life. It contains about eight thousand families, and is adorn'd with some fine buildings, squares and fountains: but what renders it most considerable is its university, esteem'd the best in Spain, where are taught all manner of Sciences. They have eighty professors, viz. of divinity, law, physick, philosophy and languages, who have each of them a thousand crowns per annum pension. The university consists of twenty-four colleges, and about four thousand students. There are also several handsome churches, convents and noblemens houses in the town, and it enjoys a flourishing trade. The bridge over the river Tormes is said to have been built by the Romans, and there is still also the remains of an old Roman causeway leading from thence to Merida, and so to Seville, repair'd by the Emperor ADRIAN, as appears by an inscription still remaining, viz. IMP. CÆSAR DIVI TRAJANI PARTHICI DIVI NERVÆ NEPOS TRAJANVS HADRIANVS AVG. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POT. V. COS. III. RESTITVIT. It is at present one of the richest Bishopricks in Spain, suffragan to Compostella.

Palencia.

Palencia, *olim. Pallantia*, situate on the little ri-

ver Carrion, forty leagues to the northward of Madrid, and about eighteen to the westward of Burgos, in a very fruitful soil, the See of a Bishop, suffragan to Burgos. The most considerable publick building is the church of St. Antolin, which King SANCHO the Great built to the honour of that saint.

Zamora is situated on a steep rock near the river Duero, over which it has a handsome bridge, and lies about forty leagues north-west of Madrid, and fifteen west of Valladolid. It was antiently call'd Senticca, but when the Moors were masters of it they gave it the name of Zamora, or Medinatto Zamorata, which signifies in their language a town of turquoises; for in several of the rocks in the neighbourhood, there are mines of this kind of precious stones call'd turquoises. This town is also famous for possessing the body of St. ILDEFONSO, Bishop of Toledo in the seventh century.

Medina del Rio Secco is situated in a fine fruitful plain surrounded with mountains, about twelve leagues north-west of Valladolid, and is the capital of a duchy belonging to the Amirante of Castille.

Medina del Campo lies about eight leagues to the southward of Valladolid. It was a rich trading town, but is upon the decline at present. The country about it furnishes some of the best corn and wine in Spain. The magistrates have the disposal of all places and preferments among them, and enjoy many other considerable privileges. Here was born the famous Spanish physician, who endeavour'd to prove that animals were but machines. This word Medina, in the Moorish language, signifies a city, which is the reason we have so many Spanish cities of this name.

Civdad Rodrigo stands in the south-west part of the province of Leon, about four leagues from the frontiers of Portugal, and is one of the principal Spanish garrisons on that side. It is situated in a fruitful plain on the little river Aguada, or Aguja, and was built out of the ruins of the antient Mirobriga, at present a Bishop's See, suffragan of Compostella.

Ledesma is a considerable town, advantageously situated on the river Tormes, seven or eight leagues to the westward of Salamanca; to the eastward whereof is a hot bath, famous for healing many diseases. The rest of the towns of this province do not require a particular description.

CHAP. VI.

Contains a description of the province of Galicia.

THE province, or kingdom of Galicia, is bounded by the Ocean on the north and west, by the provinces of Asturia and Leon on the east, and by the kingdom of Portugal on the south; being about forty leagues in length from east to west, and

H A P. and almost as many in breadth from north to south.
VI. The Sea encompassing it on two sides, it has near an hundred leagues of sea-coast, on which are several good ports; the most commodious are those of Ferrol and Corunna.

The air along the coasts is generally temperate, but moist, occasion'd by the great rains, and the many springs and rivers with which it is water'd, as well as by the neighbourhood of the sea. The most considerable rivers besides the Minho already describ'd, are the Sil, the Ulla, the Tamba, the Mandeo, the Rio Major and the Vallinadares. This country, as well as the rest of Spain, is full of mountains, and the air upon them cold; they are cover'd however with trees, proper for building ships and other uses. The valleys and sea-coasts have plenty almost of every thing, especially oranges, lemons, and other excellent fruits, and their seas abound with fish. Here are also some mines of gold, silver, copper and lead, but the former are not wrought. The natives are said to be a lazy indolent generation, more resembling the Portuguese, who lie contiguous to them, than any other people of Spain.

The chief towns of Galicia, which have obtain'd the title of cities, are these seven, viz. St. James de Compostella, Lugo, Orense, Tuy, Mondonnedo, Corunna and Betancos. Besides these, the towns of Ferrol, Vigo, Bayona, Salvaterra, Rivadavia, Rivadeo, Mongia, St. Mary de Finisterre, Coa, Muros, Noya, St. Marco or Marta, Castro de Ortogal, Porto Marino, Sarria, Montforte de Lemos, Villa Nova de los Infantes, Pontevedra, Rodondella and Padron, are reckon'd considerable on one account or other.

Compostella, or St. Iago de Compostella, the capital of Galicia, is situated in a fine plain encompass'd with little rising hills, and water'd with a great many small streams, thirty miles south of Corunna, and upwards of forty to the eastward of Cape Finisterre, and contains about two thousand houses. It is a rich trading town, and better accommodated with provisions and necessaries than most towns in Spain, on account of its neighbourhood to the sea. Here are also several fine squares, palaces, religious houses, and a university: but what Compostella is most famous for, is the tomb of St. JAMES the apostle and protomartyr, who according to their tradition was buried here. This occasions a vast resort of pilgrims from all parts of Europe. THEODOMIR, one of their Bishops, 'tis said, discover'd the body of this saint here by divine revelation in the ninth century, and King ALPHONSUS the Chaste thereupon built a church to his honour, in the place where his remains were found. ALPHONSUS the Great magnificently rebuilt this church of square stone, and adorn'd it with marble pillars, and the Kings his successors continu'd to embellish it till it became one of the

finest and richest cathedrals in Spain. Pope LEO III first constituted it a Bishop's See at the request of CHARLEMAGNE. Pope CALIXTUS II transferr'd the metropolitan dignity to it from Merida: and Pope PASCHAL II decreed, that twelve of the Canons should be Cardinals. St. JAMES, 'tis said, has wrought abundance of miracles, particularly that he destroy'd the army of ALMANZOR the Moor, once sovereign of Seville; and they have often seen him, they assure us, at the head of their armies on the day of battle, which is the reason that St. Iago, or St. James, is always the word or warlike cry amongst them, as St. George for England, St. Dennis for France, &c.

It is surprizing, says my author, to see what crouds of pilgrims come hither from all parts of Europe, especially in the jubilee-year. They go in procession to the cathedral to visit the image of St. JAMES, which is plac'd on the high altar. They kiss it three times, and put their hats upon his head with the profoundest devotion. There are always burning before it five and twenty or thirty silver lamps, besides vast wax-candles, which are placed on six silver candlesticks of excellent workmanship five foot high. On the roof of the church are flat pav'd walks, to which the pilgrims ascend, and having hung some rag of their clothes upon a stone-cross erected there, they creep under it three times on their hands and knees through a very strait passage, which will scarce admit a man of any bulk; for the whole pilgrimage is to no purpose without this last act of devotion; it is this that entitles them to the indulgences propos'd; and those who have happen'd to omit it have been oblig'd to return to Compostella again, after they have travell'd some hundred leagues. The French pilgrims have a chapel here appropriated to their nation, and there is a magnificent hospital for the reception of poor pilgrims richly endow'd, consisting of two handsome square courts, with piazza's that support the stone-galleries round about them, having fountains in the middle of each square. This Archbishoprick is one of the richest of Spain, having a revenue of seventy thousand crowns per annum, and the chapter as much more. The episcopal palace is an antique edifice, but vastly large and commodious. It was from this city that the order of knights of St. JAMES had their original, from whence they were dispers'd into all parts of Spain. This is the richest order in the kingdom; they possess in the two Castiles and Leon only, eighty-seven commanderies, valued at an hundred and seventy-two thousand ducats per annum. To be admitted into this order, it is not only necessary to prove their nobility for two generations, but that they are descended from the race of old Christians, and that their blood has not been intermix'd with that of new Christians, that is, either of converted Jews or Moors. They are not all oblig'd

CHAP. VI. to reside at Compostella, only a certain number of them, to guard the tomb of the saint, where sometimes, 'tis said, is heard the clashing of Arms, which is look'd upon as ominous to the kingdom.

Lugo. Lugo, the *Lucus Augusti* of the Romans, is situated on the Minho, not far from its source, about three and twenty leagues to the eastward of Compostella. It was antiently a considerable town, but much upon the decline at present, though it be still a Bishop's See, and has some hot baths, which make it resorted to.

Orense. Orense, falsely written in some of our maps Ortenfe, is situated at the foot of a mountain on the river Minho, about fourteen or fifteen leagues south-east of Compostella. That part of the town which lies next the mountain is extremely cold, and their winters long, while the other enjoys all the delights of spring and autumn, occasion'd by the vapours which rise from the hot baths thereabouts, and warm the air. Some of these baths are of a moderate heat, and others so hot that they will boil an egg, all of them famous for the cure of several diseases, and on that account it was call'd by the Romans, *Aquæ Calidæ*. Without one of the gates there is a noble arch, large enough for a ship to pass under with her sails standing. The fields about Ortenfe are extremely fruitful and pleasant, and among other delicious fruits they have grapes that make excellent wine.

Tuy. Tuy is a strong frontier town, situated on the top of a mountain, at the foot whereof runs the river Minho, which separates it from Portugal, lying about ten leagues south-west of Orense. This is one of the garrisons where the militia of Galicia rendezvous: they give themselves the title of Cavaliers, and the King's brave soldiers, and are mighty proud of appearing at a general muster, though their cloathing is no better than sackcloth, an old hat with some cock's feathers stuck upright in it, swords without scabbards, tied on with packthread instead of belts, wooden shoes and no stockings, and an old rusty musket, too heavy to fire without a rest. The other places of rendezvous on the side of Portugal, are Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos. Tuy is a Bishop's See, and the neighbourhood of it extremely agreeable; here we meet with fruitful plains, gardens, orchards, and vineyards that produce excellent wine, and indeed every thing that is desirable in life, with a very temperate healthful air.

Mondonedo.

Mondonedo is situated in a fine plain at the foot of the mountains, and in a very healthful air, fourteen or fifteen leagues to the eastward of Corunna, or the Groyne, and is the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Compostella; but I don't find it considerable on any other account.

Corunna, or the Groyne.

Corunna, or the Groyne, is situated on a bay of the sea, which forms a peninsula, and makes

one of the finest harbours in Spain. It stands about twelve leagues to the northward of Compostella, and is divided in two parts, viz. The higher town, which stands on the side of a hill, and is surrounded by a wall, and the lower town, which lies at the foot of the hill, on a little tongue of land encompass'd on three sides by the sea, and has a wall only on that side which joins it to the upper town. The harbour is in the form of a crescent, and large enough to entertain the greatest fleets. The two entrances are defended by two castles, call'd the St. Antony and the Holy Cross, and is covered by a little island from the north winds. The town is very antient, as well as the fortifications, suppos'd to be the *Brigantium*, or *Portus Brigantinus* of the Romans. There is still an old lofty tower, which was built for a pharos or light-house, so bold a structure that it is the admiration of all that view it; the antiquity of it is evident from the following inscription; MARTI AVG. SACR. G. SEVIVS LVPVS ARCHITECTVS. A. F. DANIENSIS LVSI-TANVS EXVL. It is from this tower, according to some writers, that the town receiv'd its name, for the natives instead of a tower, call'd it *Columna*, a column, which by corruption was afterwards converted into Corunna. In the neighbourhood of this town is a mine or quarry of jasper.

To the eastward of the bay, almost over against Betancoa, Corunna, is the city of Betancoa, situated in a plain on the river Mandeo, not far from the sea, remarkable only at present for being a little port-town, and the See of a Bishop.

Ferrol is situated to the northward of Corunna, on the opposite side of the bay, and is considerable for its excellent harbour. It stands in a fruitful country, which produces good wine, as their seas do plenty of fish.

Vigo is situated on a bay of the western Ocean, five or six leagues to the westward of Tuy, in a fruitful country. It is a fortified town, defended by an old fort and castle, and has an excellent harbour, where Sir GEORGE ROOK, the English Admiral, with the confederate fleet, attack'd that of the French, commanded by Monsieur CHATEAURENAUD, and the Spanish galleons under his convoy, on the twelfth of October in the year 1702. The Duke of Ormond, who commanded the land-forces at the same time, making himself master of the castle and fort, of thirteen galleons that were there, four were taken by the English and five by the Dutch, and some treasure was taken on board them, but no great quantity, the plate being the first thing secur'd upon the apprehension of danger; the English also took five men of war, and the Dutch one, and about fourteen men of war and four galleons were sunk or burnt.

Bayona is a port-town to the southward of Vigo. Ponte

CHAP. VI.

CHAP.
VI.onte.
Vedra.
Cape Finis-
terra.Cape de
Ortegal.

Padron.

Ponte Vedra is a large town, situated on a bay of the sea to the northward of Vigo.

St. Mary de Finisterre, or Finis-terræ, is a little town, fifteen or sixteen leagues to the westward of Compostella, chiefly remarkable for the neighbouring cape, from whence it takes its name, being the most westerly part of the continent of Europe.

Castro de Ortegal, an open town near the famous Cape de Ortegal, the most northerly point or promontory of Spain, well known to the sea-faring part of the world.

Padron is an antient town, situate at the mouth of the river Ulla, near a bay of the sea, about four leagues to the southward of Compostella. They shew here a venerable relique, being a hollow stone, in which, according to their tradition, St. JAMES the Apostle sail'd from the Holy Land to Spain; and landing here, left it in this town, as a perpetual monument of so great a miracle. In the course of this history the reader has met with several other of these miraculous stones, that have carried the saints many thousand miles to plant the gospel, which is not more incredible than the removing the Virgin MARY's house over sea and land from Palestine to Loretto in Italy; and this is a fact so universally believ'd, that if any good Catholick should doubt of it, he would infallibly incur the censures of the church, and perhaps become obnoxious to the inquisition.

CHAP. VII.

Treats of the province of Asturia, and the chief towns there.

Asturia.
ituation and
extent.

sit.

rivers.

fountains.

THE province of Asturia lies along that part of the ocean which is call'd the Bay of Biscay, being bounded by that sea on the north; by Biscay on the east; by Leon and Old Castile on the south, and by Galicia on the west; being about five and forty leagues in length from east to west, and eighteen in breadth from north to south, and is said to take its name from the river Asta, or Astura. The air is colder than the rest of Spain, occasion'd by its high mountains and northerly situation. The principal rivers are the Miranda, which separates it from Galicia, and the Ove and Dava, that uniting their streams at Oviedo, obtain the name of Asta, which running northward, falls into the Bay of Biscay near Villa Viciosa.

This is a very mountainous country; those call'd the Asturia's, which are a branch of the Pyrenees, divide it on the south from Leon and Old Castile, and are cover'd with vast forests, so that the country is neither well peopled nor cultivated. Their valleys however afford them corn and wine enough for their subsistence, and their seas plenty of fish, of which they export great quantities. Here are

also some good mines, but they have been most famous ever since the times of the Romans for excellent horses, held to be the strongest and the swiftest in Spain. Their country being naturally defended by the high mountains of Asturia, held out long against the Romans, and was never entirely conquer'd by the Moors; this therefore is look'd upon as the nursery of the Spanish nobility and gentry, and of all the Old Christians, as they affect to call themselves, who retir'd hither when the Saracens had over-run the rest of Spain; and this is said to be the reason, that the eldest son of the Kings of Spain has the title of Prince of the Asturia's conferr'd on him. They are call'd the Asturia's, in the plural number, because the western part of the country is call'd Asturia de Oviedo, and the eastern part Asturia de Santillana, from their respective capitals. The chief towns are Oviedo, Villa Viciosa, Avila, Gigon, Santillana, St. Vincent, and Lianes or Ilianes.

Oviedo, *olim Ovetum*, is situated in a plain, at Oviedo, the confluence of the rivers Ove and Dava, whose united streams afterwards go by the name of Asta, about sixteen leagues north-west of Leon, and sixty-five north-west of Madrid. It is the only town of the province which has the honour of being call'd a city, and a Bishop's See. PELAGIUS, who was so successful against the Saracens, made it the seat of his government, as the Kings his successors did afterwards for some time. The most remarkable publick building is the church of St. Salvador, or St. Saviour's, built by a Prince named SILO, whose tomb is still seen here. It is fill'd with a multitude of reliques, which the Christians brought hither from all parts of Spain, when they were driven away from their dwellings by the Moors. Some of the most valuable are a golden cross, said to be made by Angels; a piece of the mantle of ELIAS; a piece of the rock of mount Sinai, where MOSES fasted forty days: and a wonderful arch, said to be made of incorruptible wood by the Apostles, which does not give place to the holy house of Loretto in point of miracles, having been carried by the Angels from Jerusalem into Africa, from thence to Carthagenia in Spain, from Carthagenia to Seville, thence to Toledo, and from thence to Oviedo; but their historians have not ascertain'd the time of this wonderful journey. The Spaniards, however, make little difficulty in believing this and a thousand other as incredible relations, that are taught them by their monks.

The town is tolerably well built, but not considerable on account of its trade or riches. The houses about the church of St. Salvador stand on piazza's, and make a handsome appearance; but the great square in the middle of the town, where all the streets center, and the colleges which compose the university, are its principal ornaments at present.

CHAP.
VII.

CHAP. VII. Villa Viciofa is a little port-town, situate at the mouth of the river Asta, about twelve leagues north-east of Oviedo.

Villa Viciofa. Avila is another port on the bay of Biscay, twelve leagues north of Oviedo; and two leagues north lies a promontory well known to our mariners, call'd Cape de Pinas.

Avila. Santillana, *Fanum Sanctæ Julianæ*, the capital of East Asturia, is situated on the bay of Biscay, two and twenty leagues to the eastward of Oviedo. It has the title of a marquisate, and belongs to the Dukes of Infantado, of the house of Mendoza.

CHAP. VIII.

Treats of the province of Biscay.

Biscay.
Situation.

THE province of Biscay, the antient *Cantabria*, is bounded by that part of the ocean call'd the bay of Biscay on the north; by the Pyrenees, which divide it from France, on the east; by Navarre and Old Castile on the south; and by Asturia on the west; being about forty leagues in length from east to west, twenty in breadth from north to south in the broadest part, and not half so much in the narrowest towards the west.

Rivers.

The principal rivers are, 1. The Nervio, call'd by the Biscayans, Ybaycabal, or the large river, which rising in the south, runs northward cross the country by Bilboa, two miles below which city it falls into a bay of the sea. The antients call'd it Chalys, the water whereof is excellent for the tempering of arms. 2. The Deva, which rising in the south part of the province, takes its course northward by Placentia, and falls into the sea ten leagues to the eastward of Bilboa. 3. The Orio, which has its source also in the south, and running northward, falls into the same sea to the eastward of Deva. And, 4. The little river Bidasoa, that divides France from Spain, in which lies the isle of Pheasants, so famous for the peace concluded there between France and Spain in the year 1659, call'd the Pyrenean treaty.

Air and
mountains.

Biscay is a very mountainous country, and on that account less subject to excessive heats than some other provinces of Spain. Travellers assure us that their mountains are intolerably cold, to make some amends for which, there is plenty of timber, fit for building ships as well as houses, and abundance of good fuel. The soil is not very fruitful: their apples, with which they make cyder, in some measure supplies the want of wine. They have also oranges, lemons, and other excellent fruits. Their seas abound in fish, with which they drive a good trade, as they do with the oil that their whales produce, for the Biscayners fish'd for whales on their own coast long before Greenland was found out; and though the

Soil.

country be generally a rocky barren soil, it produces corn enough for the subsistence of the inhabitants. But their greatest riches lie in the bowels of the earth, in their iron-mines, of which they make vast quantities of arms, particularly sword-blades, esteem'd the best in Europe, and they export a great deal of iron in bars. Here are also mines of lead, and other more valuable metals, which create them as brisk a trade as any other province in Spain enjoys.

The Biscayners have been always esteem'd a warlike people, and have defended their country resolutely against all invaders, being usually one of the last provinces that submitted to the conqueror in any alteration of government. But they have been most celebrated for their skill in maritime affairs, in which they excell'd all the nations in Europe till the last age. France was always forc'd to beg their assistance when they were at war with any powers by sea, till the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth.

They are far from being of that flegmatick temper the Spaniards of the more southern provinces are remarkable for, but are brisk and lively, civil and obliging; open and free in their conversation, and transact their business with all imaginable application and industry, which is the reason that many of them make their fortunes at court. The Biscayners also enjoy abundance of privileges beyond their neighbours, which they obtain'd, says my author, partly by the bounty of their Princes, and partly by force; for they are not so slavishly submissive to their superiors, either in temporals or spirituals, as the Castilians. A Spanish Bishop (JOHN Bishop of Gironne) who wrote in the 15th century, was so provok'd at their conduct, that he would not allow them the title of Christians, or that they had indeed any religion at all. He says they refus'd to receive any priests amongst them, unless they carry'd their concubines with them, for as they apprehended it impossible for any man absolutely to conquer his carnal appetites, they made no doubt, if the parson had not a woman of his own, but he would be free with their wives or daughters. I my self, says the pious Bishop, was a witness of their refusing to permit any one of our order to come amongst them, even to administer the sacraments. In the year 1477, FERDINAND King of Castile being about to enter Biscay, and having the Bishop of Pampeluna in his train, the Biscayners rose in a tumultuous manner, and represented to the King that it was contrary to their laws and constitution to admit a Bishop amongst them, and his Majesty was oblig'd to send him back; nay, they proceeded so far as to dig up the very earth the holy man had trod upon, and burnt it.

They have a language of their own, call'd the Baskish, different from all the languages in Europe.

It

CHAP. VIII. It is spoken on both sides the Pyrenees; but when they write, they use either the Spanish or French. Most of their towns have both a Spanish and a Baskish name. Geographers usually divide this province into three parts, viz. Biscay Proper, Guipuscoa, and Alava. Biscay Proper comprehends the most westerly part, Guipuscoa the north-east, and Alava the south.

The chief towns of Biscay Proper are Bilboa, Porto Galette, Castro de Urdeales, Loredos, St. Antonio, St. Andero, Orduna and Durango.

Bilboa, *olim Fluviobriga*, the capital of the province, is situated in a plain, encompass'd with mountains, near the mouth of the river Ybaycabal, about a league from the sea, two and twenty leagues north-east of Burgos, and as many to the westward of Fontarabia, on the confines of France. The tide comes up hither, and it is one of the best and most frequented harbours on the northern coast of Spain. The city is large, beautiful, full of rich-merchants, and stands in a temperate air and fruitful soil. They have a great demand for wool and iron-bars, and their sword-blades are in great esteem.

St. Andero. St. Andero is a port-town in the north-west part of the country, formerly much frequented, but upon the decline at present.

Guipuscoa. Chief towns. The chief towns in Guipuscoa are Tolosa, Placentia, Orio, St. Sebastian, Irun and Fontarabia.

Tolosa. Tolosa is situated in an agreeable valley between two mountains, at the confluence of the rivers Orio and Araxes, about four leagues to the southward of St. Sebastian. It is not a town of any great extent or trade, though it be the capital of Guipuscoa. The principal manufacture of the place is sword-blades.

Placentia. Placentia is situated on the river Deva, four or five leagues to the westward of Tolosa. This town also is most considerable for its manufacture of sword-blades and fire-arms.

St. Sebastian. St. Sebastian is a port-town, pleasantly situated at the foot of a mountain on the bay of Biscay, about four or five leagues to the westward of the frontiers of France. The harbour is large and secure, and the town fortified, but appears to be a place of less strength than the Spaniards imagin'd, not being able to hold out against the French army above a month in the year 1719. The streets are long and spacious, and the houses tolerably well built. Their trade is in a flourishing condition, and consists chiefly in iron and steel, said to be the finest in Europe. They export also a great deal of fine wool from hence, the growth of Old Castile. The Spanish men of war do not lie here, but at Port Passage, about a quarter of a league to the eastward of it, where the French burnt several ships of the royal navy in the late war.

Fontarabia. Fontarabia in Spanish *Fuentarabia*, *Fons Rabidus*, is the last town of Spain towards France;

CHAP. VIII. It is situated on a peninsula in the bay of Biscay, near the mouth of the river Bidasoa, which parts the two kingdoms. It was formerly look'd upon as impregnable by the Spaniards, but was taken by the French in the year 1719, after a six weeks siege. This is the only town which is honour'd with the title of a City and Bishop's See in Guipuscoa, and is commonly called the key of Spain on the side of Biscay.

The most southern district, or subdivision of Biscay is Alava; the chief towns whereof are Vittoria, Salvatierra and Trevigno.

Vittoria, or *Victoria*, the capital of this division, is situated in a fine fruitful valley, about fourteen leagues to the southward of Bilboa. It has the honour of being a city and a Bishop's See, and is surrounded by a double wall. The principal square is encompass'd by the town-house, two convents, and several well-built houses, adorn'd with a fountain; and what renders the town extremely pleasant, is the trees planted in all the principal streets. It is well inhabited by tradesmen and people of fashion, drawn hither by its agreeable situation and the beauty of the place; and is said to have been built by SANCHE King of Navarre, in memory of his conquest of the Moors of Alava, who thereupon gave it the name of *Victoria*.

Salvatierra is a little town, twenty miles to the Salvatierraeastward of Vittoria.

Trevigno stands on a little hill near the river Trevigno. Aguda, five or six leagues to the westward of Vittoria. It is the capital of a country of the same name, which belongs to the Duke of Najara.

C H A P. IX.

Treats of the province or kingdom of Navarre.

THE province or kingdom of Navarre, part Navarre of the ancient *Tarraconensis*, was inhabited by the Vascones or Gascons. It is bounded by Situation the Lower or French Navarre, from which it is and extent: divided by the Pyrenean mountains, on the north-east; by Arragon on the south-east; by Old Castile, from which it is separated by the Ebro, on the south-west; and by Biscay on the north-west; being about two and thirty leagues in length, and twenty-eight in breadth.

This also is a very mountainous province; the Mountains: air temperate, or rather cold, in respect of the Air. Soil. southern provinces. It does not abound either in corn, wine or fruits, but is most considerable for its pasture-grounds, herds of cattle and forests, the latter of which afford them excellent timber, and abundance of game; and they have also some mines of iron. There are besides the Ebro, which River: waters the south-west part of it, the rivers Arragon, Arga, and Ega, all of which fall into the Ebro.

This

CHAP. IX. This province is usually divided into five districts or Merindades, which take their names from so many great towns, viz. Pampeluna, Estella, Sanguesa, Olita and Tudela. The rest of the towns of any note are Tafalla, Ucana, Roncevaux, Araga, Villa Franca and Miquenza.

Pampeluna. Pampeluna, the capital of the province, and seat of the Viceroy, is situated in a plain near the Pyrenees, on the river Arga, ten or eleven leagues to the southward of Fontarabia, formerly called Pompeiopolis from POMPEY, who is supposed to be the founder of it. It is tolerably large, surrounded by a wall, and defended by two castles, one within the city and the other without. The fortifications of the city are inconsiderable, but the castle without is situated on a high rock, and esteem'd a place of strength. Pampeluna is at present a Bishop's See and a University: what is most remarkable in the town is a spacious square, where their bull-feasts are held.

Estella. Estella, or *Stella*, is situated in an agreeable plain on the river Ega, seven or eight leagues south-west of Pampeluna. It is a handsome town, defended by a castle, and has obtain'd the title of a city.

Sanguesa. Sanguesa is a small town on the river Arragon, seven leagues to the southward of Pampeluna, which has also obtain'd the title of a city.

Olita. Olita is another pretty little town, situated on the river Cidaco, three or four leagues to the southward of Sanguesa, formerly the seat of the Kings of Navarre, there being still some remains of their palace. It is situated in a good soil, affording corn, wine, and fruits, flax and hemp, and well water'd with springs.

Tudela. Tudela is situated in the south part of Navarre, on the river Ebro. It is a fine town, inhabited by people of good fashion, and is adorn'd with some handsome buildings.

Taffala. Taffala is situated on the little river Cidaco, to the northward of Olita. CHARLES III, King of Navarre, built a palace here, which was his ordinary residence. It is a handsome town, tolerably large, encompass'd with a wall, and defended by a castle. It is honour'd with the name of a city, and has a university, and the country about it affords good wine.

CHAP. X.

Contains a description of Arragon, and its chief towns.

Arragon. **Situation and extent.** THE province, or kingdom of Arragon, is bounded by the Pyrenees, which separate it from France, on the north; by Catalonia on the east; by Valencia on the south; and by New Castile, Old Castile and Navarre towards the west; being about fourscore leagues in length

from north to south, and fifty leagues in breadth from east to west.

Arragon is generally a mountainous rocky barren country, but intermix'd with some fruitful valleys, which afford corn, wine and oil, especially near the banks of their rivers. The air is esteem'd healthful and temperate, and the country is water'd with abundance of rivers, of which the Ebro is the chief, and divides it into almost two equal parts. Most of the other rivers fall into the Ebro: Those on the north of it are, the Cinca, the Galligo and the Isuela; those on the south of the Ebro are the Xalon, or Salo, the Riquelo, the Guerva, the Agna, the rivers Martia and Guadaloque: besides which, there are the Guadalquivir and Alhambra, which uniting their streams, run through Valencia, and fall into the Mediterranean.

The towns which have the denomination of cities are Saragossa, Balbastro, Jaca, Tarazona, Huesca, Catala, Albarrazin, Tervel, Daroca and Boria. The other towns of any note are Alagon, Ixar, Ricla, Alhambra, Moncon, Almudevar, Sancta Christina and Fraga.

Saragossa, the capital of Arragon, is situated in a vast plain on the banks of the river Ebro, which there receives two other rivers, viz. the Gallego and the Guerva, lying about sixty leagues north-east of Madrid, and twenty west of the confines of Catalonia. The town is large, surrounded with an old wall and other antique fortifications, and consequently of no great strength. It is said to have been founded by the Phenicians, and the Romans had a colony here in the time of AUGUSTUS, from whence it is supposed to have obtain'd the name of *Cæsar Augustus*, by corruption Saragossa. The Streets are large and well pav'd, the houses for the most part built of brick, three or four stories high, more beautiful and uniform than those of Madrid, and adorn'd with a great many magnificent publick buildings. Travellers mention seventeen great churches, fourteen fine monasteries, besides many others less considerable. It is the See of an Archbishop, and a university, and the tribunal of the inquisition is held here in the palace of their antient Kings. There are two fine bridges over the Ebro, one of stone and the other of wood, the latter of which, 'tis said, is not to be parallell'd in Europe for its beauty: and as the Ebro passes through the middle of the town, there is a handsome key (or Quay) on which the citizens usually walk. There are also many other publick walks, but the finest is that call'd the Holy Street, where people of fashion take the air every evening in their coaches drawn by mules. On each side of this street are the palaces of the nobility, particularly that of the Viceroy. It is called the Holy Street, because here great numbers of Christians suffer'd martyrdom

CHAP. X.
Soil.
Air.
Rivers.
Chief towns.
Saragossa.

CHAP. X. dom under its Pagan governours. The cathedral is a vast Gothic structure, which is not however without its beauties; but the church most resorted to by devout people is that of Our Lady of the Pillar, esteemed almost equal in sanctity to that of St. JAMES of Compostella. They relate, that *legend of the Virgin* while she was alive, appear'd to St. JAMES while he was endeavouring the conversion of the Spaniards, and encourag'd him in his labours, leaving there an image of her self, and a fine jasper pillar whereon she stood when she appeared to him. They shew both the one and the other in this church, which they pretend was the first that was built in the world to the honour of our Saviour. There is nothing extraordinary in the design or architecture of the Church, but the chapel of the Virgin underneath it is much admir'd. This chapel is thirty-six foot long, and twenty-six broad. Here is the image of the Virgin standing on a pillar, with a little JESUS in her arms; and as the place is perfectly hid from the light of the Sun, it is enlighten'd with lamps and torches. Nothing can appear richer than the ornaments about her; the place where she stands, her robes and crown, are cover'd with precious stones; all round her are angels of solid silver, holding flambeaux in their hands; besides which, there are not less than fifty silver lamps, with a multitude of figures of legs, arms, heads and hearts, brought hither in acknowledgment of miraculous cures wrought by the blessed Virgin. Every thing here shines with gold and precious stones, and multitudes of pilgrims come hither continually to perform their devotions. These glittering shews ravish the vulgar. The pomp of the Roman worship, and that profusion of wealth found in their churches, gains them an infinite number of proselytes; in which, *Reflections on the pomp of the Roman worship* say they, we do but imitate the precedent that God himself has set us: The temple of Jerusalem was built and adorn'd by his particular directions; and the ceremonies and processions of the Jews no less pompous than ours. These we acknowledge are but faint resemblances of the glories of heaven, but by these men are led to contemplate that Divine Being whom we all adore: It is natural, when we view some magnificent temple, to reflect on the infinite attributes of the deity worshipp'd there, and to cry out with SOLOMON, THE HEAVEN OF HEAVENS CANNOT CONTAIN THEE.

But to proceed: In a church near one of the gates of the town there is a crucifix, whose nails are believ'd to grow by this credulous people. The hospital for the entertainment of pilgrims has a noble tower adjoining to it, and though there be two hundred and eighty-four steps to the top of it, if I may credit my author, it is of so easy an ascent that a man on horseback may ride up it. Among the Convents of Saragossa, that of St. FRANCIS is reckon'd the finest; the church par-

ticularly is much admir'd, the roof having not one single pillar to sustain it, though it be of a great length and breadth. The convent of St. JEROME is resorted to with great devotion, on account of the bodies of abundance of martyrs interr'd there: They pretend to shew the blood and ashes of several of them, which they have preserv'd in crystal vessels to this day. Besides the sacred buildings, the town-house is a sumptuous edifice, as is that where the States of the province assemble, in the hall whereof are the busts of all the Kings of Arragon, large as the life.

Saragossa declar'd for King CHARLES III, the present Emperor, Anno 1706. After the battle of Almanza, Anno 1707, this city was oblig'd to submit to King PHILIP again. In the year 1710, King CHARLES obtain'd a victory over the forces of King PHILIP near Saragossa, which he enter'd in triumph the same evening; but upon the taking of a body of English forces prisoners at Brihuega, the Confederates were oblig'd to retire out of Arragon, and leave King PHILIP again in the possession of Saragossa, who depriv'd the natives of their most valuable privileges, and executed many of the citizens who had appear'd in his rival's interest.

There are no fountains in the streets of Saragossa, but it is supply'd with water from the Ebro. This river, though it be as large as the Seine at Paris, is not navigable here on account of the dangerous rocks which lie in the channel. It is however a rich, beautiful and populous city, abundance of people of quality have their residence here, as well as a great many merchants and bankers: the latter are generally natives of France. Next to Salamanca and Alcala, their university is esteem'd the best in Spain. The air is not so hot here as in many other Spanish towns. The neighbouring country is full of fine gardens and orchards, and for three leagues about it the houses stand so thick, that it looks like one continued village.

Balbastro is situated in a plain on the river Balbastro. Vero, which a little below joins the Cinca, being eleven or twelve leagues north-east of Saragossa. It contains twelve or fifteen hundred houses, and is a Bishop's See, but not considerable upon any other account.

Jaca is situated in an agreeable plain on the river Jaca. Arragon, near the foot of the Pyrenean mountains, eighteen or twenty leagues to the northward of Saragossa. It is a town of great antiquity, and was the capital city of a people call'd the Jaccetani. The neighbouring country abounds in corn, fruit, cattle and all manner of game; but the city is remarkable for little at present, unless its being a Bishop's See.

Taracona is a small city on the river Queiles, *Taracona* situate partly on a rock and partly in the plain, about twenty leagues north-west of Saragossa. It stands in a fruitful country, and is a Bishop's See.

CHAP. The principal manufacture sword-blades and other arms, which receive a good temper from the water of the Queiles.

Huesca.

Huesca, *olim Osca*, is a little handsome town, situated on the river Isuela, in a fruitful plain surrounded with mountains, five or six leagues north-west of Balbastro. The Romans erected an academy here for the education of young gentlemen. It is still a university and a Bishop's See.

Catalajud.

Catalajud is situated at the confluence of the rivers Xalon and Xaloca, at the end of a fruitful plain, seventeen or eighteen leagues to the westward of Saragossa. It is a large handsome city, built out of the ruins of the antient Bilbilis, which stood upon a neighbouring hill. Here the celebrated poet MARTIAL was born, who has left behind him a fine description of his country. It has the honour of being a Bishop's See.

Albarazzin.

Albarazzin, *olim Turia*, is situated on an eminence, at the foot whereof runs the river Guadalquivir, not far from the confines of New Castille, about thirty leagues south-west of Saragossa, and is only remarkable for being a Bishop's See.

Tervel.

Tervel stands in a large agreeable plain, at the confluence of the two rivers Alhambra and Guadalquivir, ten or twelve miles to the eastward of Albarazzin. It is a rich trading populous place and the See of a Bishop; enjoys a fine air, and almost perpetual spring. The country about it is one continued garden, abounding in delicious fruits and odoriferous flowers. PHILIP II built a citadel here with five bastions.

Daroca.

Daroca stands on the river Xiloca, about fifteen leagues south-west of Saragossa, in a rocky and almost inaccessible situation. It consists of about a thousand families, and is a Bishop's See. Travellers are shewn here a vast grot or cave, about a mile in length.

Boria.

Boria stands at the foot of a little hill, about twelve leagues to the westward of Saragossa, and two or three leagues south-east of Taragona. It is only considerable on account of its being a Bishop's See. The country about it is well water'd with fountains, and produces corn, wine, oil, flax and excellent pasture, on which they feed great herds of cattle.

Fraga.

Fraga is situated on an eminence near the river Cinca, on the frontiers of Catalonia, about three leagues to the westward of Lerida. It is naturally strong, being defended by high mountains on one side, and the river Cinca on the other. The country about it is perfectly barren.

CHAP. XI.

Contains a description of the province of Catalonia, and of its subdivisions, and chief towns therein.

Catalonia.

THE Province of Catalonia is bounded by the Pyrenean mountains, which separate it from

France on the North; by the Mediterranean sea on the east and south; and by Valencia and Arragon on the west; being about seventy leagues in length from east to west, and fifty in breadth from north to south.

The air of this province is pure and temperate, unless to the northward, where the mountains render it cold in winter. It is pretty much encumber'd with mountains, notwithstanding which there are several fruitful plains, as the plains of Urgel, Cerdagne, Vic, Gironne, Taragona and Penedes, which afford corn, wine, oil, pulse, flax, hemp and excellent fruits. Nor are their mountains barren, being almost all cover'd with forests of lofty timber, as oak, beech, fir and pine-trees, besides chesnuts and several other kinds of fruit, an infinite number of cork-trees, and great variety of simples. Both mountains and valleys are water'd with a multitude of rivers, brooks and springs, which render the country extremely pleasant and fruitful. Here are also mines of gold and silver, lead, iron, alum, salt, and quarries of marble, crystal, alabaster, jasper and amethysts, and on the coast they fish up excellent coral.

Their principal rivers are the Ebro, which crosses the south-west corner of it, and falls into the mediterranean a little below Tortosa. The Francala, which falls into the same sea near Taragona. The Lobregat, which rises in the mountains of Penedis, and taking its course directly from north to south, falls into the sea a little south-west of Barcelona. The Besos, which falls into the sea a little to the eastward of the same city. The Ter, which has its source in the mountain Canigo, runs at first from the north-east to the south-west, and then turning short to the east, passes by Gironne, and discharges itself into the sea five or six leagues below that city: And the Fluvia, which falls into the Mediterranean a little to the southward of the gulph of Roses.

There are several other Rivers which do not discharge themselves into the sea, but into the Ebro, the Cinca, &c. the chief whereof is the Segra, the largest river in Catalonia except the Ebro. It rises in the mountains of Cerdagne, and running from the north-east to the south-west, passes by Puicerda, Urgel, Oliana and Camarasa, where having receiv'd the Noguera Palleresa, it continues its course by Balaguer and Lerida, and having receiv'd the Noguera Ripagoreana, unites its streams with the Cinca, after which it falls into the Ebro near Mequinenza, upon the frontiers of Arragon. The two Noguera's run in parallel lines from north to south, and fall into the Segra at the places above-mention'd. The Cervera runs from east to west, and falls into the Segra a little above Lerida: And the Noya, which falls into the Lobregat near Marterel.

Catalonia is one of the most populous provinces of

CHAP. XI.
Situation
extent.
The air.
Face of
country.
Soil.
Mines.
Rivers.

of Spain, the people brave, hardy and vigorous, and make excellent soldiers. Their miquelets in the last war shew'd they were the best militia in Europe, defending themselves against the united forces of France and Spain, for a considerable time after they were abandon'd by their allies.

The province of Catalonia was much larger antiently than it is at present, several districts having been dismember'd from it by the French; particularly Roussillon and Conflans, which were confirm'd to France by the Pyrenean treaty, with a good part of Cerdagne. The county of Foix, which was also formerly comprehended in Catalonia has been yielded to France. However, it is still one of the largest provinces of Spain, and contains the fifteen following districts or vigueries, viz. Along the sea-coasts, the vigueries of Tortosa, Montblanc, Tarragona, Villa Franca de Penades, Barcelona and Gironne, in which last is comprehended the Ampurdan, or Lampourdan, as it is usually call'd: Along the Pyrenees are the vigueries of Campredon and Puicerda, or the county of Cerdagne: To the west along the frontiers of Arragon are the vigueries of Balaguer and Lerida; and in the middle of the province those of Agremont, Tarrega, Cervera, Mauresa and Vic.

In the viguery of Tortosa the chief towns are Tortosa, Garcia and Val de Cona.

In the viguery of Montblanc the chief towns are Montblanc and Poblet.

In the viguery of Tarragona, the chief towns are Tarragona and Tamerit.

The viguery of Villa Franca contains no other towns but Villa Franca.

The viguery of Barcelona contains the towns of Barcelona, Martorel and Mataro.

The viguery of Gironne contains the towns of Gironne, Blanes, Palamos, Palafugal, Ostalric, Verges, St. Pierre de Pescador, Castello Dampurios, Torella, Roses and Castelfolli.

The viguery of Compredon contains the towns of Compredon and Aulet.

The viguery of Puicerda, or the Spanish Cerdagne, contains the towns of Puicerda and Urgel.

The viguery of Balaguer contains no other considerable town but Balaguer.

The viguery of Lerida contains the towns of Lerida and Aytona.

The viguery of Agramont contains the chief towns of Agramont, Camarasa and Olliane.

The viguery of Tarrega has no other considerable town but Tarrega.

The viguery of Cervera contains Cervera, Cardener and Solsona.

The viguery of Mauresa contains Mauresa, Montserrat and Berga.

The viguery of Vich contains Vich and Roda.

I proceed now to the description of the most considerable towns in Catalonia, and first of Barcelona the capital.

Barcelona is situated in a large plain, along the shore of the Mediterranean, about an hundred leagues to the eastward of Madrid, and thirty to the southward of Roussillon. It is of an oblong, or rather oval form, containing about fifteen thousand houses, defended on the south by the sea, on the west by Fort Montjoy, which stands on a rocky mountain at a little mile's distance from it, and by its own walls and fortifications on the north and east. There is a mole carried a considerable way into the Sea, which renders it a secure harbour for small vessels, but large ships lie pretty much expos'd to tempests, as well as enemies, in the road. Since the fortifications that have been added to the town and Fort Montjoy in the late war, it may be look'd upon as a strong place; but then it is of so large an extent, it requires a numerous garrison to defend it, and a much more numerous army to invest it. It is divided into the new and old town, which are separated from each other by a wall and a ditch, the old being enclos'd by the new. The streets are large, well built, and neatly pav'd and kept, which is not usual in Spain. The principal publick buildings are the cathedral, a fine large old structure, the church of Our Lady del Pino, the Viceroy's and Bishop's palaces, and the palace where the States assemble, call'd the *Casa de la Deputation*. There are also several beautiful squares, particularly that of St. Michael, where all the great streets center. Barcelona is a rich trading town, the inhabitants industrious, civil and obliging to strangers, their women some of the finest in Spain, and the conversation of the people in general much more easy and free than in many other parts of the kingdom. It is the seat of the Viceroy of the province, the See of a Bishop and a university, and here is held one of the courts of Inquisition.

This town, with the rest of Catalonia, call'd in the French in the year 1640, who remain'd masters of it twelve years. The French took it again in the year 1697, after fifty-six days open trenches, but restored it again at the treaty of Ryswick. The French possessed themselves of it again, with the rest of the Spanish Monarchy. King CHARLES III, the present Emperor, by the assistance of the Confederate fleet, and a very small army of land-forces commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, made himself master of this city on the fourth of October 1705, N. S. after a month's siege. The Spaniards and French, commanded by King PHILIP and Marshal THESSE, laid siege to Barcelona on the third of April 1706, N. S. while the French fleet, commanded by their Admiral the Count de Thoulouse, block'd it up by sea. The siege was continu'd 'till the eighth of May following, King CHARLES being all that

CHAP. IX. time in the place, when the Earl of Peterborough and Admiral LEAKE with the Confederate fleet, coming before the town, the French Admiral fled with their grand fleet, and on the twelfth King PHILIP and Marshal THESSE rais'd the siege with the utmost precipitation, and retir'd into France, leaving behind them a hundred and six brass cannon, twenty-three mortars, and all their sick and wounded, and vast quantities of ammunition and provision: and it was observ'd, that there was the same morning about nine, an almost total eclipse of the sun, which is the French King's device.

A treaty having been concluded between the Confederates (except the Emperor) and Spain on the 13th of July 1713, wherein the Catalans were included, but refused to accept the terms procur'd for them, on the withdrawing the Confederate forces the Catalans garrison'd Barcelona with their own troops, and stood upon their defence against the united powers of France and Spain. The enemy block'd them up 'till July 1714, when the Duke of Berwick joining King PHILIP's army, the siege was carried on in good earnest; eleven thousand bombs were thrown into the place, which destroy'd several churches and monasteries, and above five thousand houses. The Enemy continu'd to batter the town with above eighty pieces of cannon and twenty-four mortars, which held out however 'till the eleventh of September, when there was a general storm, and the citizens having defended themselves with the utmost bravery 'till four the next morning, were then obliged to retire out of the new into the old city, and beat the chamade. The Duke of Berwick looking upon them as desperate men, consented to treat with them, and agreed to give them their lives and save the city from plunder; whereupon both town and castle were deliver'd up, and still remain in King PHILIP's possession, who upon this occasion divested them of many of their ancient privileges.

The fields about Barcelona are extremely pleasant, as well as fruitful, well water'd by springs and rivulets, and thick set with villages. They have both silk and woollen manufactures, and excel in those of iron and steel. The wine they make has a good body and a fine flavour, and they export great quantities of it.

Tarragona.

Tarragona is situated on the side of a hill by the sea-side, fifteen or sixteen leagues south-west of Barcelona, and was formerly a good harbour, but is so choak'd up at present, that nothing but small vessels can enter it. It is encompass'd with an antique wall and fortifications, which might contain two thousand houses, but there are not more than five hundred in the place at present; it is however the See of an Archbishop, to whom the rest of the Bishops of Catalonia are suffragans, and

is still an university. The town, standing upon an eminence, enjoys a pure air and most delightful prospects, on one side over the sea as far as the eye can reach, and on the other over a pleasant fruitful country, abounding in corn, wine and oil, and interspers'd with abundance of towns and villages. But this city is remarkable for its antiquity, having been built by the Phenicians, and in the time of the Romans made the capital of much the largest division of Spain, which from hence was called *Tarraconensis*. STRABO says, in his time it was as large and populous as Carthage. There are still several monuments of its grandeur remaining, and particularly an ancient circus. Upon the taking of Barcelona in the year 1705, it surrender'd to King CHARLES the present Emperor.

Tortosa is situated on the river Ebro, about four leagues north of the Mediterranean, and as many to the westward of the confines of Valencia; lying partly on a hill, and partly in a plain by the river side, over which there is a bridge of boats, defended by two redoubts or castles, as some travellers call them. It was possess'd by the allies in the late war immediately after the taking of Barcelona in 1705, and esteem'd by them a place of great importance, as it open'd a passage into the kingdom of Valencia on one side, and the kingdom of Arragon on the other. They order'd the fortifications therefore to be repair'd, and kept a garrison there till it was taken from them by the Duke of Orleans in 1708.

The town is adorn'd with several fine churches and religious houses, among which the cathedral, the royal college of the Dominicans and the convent of the Carmelites are most admir'd. They make here a great deal of silk and oil, and a fine sort of earthen ware in imitation of china. It is in general a town of good trade, to which the Ebro very much contributes, this river being navigable here, and affording it a communication with the Mediterranean.

Tortosa is suppos'd to be built out of the ruins of the ancient Ibera, a colony of the Romans, near which town the two SCIPIO's defeated ASDRUBAL the brother of HANNIBAL; and LIVY observes, that in his time it was one of the richest towns in Spain. It is at present a Bishop's See, suffragan of Tarragona, and a university, pleasantly situated in a country abounding in grain and fruits, having mines of silver and iron, quarries of alabaster and the most beautiful jasper.

Lerida is situated on a little rising hill, which descends insensibly to the banks of the Segra near the confines of Arragon, about thirty-five leagues to the westward of Barcelona, and eighteen to the northward of Tortosa. It is defended by a good wall, and other modern fortifications, but its principal strength is the castle, which stands on a hill, that

CHAP. XI.

CHAP. XI. that commands it. The town is generally well built with stone; the cathedral and the Bishop's palace are the most remarkable structures, from whence there is a fine prospect of the neighbouring country. The town is very antient, having been founded by the Ilergetes, and by them called Ilezda; from whence it is supposed the modern name of Lerida is derived. Near this city JULIUS CÆSAR obtain'd a victory over AFRANIUS and PETREIUS, POMPEY's Lieutenants.

It has been several times taken and retaken in the wars between France and Spain. Upon the surrender of Barcelona, in the year 1705, Lerida declared for King CHARLES, in whose possession it remain'd till after the fatal battle of Almanza. The Duke of Orleans invested the town on the tenth of September 1707, and took it by storm on the thirtieth of the same month, the garrison retiring into the castle, which held out till the twelfth of November following, and then surrendered upon honourable conditions. The garrison most of them consisted of English. They lost abundance of brave officers and soldiers in the defence of it; tho' I question whether there did not more perish by sickness than the sword, as indeed was generally the case in this lingering unfortunate Spanish war; which if it had been well supported at first, had produced a peace seven years sooner. And this was the true reason it was so shamefully neglected by the then British ministry; their favourite General had lost his influence at court, and wanted great part of that immense treasure he left behind him, if a period had then been put to the war. I question whether the enemy was more rejoic'd at our ill success in Spain, than some people in the administration. Lerida is a university and Bishop's See, suffragan of Tarragona.

Calaguer. Balaguer stands at the foot of a hill on the river Segra, four or five leagues north-east of Lerida. It is a little fortified town, but of no great strength, declar'd for King CHARLES III on the surrender of Barcelona in 1705, but was generally possess'd by that party that was master of the field in the late war. It is situated in a fruitful country, that is, as far as it is cultivated; for it may be observed once for all, that their great towns are generally built near some river side, in the most fertile part of the country, which for a mile or two round, according to the extent of the place, is usually cultivated; but all beyond yields nothing, unless herbage and pasture for their flocks and herds, and is very often a barren sand.

Montserrat mountain and monastery. In the diocese of Barcelona, seven leagues north-west of that city, lies the celebrated mountain of Montserrat, which overlooks all the plain of Barcelona as far as the sea. This mountain is not only taken notice of for its extraordinary height, but the form of it, which rising up in a multitude of lofty pyramids, appears at a distance indented

like a saw, and is supposed to have obtained its name of *Montferratus* from the Latin word *Serra* a-saw. But this mountain is still more famous for its suppos'd sanctity, on account of an image and chapel here dedicated to the blessed Virgin, which is resorted to by an infinite number of pilgrims. According to their tradition, this miraculous image of the Virgin, as 'tis call'd, was found in a cave by certain shepherds about the year 880; whereupon the Bishop of Barcelona and his clergy came thither with a design to have carried it to some other place; but it remain'd immoveable, there was no stirring it from the place where the convent now stands. Whereupon GUIFRED Earl of Barcelona caus'd a monastery and chapel to be erected over it. PHILIP II and PHILIP III caus'd a magnificent church to be built in the room of the former old chapel, where the image had remain'd upwards of seven hundred years. The holy image now stands upon the altar of this church, being almost black, with a little Jesus in her arms: on one side of the altar is a picture of PHILIP III, and on the other a picture of his Queen; the place being enlightned with no less than ninety silver lamps, and in the treasury they shew a crown of the blessed Virgin's, valued at a million of florins. The convent is inhabited by monks of every nation, who with their servants make about three hundred persons. They entertain all who come thither, either out of devotion or curiosity, for three days gratis, with bread, wine, flesh, oil, salt, vinegar, and lodging, and there is no place to which pilgrims resort in greater crouds, unless it be to Rome or Loretto. Over the church towards the top of the mountain are the cells of thirteen hermits, hewn out of the rock with infinite labour, to which they ascend by steps cut out of the same rock. They are for the most part persons of quality, who being weary of the world, have retir'd thither to spend their time in solitude and devotion. Every one of them adjoining to his cell has a chapel, a garden, and a fountain springing out of the rock; over the cloyster is a leaning rock, to which they have fix'd three crosses; here they say mass every day to implore the blessed Virgin that she will not suffer it to fall upon their church or cloyster, and not without reason, for in the sixteenth century part of the rock fell down upon their infirmary, demolish'd it, and kill'd several sick people. However, says my author, it is a charming solitude, they enjoy one of the finest prospects in the world, there reigns a profound silence, nothing is to be heard but the soft notes of birds, or the murmuring of springs and rivulets, which on every side fall down the rocks.

A countryman of ours (Captain CARLTON) who visited Montserrat in the late war, is in raptures when he describes this lovely mount: the relation is something long, and therefore I shall

CHAP. only give an abstract of the most agreeable scenes
XI. he presents us with.

Montserrat, says that gentleman, is a lofty hill in the middle of a spacious plain, which promises something extraordinary at a distance, hundreds of aspiring pyramids presenting themselves at once to the eye, but so intermingled with trees of magnitude as well as beauty, that your curiosity can never be satisfied with viewing it. Upon this hill are thirteen hermits cells, the uppermost of which lies near the summit: you gradually advance to every one by a winding ascent, by reason of the steepness; nor could a stranger easily find them out, unless he follow the old ass that daily carries them their provisions. This animal being loaden at the convent with a pair of panniers, in which is a partition for every hermit fill'd with wine and victuals, goes up of himself without a driver to their respective cells, each man taking his proportion as he passes, and having reach'd the uppermost, returns back to the convent again.

These hermits our Captain esteem'd extremely happy, and would willingly, he intimates, have exchang'd his office for a cell. For what, says he, can be more desirable than to have every thing provided without care, the days without anxiety gratefully pass away amidst a vast variety of pleasing objects, their sleep never interrupted with any thing more offensive than murmuring springs, natural cascades, and the various notes of the pretty feathered choir? These good men seem'd to me the very emblems of innocence; instead of moroseness and a pharisaical pride, too common in a recluse life, you meet with all imaginable affability and complaisance, they readily shew you all the rarities in their cells, and answer all questions with humanity and condescension. One of these reverend old men, while we were taking leave of him, whistled, and immediately a flock of beautiful little birds of several kinds surrounded him, some lit upon his shoulders, others upon his grey head and beard, whom he fed out of his mouth; and in short every hermit had some little innocent amusement to entertain the stranger with.

From these cells our traveller went to take a view of the convent, in the chapel whereof he saw the image of the Virgin so much ador'd: he says it appear'd black and shining like ebony, tho' the priests assur'd him that the colour proceeded from its lying conceal'd between two rocks when the moors were masters of the country.

The ornaments of the chapel were so immensely rich, that our traveller tells us he thought all the treasures of the universe had been amass'd together there; and yet when he was led into the repository, where the most valuable offerings are laid up, he found more costly presents, the superstitious tribute of the Roman Catholick Princes of Europe:

among the rest there was a sword set with diamonds, an offering from King CHARLES III the present Emperor; and the King of Portugal had sent them a glory for the Virgin's head, every ray of which was set with diamonds, large at the bottom, and gradually lessening to the extremity of every ray, each ray being about half a yard long. But should I enumerate all the rich gifts I saw there, says the Captain, it would exceed all belief: as the upper part of the mount is a miracle of nature, so is this treasury a miracle of art. I shall only add, that every Sunday the hermits dine in the hall of the convent with the monks. I proceed now to the description of some other considerable places in Catalonia.

Vich is a little fortified town, situated in a fine fruitful plain on a little river that falls into the Ter twelve or thirteen leagues to the northward of Barcelona. It is remarkable for little but being a Bishop's See, and declaring for King CHARLES III, the present Emperor, the first of any town in Spain. In the neighbouring mountains are found amethysts and topazes.

Gironne, *olim Gerunda*, is situated on the side of a hill at the confluence of the Ouda and the Ter, which wash the walls of it, and stands about twenty leagues north-east of Barcelona, and seven to the westward of the sea, being the capital of the viguery call'd the Lampourdan. The town is moderately large and strongly fortified, and has some handsome buildings in it, particularly the cathedral church dedicated to our Lady, which is richly adorn'd and beautify'd: the high altar shines with gold and precious stones, and the image of our Lady upon it is of solid silver. The town has a flourishing trade, is honoured with a university and a Bishop's See, and stands in one of the fruit-fullest parts of Catalonia.

This town declar'd for King CHARLES on the taking of Barcelona in the year 1705, and remain'd in his possession till the twenty-third of January 1710-11, when it was taken by the Duke of Noailles, after a siege of six weeks.

Ampurias is a little sea-port town at the mouth of the Fluvia, twenty leagues to the northward of Barcelona, six north-east of Gironne, and three to the southward of Roses, a town antiently very considerable. Before the Romans enter'd Spain, Ampurias consisted of two distinct towns, divided only by a wall, the one inhabited by the Greeks, and the other by the natives. These nations preserv'd their respective manners and customs, and had no communication with each other but upon account of trade. In this state they remain'd for several ages, till JULIUS CÆSAR having defeated POMPEY's party, and then he built a third town adjoining to the former, and left a Roman colony in it; soon after he conferr'd on the natives the privilege of Roman citizens, as he did afterwards

CHAP. XI. on the Greeks, and united these three people into one; after which the language and manners of the Romans became universal, and a temple was erected to the honour of DIANA of Ephesus; on one of the columns whereof was the following inscription, which has preserv'd the memory of this event; viz. EMPORITANI POPVLI GRÆCI, HOC TEMPLVM SVB NOMINE DIANÆ EPHESÆ EO SECVLO CONDIDERE QVO NEC RELICTA GRÆCORVM LINGVA NEC IDIOMATE PATRIÆ IBERÆ RECEP- TO IN MORES IN LINGVAM IN IVRA IN DITIONEM CESSERE ROMANAM M. CETHEGO ET L. APRONIO. COSS.

The Greeks had given this town the name of *Empurias*, or *Emporium*, which in their language signify'd a place of trade, which was easily chang'd into that of *Ampurias*. The territory of *Ampurias* is called the *Ampurdan*, (*Emporitanus Ager*) though upon the decay of this town, *Gironne* is become the capital of this district or viguery. The Bishop's See was also upon the same account remov'd from *Ampurias* to *Gironne*.

Roses is a port-town situate on a bay of the sea, a little to the westward of *Cape Creus*, seven or eight leagues to the northward of *Gironne*, two or three to the northward of *Ampurias*, and ten to the southward of *Perpignan* in *Roussillon*. It is well fortified, and defended by a fort, which stands upon an eminence by the sea-shore, that commands the entrance into the bay. This town rose out of the ruins of the antient *Rhoda*, or *Rhodopolis*, which was built by the Greeks of *Rhodes* at *Cape Creus*. It was the only place in *Catalonia* that held out for King *PHILIP* all the last war, who now remains in possession of it.

Campredon is a pretty fortify'd town, situate on an eminence near the river *Ter*, about ten leagues north-west of *Gironne*, the capital of a viguery, and defended by a citadel which stands in the middle of the place. To the north of *Campredon* is a high mountain, where they find crystal.

Puicerda, the capital of the county of *Cerdagne*, is situated in a fine plain, between the rivers *Carol* and *Segra*, at the foot of the *Pyrenean* mountains. It is a pretty large town, and fortified after the modern way, being a frontier against *France*. The neighbouring country abounds in fruit and game, and there are some quarries of jasper of various colours in their mountains, and two medicinal fountains.

Urgel is situated on the same river *Segra*, in a fruitful plain surrounded with mountains, and well planted with vines, four or five leagues to the westward of *Puicerda*, and has the honour of being a Bishop's See.

Solsona is situated at the foot of a mountain on the river *Cardonero*, twenty leagues north-

west of *Barcelona*, and is only remarkable for being the See of a Bishop.

Cardona is a handsome town, situate on an eminence near the river *Cardonero*, nine or ten miles to the southward of *Solsona*, most remarkable for a prodigious mountain of salt of all colours, but becomes perfectly white on washing it. The salt, according to my author, is inexhaustible: notwithstanding it has been dug these two thousand years, it yields to the present owner, the Duke of *Cardona*, forty thousand ducats per annum. When the sun shines on this mountain, nothing can appear brighter, one would think it was all compos'd of precious stones; and notwithstanding salt generally renders the soil barren where it is found, this mountain produces lofty pines, and is planted with excellent vines.

CHAP. XII.

Treats of the province or kingdom of Valencia, and of the chief towns contain'd therein.

VALENCIA stretches itself along the Mediterranean sea from north to south, being bounded by *Arragon* and *Catalonia* towards the north; by the *Mediterranean* on the east; by *Murcia* on the south; and by *New Castile* on the west; being about sixty-three leagues in length from north to south, and five and twenty in breadth from east to west, where broadest.

This is one of the most agreeable provinces in *Spain*; the air is pure and temperate, and they enjoy almost a perpetual spring. 'Tis true, the country is in several parts incumber'd with mountains, but the plains and valleys on the sea-coast are extremely fruitful in wine, oil, sugar, rice, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and all manner of fruits. In every season of the year we find leaves, fruit and blossoms on the trees, nor do they want silk, flax, or honey; but the soil does not seem very proper for corn. In their hills are mines of gold, silver and alum, quarries of alabaster and marble, and the sea furnishes them with plenty of fish: but they have too often the misfortune of seeing all the fruits of the earth destroy'd, with the leaves of trees and every thing that is green, for many miles in a few hours, by those innumerable armies of locusts which visit them from *Africa*. Nor is this the worst of it, for they have no sooner done them this irreparable mischief, but they die away, and cause such an intolerable stench, that they infect the air, and occasion a variety of diseases.

This province is well water'd with rivers and brooks, of which some reckon up five and thirty; they all run from west to east, or from the north-west to the south-west, and fall into the *Mediterranean* sea. The chief of them are the *Mig-*

Valencia
Situation,
&c.

Mines.

Locusts.

Rivers.

CHAP. lias, or Millares, the Morviedro, the Guadalquivir, the Xucar, and the Segura.

Miglias. The Miglias, or Millares, rises in Arragon, and running south-east, falls into the sea a little below Villa Real.

Morviedro. The Morviedro rises towards the confines of Castile, and running eastward passes by Segorba, falling into the sea a little below the town of Morviedro.

Guadalquivir. The Guadalquivir, so call'd by the Moors on account of the pureness of its waters, is not so remarkable for its depth as its agreeable and beautiful banks, always cover'd with roses and other flowers, or the most delightful groves of trees, from its source to the mouth of it. This river rises on the confines of Arragon and New Castile, near the town of Albarazin, and runs from the north-west to the south-east cross the kingdom of Valencia, falling into the sea near the capital city of the same name.

Xucar. The Xucar rising in New Castile, runs thro' the province of Sierra, where it receives the two small rivers of Gabriel and Oliara, after which it crosses Valencia from east to west, and falls into the sea near the little town of Cullern.

Segura. The Segura rises in Andalusia, and taking its course through the kingdom of Murcia, enters Valencia near Origuella, discharging it self into the sea near Guardamar.

The kingdom of Valencia was much better peopled antiently than it is at present, for it was from hence that the greatest part of the Moors were banish'd to Africa in the year 1610, on suspicion that the converts they had made amongst them were still inclin'd to Mahometism, and never fail'd to profess it when they had an opportunity of doing it with impunity. But still there is a great mixture of old and new Christians, or of native Spaniards and Moriscoes, as they stile the descendants of the antient Moors, and these apply themselves much more to mechanick arts and husbandry than the former, which may be one occasion of the fertility of this province.

Chief towns. The chief towns are Valencia, Morviedro, Segorba, Zerica, Villa Real, Villa Hermosa, St. Mattheo, Castello de la Plana, Peniscola and Morella to the northward; and Alzira, Montesa, Xativa, Gandia, Denia, Altea, Alicant, Elche, Elda and Origuella to the southward.

Valencia. Valencia, the capital, is situated in a fine plain on the river Guadalquivir, or Turia, two miles from the sea, lying about fifty-five leagues south-east of Madrid, and as many south-west of Barcelona. It is surrounded by a wall and some antique fortifications, but esteem'd a place of no great strength. The form of the town is round, and contains about twelve thousand houses. All the travellers I meet with concur in admiring the beauty of the place, and its charming situation;

they enjoy, says one of them, a sweet temperate air, and are scarce sensible of winter; they abound in all things that can render life agreeable: the town is water'd with a fine river, over which there are five stone-bridges, and their fountains are innumerable: the suburbs, large as the town, are intermix'd with the most beautiful gardens: the inhabitants are of an obliging agreeable conversation, and entertain you with an air of gaiety, not to be met with in other parts of Spain: their women the finest, and most inclin'd to gallantry of any of the sex: but here comes the curse, (for I never met with a place extremely happy or engaging in some respects, but it was as unfortunate in others) these fine ladies and their gallants occasion perpetual quarrels; and 'tis said there are more bravo's and assassins natives of Valencia, than of all the provinces of Spain besides, who for a dollar will murder any man you are jealous of: so that here is no safety among all this vast variety of delights, which surely must imbitter every thing that carries the name of pleasure.

But I am apt to think murders are not so frequent as travellers suggest, for all the nobility and gentry almost of the province reside at Valencia, trade and manufactures flourish here, and there are abundance of rich merchants and tradesmen in the place, who would certainly find other seats if there was so little safety to be met with. Their principal manufacture is silk, they have also those of woollen, and their foreign trade in wine, oil and fruit is considerable.

In the neighbourhood of this beautiful city, there is on one side a continued regular plantation of fruit-trees and ever-greens, and towards the sea a bay is form'd by the mouth of the river, three leagues in length and one in breadth, which abounds in fish and wild fowl; and about half a league to the eastward is a little fortify'd town, call'd Porto el Grujo, which may be look'd upon as the port to Valencia. All the way from Valencia to Xativa, which is no less than nine leagues, looks like a garden, and the country is so populous, that the towns and villages are not half a league asunder, where we see crouds of women and children before the houses busied in spinning of silk.

But to return to the town. The most considerable publick buildings are the cathedral, the Viceroy's palace, and that of Cinta; the monastery of St. Jerom, the exchange and the arsenal. In the time of the Romans it was esteem'd the most beautiful town in Spain. From **PLINY** we understand it was a Roman colony, as well as by an antient inscription, wherein it is stil'd *Colonia Julia Valencia*. There are many fragments of antiquity still remaining in and about the city. It was the seat of the Moorish Kings, till they were expell'd by **JAMES** the First, King of Arragon, stiled

CHAP. XII. filed the Victorious, in the year 1238, who united this province to the rest of his dominions. It is at present the See of an Archbishop and a university, and was one of the first towns that declar'd for King CHARLES III, after the taking of Barcelona in the year 1705, but suffer'd sufficiently for her forwardness after the loss of the battle of Almanza, anno 1707; they were sacrific'd with the rest of our friends in Spain to the covetousness and ambition of a certain General, who would not suffer the English forces in Spain to be timely re-inforc'd, lest there should have been too sudden a revolution in that kingdom, which might have eclips'd his glory, and put an end to the war, before his insatiable avarice had acquir'd a treasure equal to that of many crown'd heads.

Morviedro. Morviedro is situated at the foot of a high hill on the river Palencia, or Morviedro, four or five leagues to the northward of Valencia, and about two leagues from the sea. It is surrounded with an old wall and towers, and contains seven hundred families.

Saguntum. Upon the top of an adjoining rock they shew the ruins of the once famous but unfortunate Saguntum, whose citizens, in the war between the Romans and Carthaginians, being confederates of the former, after having sustain'd a siege of nine months, chose rather to bury themselves in the ruins of their town, than submit to HANNIBAL, for which their bravery and resolution has been often celebrated in Roman story. It was retaken eight years after by SCIPIO, who restor'd it to those that remain'd alive of the inhabitants. Upon one of the gates we meet with the following inscription, viz. SENATVS POPVLVSQVE SAGVNTINORVM CLAVDIO INVICTO PIO FEL. IMP. CÆS. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. P. P. PROCOS.

At another gate near the cathedral, is the head of HANNIBAL cut in stone: from hence as we ascend the rock, we meet with the ruins of an amphitheatre, consisting of six and twenty benches hewn out of the rock, and above the amphitheatre the remains of an antient Roman fortress.

Segorba. Segorba is situated on an eminence, in the middle of a spacious plain surrounded with mountains, on the river Morviedro, ten leagues north of Valencia, and as many to the eastward of the sea. It is a wall'd town, consisting of about eight hundred families, and defended by a castle; the See of a Bishop, and capital of a duchy. Near it is a quarry of excellent marble, which the Romans used to transport to Rome to adorn their palaces.

Xerica. North-west of Segorba stands the little town of Xerica, the capital of a county.

Villa Real. Four or five leagues to the northward of Morviedro stands Villa Real, upon the river Millares, about a league from the sea. It was a handsome

CHAP. XII. little town, consisting of about eight hundred inhabitants, till taken by storm in the year 1706 by the Marshal DE TORRES, King PHILIP's General, who burnt it down to the ground, and put the people to the sword, as he serv'd several other towns in the neighbourhood for adhering to King CHARLES III.

Alzira is situated on the river Xucar, six leagues to the southward of Valencia, and is remarkable chiefly for its silk-manufacture.

Xativa. Xativa was situated on a rising ground, nine or ten leagues south of Valencia. It was one of the finest towns in Spain, and consisted of about three thousand families, but after the battle of Almanza, anno 1707, it was burnt, and the fortifications raz'd by King PHILIP's army. This was another melancholy consequence of the Confederates deserting their friends in Spain who had declar'd for them, only to humour some favourite Generals in other parts of Europe. King PHILIP since order'd another town to be built in the place where Xativa stood, and call'd after his name.

Gandia. Gandia is situated on the little river Alcoy, within half a league of the sea, ten leagues south of Valencia, most remarkable for its sugar-works.

Three or four leagues south-east of Gandia lies the town of Denia, on the sea-coast, defended by a castle situated on a neighbouring mountain, and has a tolerable harbour.

Three or four leagues further south stands Altea, on a high hill, rather adorn'd than defended by an old castle, famous for its bay, where ships frequently take in water. The country-people here made no difficulty in declaring their inclinations for King CHARLES the Third, when the confederate fleet touch'd here in their way to Barcelona, anno 1705; for which they suffer'd sufficiently afterwards.

Alicanti. Alicanti is a sea-port town, defended by a strong castle situated on a rock, about twenty leagues south of Valencia; and as many to the northward of Cartagena. It is a town of the best trade of any in the province, particularly in red and white wines, oranges, lemons and other fruits. The confederate fleet commanded by Sir JOHN LEAKE took both the town and castle in the year 1706; but immediately after the battle of Almanza, King PHILIP's forces retook the town, and block'd up the castle; the latter however held out against all the efforts of France and Spain till April 1709. The enemy try'd all imaginable ways to reduce it, and among the rest had recourse to mining, in which they made but a very slow progress, the rock being extremely hard; they lodg'd however twelve hundred barrels of powder in the rock, and then summon'd RICHARDS the Governor to surrender, acquainting him at the same time with his danger, and giving leave to two of his officers to come out and

CHAP. and view the mine, which they did accordingly, XII and upon their report the Governor held a council of war, wherein it was resolved not to surrender; whereupon the enemy sprung their mine, which made an incredible noise, but had no great effect upon the castle; only the Governor, Major-General RICHARDS, and Colonel SYBURGH, happening to be a little too near the place where the mine was, were unfortunately blown up and buried in the ruins, with several other officers. The command hereupon devolving upon Lieutenant-Colonel D'ALBON, he determin'd to hold out till he was reliev'd, and venture another mine. On the 15th of April 1709, to the great joy of the garrison, Sir GEORGE BYNG, and Major-General STANHOPE, appear'd before the place with a fleet of men of war, and four thousand land-forces on board; but the Spanish army being much superiour to them, they did not think fit to disembark their troops, but contented themselves with sending a flag of truce on shore, with an offer of withdrawing the English garrison out of the castle, which the Spaniards agreed to; and pursuant to this capitulation, the garrison, consisting of five hundred men, march'd out the eighteenth of April 1709, N. S. with two pieces of cannon, and all other marks of honour, and embark'd on board the fleet. Either the Confederates apprehended it impracticable to throw supplies into the castle while the Spanish army were possess'd of all the avenues, or they might be of opinion that another mine would totally demolish it; at least that it would be more eligible to withdraw the garrison in time, than run the hazard of another experiment.

Origuela.

Origuela, or Orihuela, is situated in a fruitful plain surrounded with mountains, on the river Segura, in the midway between Alicant and Cartagena, and about a league from the confines of Murcia. It is enclos'd with a wall, and defended by an old castle, and has the honour of being a university and the See of a Bishop. The neighbouring country abounds in corn, wine, fruits, honey, flax and salt; insomuch that it is become a proverb, whether it rains or not, there is always plenty at Origuela.

CHAP. XIII.

Treats of the province of Estramadura.

THIS province and the two Castiles are frequently comprehended in one; but I shall follow our best maps, and describe Estramadura as a distinct province from the Castiles, and bound it with the province of Leon on the north; by New Castile on the east; by Andalusia on the south; and by Portugal on the west; being about sixty leagues in length from north to south, and thirty-four in breadth from east to west. The mountains of Banos, Pico and Guadaloupe divide

it from the two Castiles on the east, and those of Sierra Morena separate it from Andalusia on the south; but the rest of the country is plain and level, if compar'd with the other provinces, and esteem'd the most fruitful part of Spain, to which the rivers that water it very much contribute: the chief of them are the Tagus and Guadiana, Rivers, that cross it from east to west. The Alagon, which rising in the north runs southward, and passing by Coria, falls into the Tagus. The Almonte, which rising in the east takes its course north-west, and falls likewise into the Tagus. And the Zuja, which has its source in Sierra Morena, and running first to the north, then turns about to the west, and discharges itself into the Guadiana near Medelin.

The chief towns are Placencia, Coria, Alcantara, Albuquerque, Fera, Truxillo, Guadaloupe, Merida, Medelin, Badajoz, Xeres de Badajoz and Lerena.

Placencia is situated on the banks of the little river Xente, surrounded with mountains, about forty leagues south-west of Madrid. Both mountains and valleys in the district of this city are extremely fruitful. The plains produce excellent grain, and on the mountains are whole forests of fruit-trees, as apples, pears, chesnuts, olives, cherries, peaches, apricots, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, figs, &c. The town itself is well built, containing about two thousand houses, which form several fine streets and squares, embellish'd with fountains, and is the See of a Bishop.

Coria also is an episcopal city, ten leagues to the westward of Placencia, situate in a fruitful plain on the little river Alagon. The cathedral is the only publick building mentioned by travellers, as worth the viewing. The city has the title of a marquissate, and belongs to the Dukes of Alva.

Alcantara is situated on the river Tagus, ten leagues south of Coria, and three to the westward of the confines of Portugal, a frontier garrison against that kingdom, most remarkable for a magnificent bridge over the Tagus, said to be built in the reign of the Emperor TRAJAN by the people of Lusitania. It is rais'd two hundred foot above the water, and though it consists but of six arches, is six hundred and seventy foot long, and eight and twenty broad, and has this inscription on it, viz.

IMP. CÆSARI. D. NERVÆ F. NERVÆ
TRAJANO AVG. GERM. DACICO. PONT.
MAX. TRIB. POTEST. VIII. IMP. VI. COS.
V. R. P.

At the foot of the bridge there is a little antique chapel hewn out of the rock, first dedicated to TRAJAN, and afterward by the Christians to the honour of St. JULIAN. This town was built by the Moors on account of the convenience of the bridge over the river, which here runs in a very deep

CHAP. XIII. deep channel, having high craggy rocks on each side of it. The Moors gave it the name of Alcantara, which word in their language signifies a bridge. ALFONSUS the Tenth, King of Leon, took it from them, and gave it to the knights of Calatrava, who afterwards took the title of knights of Alcantara.

Truxillo, or Trugillo, *olim Trogillum* and *Turris Julia*, is an antient town, situate among the mountains on the side of a hill, having a citadel on the top of it, fourteen or fifteen leagues south-east of Alcantara, and forty-five south-west of Madrid, contains about a thousand houses, said to have been built by JULIUS CÆSAR, and famous in these latter ages for the birth of FRANCIS PIZARRO, Marquis de las Charcos, one of the Spanish Generals that discover'd and conquer'd the empire of Peru.

Eight leagues to the eastward of Truxillo, on the confines of New Castile, stands the little town of Guadalupe, on a river of the same name, in a plain surrounded with mountains, which also have obtain'd the name of the Guadalupe mountains. The town is well built, and pleasantly situated in a country that looks like a forest of fruit-trees, where grapes, oranges, figs, and other delicious fruits abound. That which contributes much to its fertility are three or four small brooks, which falling from the mountains, run winding through the valley, and enrich it with their waters. But what the town is most famous for, is a miraculous image, as they call it, of the blessed Virgin, which, according to their tradition, lay buried many hundred years in the time of the Moors, and now performs abundance of cures; at least, devout people who have implor'd her assistance, upon their recovery have presented her with a great many offerings, and pilgrims visit her shrine from all parts of Spain. This image, like that of Monserrat in Catalonia, is turn'd almost black, also suppos'd to be occasion'd by its lying long under ground.

Merida is situated on an eminence contiguous to the river Guadiana, twenty-five leagues north of Seville, and fifty-five south-west of Madrid, formerly known by the name of *Emerita Augusta*, and was the capital of the antient Lusitania. There are still some noble remains of antiquity here, as the ruins of the walls, which shew its antient grandeur, though the town be small at present, not containing above a thousand inhabitants. AUGUSTUS built a fine bridge over the Guadiana at this place, and two aqueducts, and caus'd a highway to be made from thence to Seville. The aqueducts are entirely ruin'd, and there is another modern one in their room, much inferiour to the former, which however conveys water to the town from a considerable distance. The bridge was car-

ried away in the year 1610 by a flood, and another built at a great expence. Among other remains of antiquity, there is a triumphal arch pretty well preserv'd, which seems to have been the gate of a cirque or theatre. The town was fortify'd about the time that the Portuguese threw off the Castilian yoke, and in the last war with that nation the Spaniards laid up their magazines here. It is at present a Bishop's See, and by some call'd the capital of Estramadura.

Badajoz is situated on an eminence on the south bank of the river Guadiana, sixty leagues south-west of Madrid, ten to the westward of Merida, and about half a league to the eastward of the confines of Portugal, against which kingdom it is the strongest frontier town the Spaniards have, and is generally call'd the capital of Estramadura. It is a Bishop's See, and contains about four thousand inhabitants. The houses are well built, and the streets tolerably large, but the beauty of it is their great square, on one side whereof stands the cathedral church of Saint John, and on the other the Governor's palace. It is divided in two parts, viz. the high and low town, and defended by two castles, one on the side of Andalusia, call'd St. Michael, and the other on the opposite side of the river, call'd St. Christophal, which defends the entrance on the bridge, a very fine structure, built of large hewn stone on thirty arches. The town has sustain'd two memorable sieges without being taken, one by the Portuguese in the year 1658, and the other in 1705 by the confederates, when the British General the Earl of Galway, a French refugee, lost his right hand by a cannon-shot. The town stands in a very fertile soil: it is needless to enumerate the kinds of fruit, having done it so often already in treating of other towns in this province.

Xeres de Badajoz is a little city, about eight leagues south-east of Badajoz, and belong'd formerly to the knights templers, which occasion'd its being call'd Xeres de Cavalleros. The principal riches of the place consists in cattle, which are fed in the fine pastures about it. 'Tis said they send no less than fifty thousand horn'd cattle annually to the fairs of Escalona and Villena.

Medellin is situated on the Guadiana, six leagues to the eastward of Merida, in a fruitful country, abounding in all things, said to be founded by Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, a Roman Consul, and famous for the birth of FERNANDO CORTÉZ, the Spanish General that conquer'd Mexico.

El Errena, or Lercna, stands about ten leagues to the southward of Medellin, near the mountains of Sierra Morena, built by the knights of the order of St. James, and honour'd with the title of a city. It is situated in a fruitful soil, rich in pasture.

*Treats of the province of Andalusia.*Andalusia.
Situation
and extent.

ANDALUSIA is bounded by a long chain of mountains, call'd Sierra Morena, which separate it from Estramadura and New Castile, on the north; by Murcia and Grenada, towards the east; by the same province of Grenada, the streights of Gibraltar and the Atlantick Ocean on the south; and by Portugal, from which it is divided by the Guadiana and Chanca, towards the west; extending in length about ninety leagues from east to west, and about sixty in its greatest breadth from north to south, but in many places, especially towards the east, it is not thirty leagues over. It has the advantage of near seventy leagues sea-coast. Andalusia is part of the antient Bætica, which comprehended this province, Grenada, and that part of Estramadura which lies south of the Guadiana. It was call'd Vandalitia from the Vandals, who settled here in the fifth century, and from thence corruptly Andalusia. The Moors possess'd themselves of it in the eighth century, and divided it into the kingdoms of Cordoua, Seville and Jaen. They enjoy here a pure serene heaven, a healthful air, and a soil answerable to the most luxurious wishes, abounding in corn, wine, oil, sugar and honey. They have large herds of great and small cattle, and the most beautiful breed of horses in Europe, and no country was more famous for its rich minerals till America was found out. True it is, great part of the summer is excessive hot; but as the Spaniards in the southern provinces sleep away the middle of the day, and seldom travel but in the morning or evening, the natives are far from thinking the heats intolerable, especially as they are frequently refresh'd by sea-breezes, and by many other ways, which necessity, the mother of invention, has taught them to avoid the heats. Besides other minerals, in the mountains of Andalusia they find plenty of quick-silver and vermillion.

Rivers.

The principal rivers of this province are the Guadalquivir, which runs the whole length of it from east to west, and divides the country into almost two equal parts. The Xenil, which rising in the kingdom of Grenada, enters Andalusia above Lucena, and taking its course to the westward, discharges it self into the Guadalquivir. The Odier, or Odiel, which rising in the confines of Estramadura, runs to the southward, and discharges it self into the ocean. The river Tinto, which runs almost parallel to the Odier, and falls into the ocean a little to the eastward of that river. The waters of the Tinto are so bitter, that there is no drinking them, nor can any fish live in it. The Guadiamar runs from north to south, and falls into

the Guadalquivir. The Chanca runs from north CH to south, and falling into the Guadiana, divides XI Andalusia from Portugal. The Guadalete, by the Latins call'd *Lethe*, rises on the confines of Grenada, and running south-west by Bornos and Arcos, discharges it self into the sea at Port St. Mary's. And the Guadarmena, which rising in New Castile, runs from north to south, and discharges it self into the Guadalquivir below Cacorla.

I shall divide this province as it was formerly, ^{Divided} into east and west: the east contains the antient kingdom of Cordoua, and the west the kingdom of Seville.

The chief towns in the kingdom of Cordoua are ^{Chief towns} Cacorla, Ubeda, Baeza, Jaen, Alcala Real, Anduxar or Andujar, and Cordoua.

The chief towns in the kingdom of Seville are Medina-Sidonia, Ossuna, Ecya or Ecija, Carmona, Marchena, Seville, St. Lucar Arcos, Port St. Mary, Cadiz, Rota, Gibraltar, St. Lucar la Major, Xeres de Guadiana, Aymonte and Lucena.

Jaen, the capital of a kingdom in the time of the Moors, is situated at the foot of a mountain, fifty-five leagues south of Madrid, and about twenty to the eastward of Cordoua, surrounded with a wall and antique towers, and defended by a castle. The town is tolerably large and populous, adorn'd with a handsome square, fine churches and cloysters, agreeable fountains, and the magnificent houses of many of the nobility and gentry of the province that reside here. But this city is most remarkable among the Spaniards for the image of St. Veronica, who lent her handkerchief to the blessed Jesus when he was carrying his cross, to which devout people resort in crouds. It is at present the See of a Bishop, suffragan of Seville, and situate in a country abounding in silk, corn, wine, oil and excellent fruits.

Cordoua, the capital of a kingdom also in the ^{Cordoua} time of the Moors, is situated on the north bank of the river Guadalquivir, having the mountains of Sierra Morena on the north, and a spacious plain to the south, about sixty leagues to the southward of Madrid, and twenty-four to the eastward of Seville. The form of it is an oblong square, stretching from east to west along the river Guadalquivir. The extent of the town is very large, but not populous in proportion, there being abundance of large gardens and orchards within the walls. It is adorn'd with some fine buildings, palaces, churches and religious houses, and has several large handsome suburbs, of which the most considerable is towards the east. The cathedral is a vast magnificent structure, built for a Mahometan Mosque by ANDACHAMAN, King of the Moors, in the eighth century, who made Cordoua the seat of his government. This church is six hundred foot long, and two hundred and fifty wide, having four and twenty large doors adorn'd

HA P. adorn'd with excellent workmanship. The roof is sustain'd by three hundred and sixty-five pillars of alabaster, jasper and black marble, a foot and half diameter. The new chapel in it is as large as some churches, lin'd with marble and richly gilded, as is all the roof of the church. That vast number of slender pillars which divide the several chapels from each other, make a very grand appearance on entering the church. The Moors were in possession of this city five hundred and twenty years, during all which time the Christians were allow'd liberty of conscience, and had six churches, in which they perform'd divine service: for this privilege they paid a very inconsiderable tribute.

Cordoua is a Bishop's See, the episcopal palace a large edifice, chiefly remarkable for its fine gardens, in which is a wilderness of orange-trees. The King's palace is at the west end of the town, of a vast extent, and surrounded with walls like a castle. In the stables are kept two hundred horses of the Andalusian breed, esteem'd the finest in Europe. The Place Major, or grand square, is another ornament to this city; it is surrounded with fine houses, supported by a large piazza. Cordoua being thus elegantly built, and enjoying an excellent air, abundance of persons of quality have their residence in it. The town has also a flourishing trade by means of the Guadiana, which begins to be navigable at this city. Several great men, as well antients as moderns, were natives of Cordoua, particularly the two SENECA's, the Poet LUCAN, TROGUS POMPEIUS, PORCIUS LATRO, AVICENNA, AVERROES, FERDINAND GONSAVO, AMBROSIUS MORALES, &c. The neighbourhood of Cordoua is extremely agreeable and fruitful; the mountains, at the foot of which it is built, are full of gardens, vineyards, and forests of fruit-trees, interspers'd with a variety of fine valleys, water'd with springs and rivulets. When their groves of oranges and citrons are in blossom, they perfume the whole country. It is one of the diversions of Cordoua to walk in the fields in a serene summer's night, to breathe that delicious air. Their vines produce wine of an excellent taste, and their fields afford such an abundance of all things, that it is with justice call'd the granary of Spain.

Seville is situated in a vast fruitful plain upon the banks of the river Guadalquivir, twenty leagues north-east of the ocean, about twenty-four north-east of Cadiz, and seventy south-west of Madrid, antiently call'd *Hispalis* from its situation; *Hispalis* in the language of the Phenicians or Tyrians, who were the founders of it, signifying a green plain. The city is one of the largest in Spain, of a round form, and encompass'd with an old wall and towers, rather an ornament than defence to it, about eight miles in circumference, having twelve handsome gates. The houses are well built

after the Moorish plan, but the streets are narrow; the inhabitants computed at three hundred thousand. There are several considerable suburbs, that call'd Triana on the opposite side of the river is the chief, with which there is a communication by a bridge, and on each side the river are keys, where ships discharge and receive their lading. JULIUS CÆSAR rebuilt and beautified this city, giving it the name of *Julia Romula*. It was the seat of the government in the time of the Gothick sovereigns, and afterwards the capital of one of the most considerable Moorish kingdoms, till taken from them by FERDINAND III, King of Castile, in the year 1248, after a siege of sixteen months, when he drove out most of the Moorish inhabitants, and introduc'd the Christians in their room, and is still the metropolis of Andalusia, being one of the most antient Archbishopricks in Spain, the revenue whereof is said to amount to thirty thousand pounds sterling per annum. The cathedral was a Mahometan mosque, built in the tenth century by the Moors, and is one of the most magnificent structures of the kind in Spain, four hundred feet in length, two hundred and seventy in breadth, and an hundred and twenty eight in height, and containing no less than fourscore chapels and altars, where masses are said every day. There are in the city a great many other fine churches and monasteries.

On the south side of the town is the royal palace call'd Alcazar, of which the finest part was built by the Moors. Here we see on every side the imperial eagle, with CHARLES the Fifth's motto, *Plus ultra*. The gardens belonging to this palace are extremely fine. Other publick buildings taken notice of by travellers are the palace of the inquisition, the exchange, the India-house, the mint, the colleges belonging to the university, which has not the reputation it had formerly; a noble aqueduct, which brings water from Carmona, six leagues from the city. Their hospitals amount to an hundred and twenty of all kinds, some of them very large and beautiful. There are a great many spacious squares also in Seville, adorn'd with fountains and magnificent buildings, and no town abounded more in wealth in the last age, when all the trade to Potosi and America in general was carried on here. Their traffick is still considerable, but Cadiz and other sea-ports have depriv'd them of a great deal of it, the river not being navigable for large vessels higher than St. Lucar. Seville is larger than Madrid; its situation on the river Guadalquivir in one of the most beautiful plains in the world, renders it a very desirable abode. The Spaniards look upon it as one of the wonders of the world, a perfect paradise, especially in a fine evening, which they seldom want, when all the quality repair to the neighbouring fields in their coaches to taste the fragrant air, perfum'd with a varie y of

CHAP. sweet flowers and blossoms that nature produces
XIV. here in almost every season. Their olives are the
best in Europe, and grow in the greatest quantities;
there is a wood of them not far from the city near
twenty miles in circumference.

Cadiz.

Cadiz, *olim Gades*, or, as the English usually pronounce it, Cales, is situated on the north-west point of the island of Leon, or Lions, in thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, six degrees forty minutes to the westward of London, and about ninety-four leagues south-west of Madrid. The island it stands upon bears some resemblance to a pear with a long stalk, and is in length from the south-east to the north-west about six leagues; the north-west end where the town stands is scarce half a league broad; the south-west end is about three leagues over, and has a communication with the continent by a bridge call'd Ponte Sanore. The island with the continent over against it form a bay four leagues long, and in most places two in breadth, only about the middle of the bay are two points of land, one on the continent, and the other on the island, so near together that the forts upon them, call'd the Puntal and Matagorda, command the passage, and within these points is the harbour, which it is impossible for an enemy to enter till he has taken the said forts. This was the reason that the confederates in their expedition against Cadiz in the year 1702, made their descent near Port St. Mary's on the continent, in order to attack the fort call'd Puntal on that side, and thereby facilitate the entrance of their fleet into the harbour. Some other reasons were given for their landing on that side, as the furnishing themselves with provisions, and giving the country an opportunity of declaring for them: it was also thought very hazardous landing on the backside of the island next the ocean, there running so great a surf upon the shore. But I find it was the opinion afterwards, both of the Generals and Admirals, that the landing on the back of the island, notwithstanding the hazard, had been the most likely way to have carry'd the town; and that though they had taken the fort of Puntal, the fleet could not have enter'd the harbour unless they had made themselves also masters of Fort Matagorda on the island. This I thought fit to observe for the animadversion of those who may hereafter be concern'd in an attempt of the like nature against this place. The Earl of Essex and Sir WALTER RALEIGH, in the year 1596, took the town before they attempted the ships within the puntals.

But to return to the town: It stands upon so very narrow a point of land, that there is scarce any ground between that and the sea, except to the south-west; and it is the general opinion, that part of the island has been wash'd away or destroy'd by an earthquake, together with great part of the ancient Gades, the present dimensions

not agreeing with those given us by the Greek and Roman historians. However, the city is computed to contain still about five thousand houses, and has a prodigious foreign trade, the galleons annually taking in their lading here, and returning hither with the treasures of Potosi, and other rich merchandizes of America; and here accordingly are the finest store-houses in Europe. This also is the principal port where the royal navy of Spain have their rendezvous, and where most of their largest ships are careen'd and fitted out.

Cadiz is a Bishop's See, the cathedral a fine building, richly adorn'd and furnish'd; besides which there are several other handsome churches and convents, and a spacious square with a fountain in the middle of it.

The island consists of hills and plains, but produces no grain of any sort. Their vineyards however afford excellent wine, and their pasture is extremely rich. In the bay and on the island they make abundance of good salt of the sea-water.

The Phenicians first possess'd themselves of this island, and erected a temple to HERCULES in it; after them the Carthaginians and the Romans were successively masters of it. The Romans, probably on account of its trade and wealth, resorted hither more than to any other distant town; insomuch that it is said, no less than five hundred Roman knights resided in the city at once.

Port St. Mary's is situated on the opposite side of the bay of Cadiz on the continent, about three leagues north-east of that city, remarkable for the descent the Confederates made there in the year 1702, and the unhappy conduct of some of their officers, who too much encouraged their soldiers in plundering the place and abusing the nuns, notwithstanding they declar'd themselves their friends; which gave the Spaniards such an opinion of our heretick troops, as did them an inconceivable prejudice in the wars that follow'd in that kingdom.

Gibraltar is situated in thirty-six degrees north latitude, six degrees to the westward of London, at the foot of the famous Mount Calpe, usually call'd one of HERCULES's pillars, the other being Abyle, or Sierra de las Monas, over against it in Africa. There is a chapel on each of them, the one call'd Our Lady of Europe, and the other Our Lady of Africk. But to return to Gibraltar: It is a little fortified town, built on a tongue or slip of land that runs out into the Mediterranean sea, and forms a bay call'd the Bay of Gibraltar. The mountain or rock which covers it towards the land is half a league in height, and so steep that there is no ascending it by a body of troops if they are oppos'd. When the French and Spaniards besieg'd it in 1704, five or six hundred men indeed found means to climb up the rock in the night-time, but being discover'd, were part of them made prisoners by the English garrison, and the rest broke their necks down

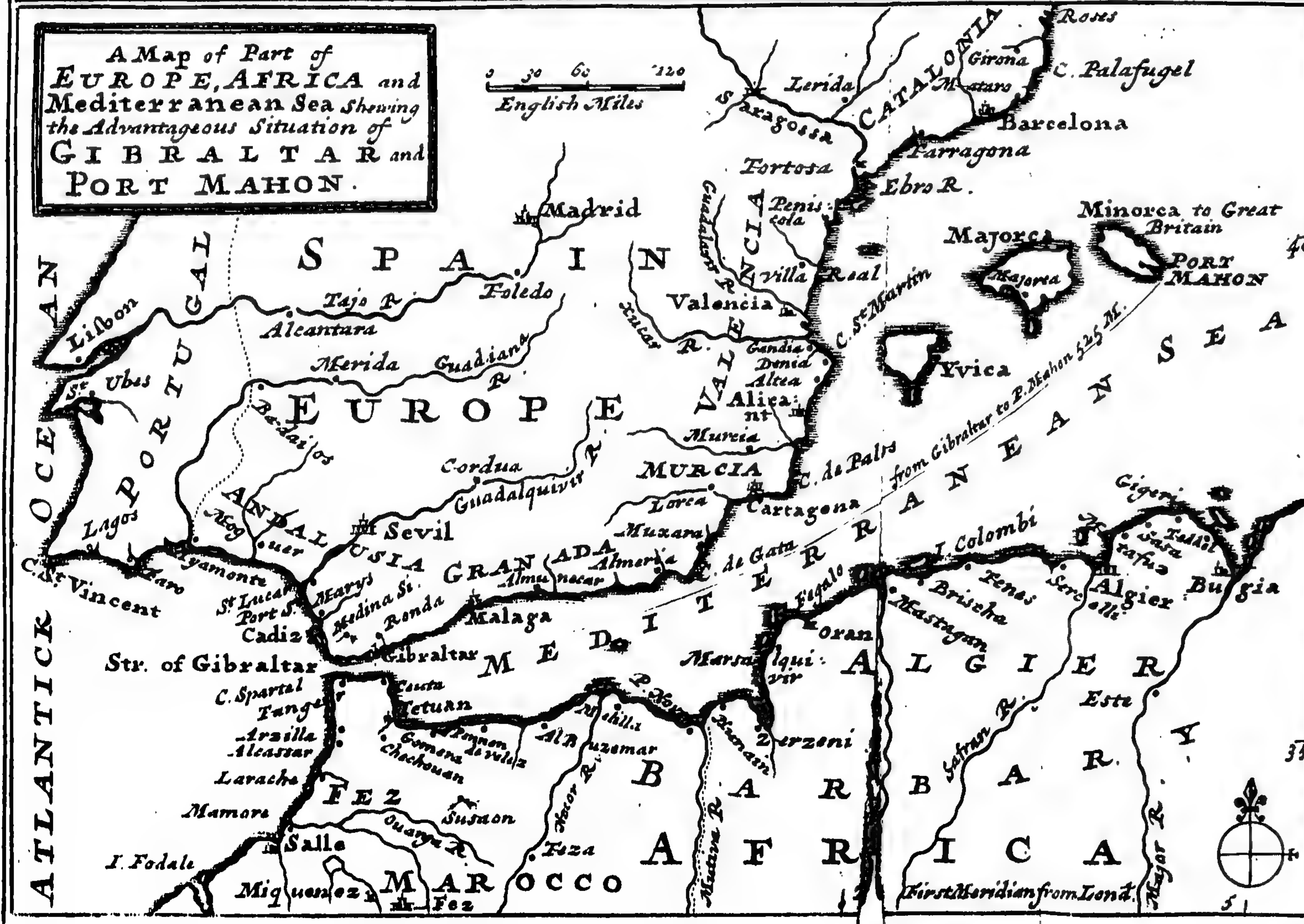
A View of the Town of GIBRALTAR from the Bay



A View of GIB



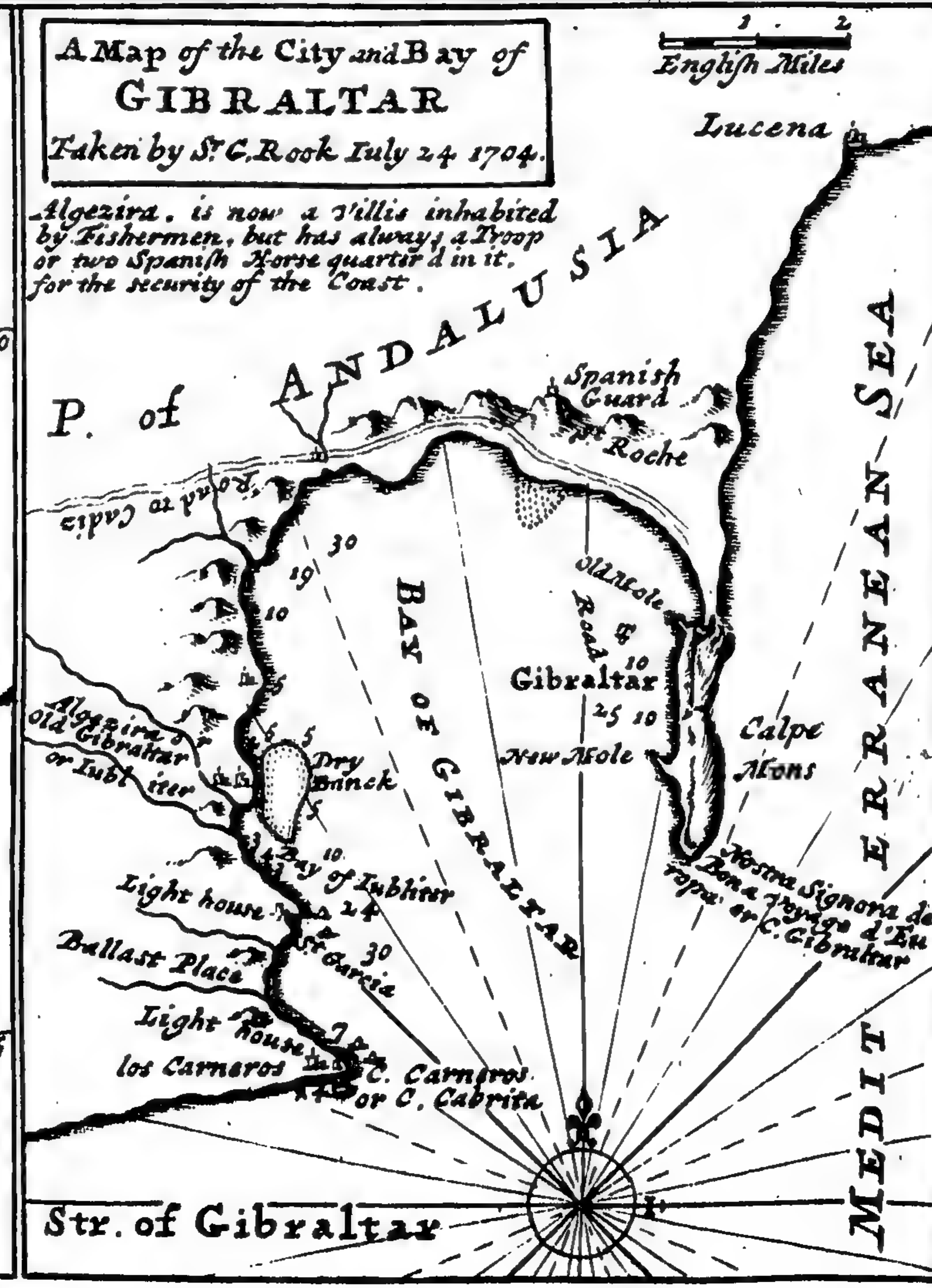
A Map of Part of EUROPE, AFRICA and Mediterranean Sea Shewing the Advantageous Situation of GIBRALTAR and PORT MAHON.



A Map of the City and Bay of GIBRALTAR

Taken by S^r C. Rook July 24 1704.

Algezira, is now a Villis inhabited by Fishermen, but has always a Troop or two Spanish Horse quarter'd in it, for the security of the Coast.



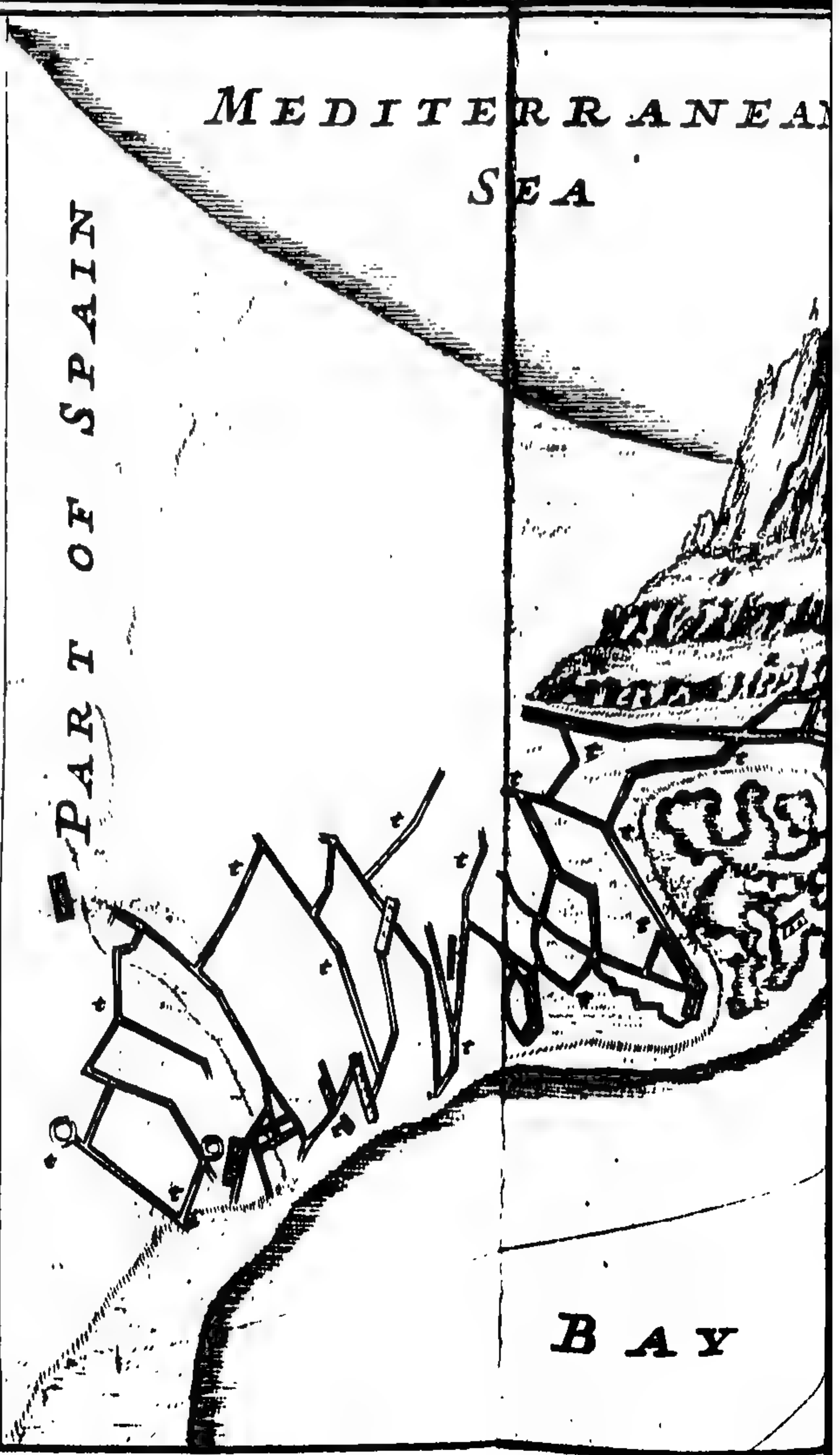
An Exact PLAN of Part of GIBRALTAR

Shewing all the FORTIFICATIONS on the Land-Side and the Enemies Approches against it in y^e Year 17th This Plan was dedicated to the PRINCE of HESSEN DARMSTADT By Col: Ol: D^r Harcourt.

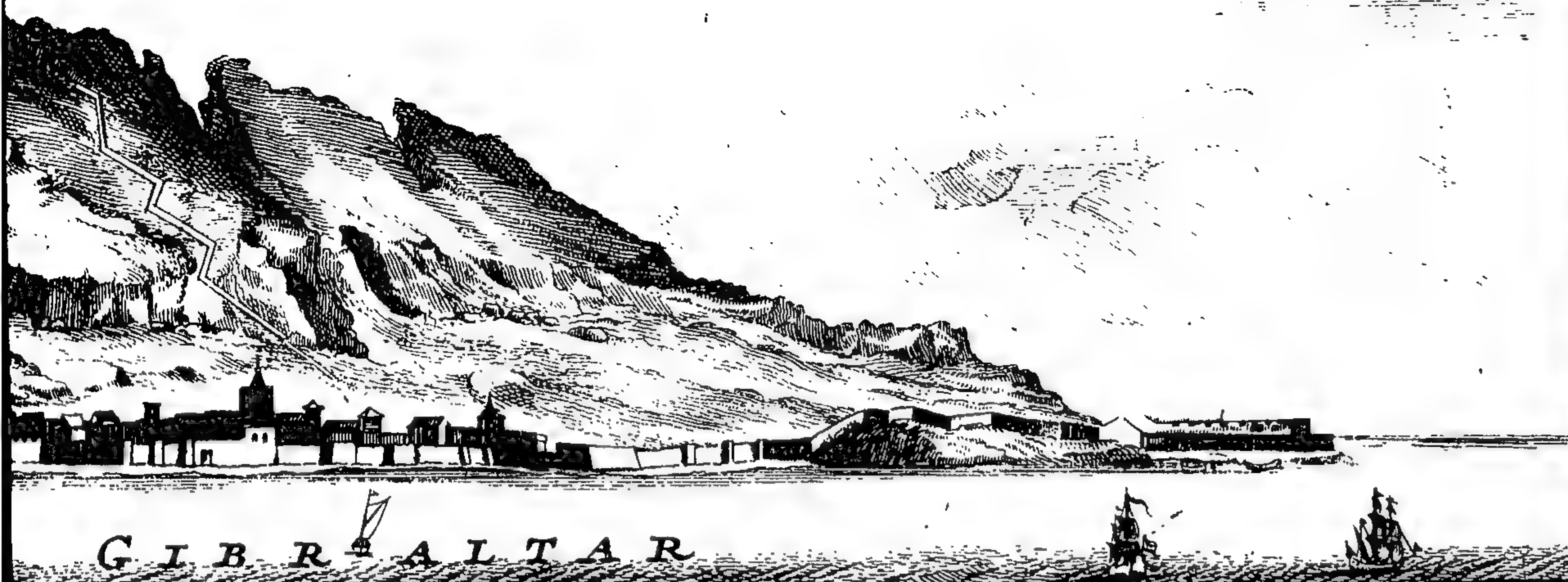
- Explanation of the References of this Plan
- a. St Pauls Bastion
 - b. St Peters Bastion
 - c. The Round Tower
 - d. Comm^o of y^e Round Tower
 - e. The Breaches in y^e Castle
 - f. The Breaches in y^e Line from L^aruia upwards
 - g. Breaches in y^e line from y^e Ro and I. up to y^e Salto de Lobo
 - h. Willis's Battery
 - i. Old Mole
 - k. Our Mines
 - l. Stone Bridg
 - m. Land Gate
 - n. Water Gate
 - o. Breaches made by y^e Enemy
 - p. The Castle
 - q. The Solto Lobo or the Catalan Guard
 - r. Part of the Enemies Tro: inches w^{ch} the Garrison Burnt
 - s. Entrenchment behind the Breach
 - t. The Enemies Approches
 - v. Part of the Town
 - w. The M^oras's
 - x. Place where the New-works are now made

A Scale of 1200 Feet

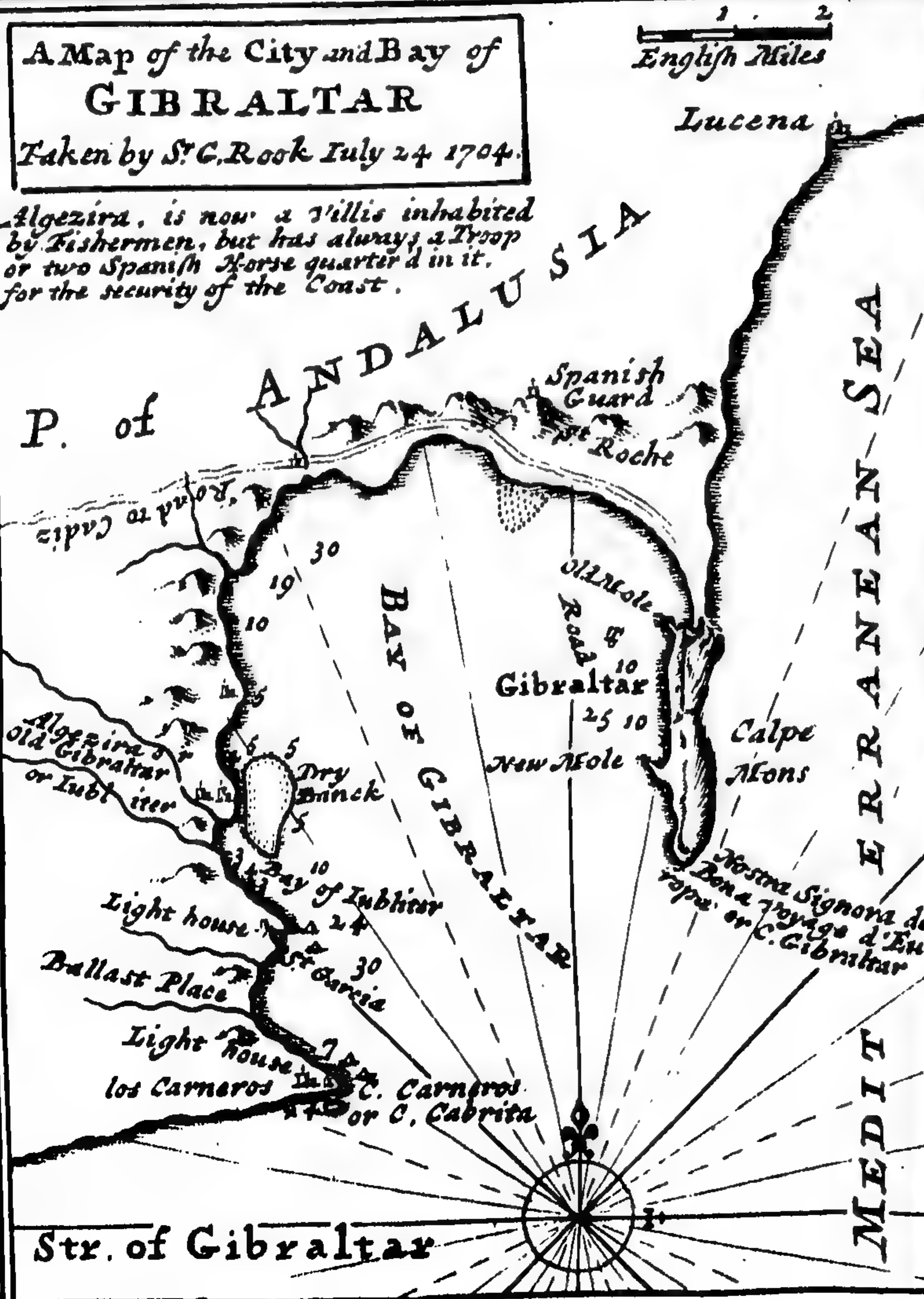
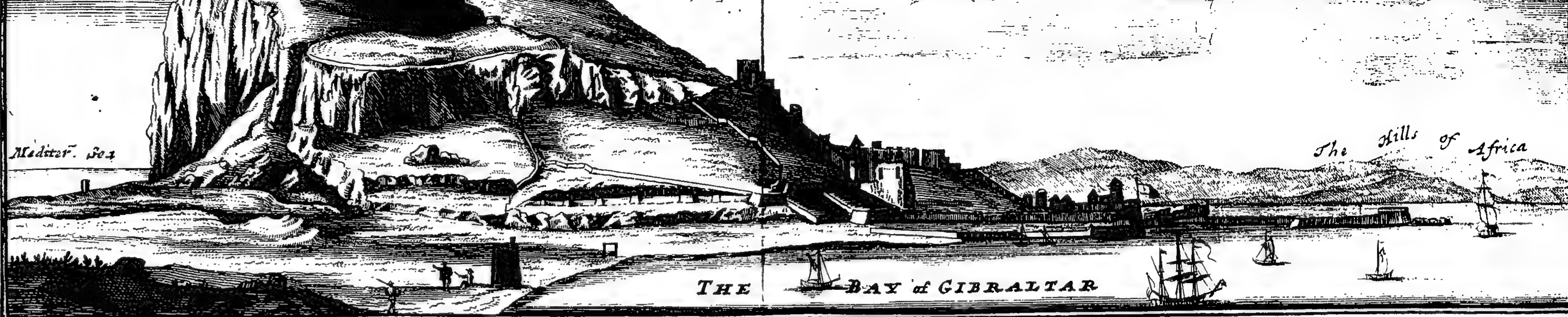
Note, The Siege of this Town, lasted five Months wanting two Days, Ground being opened before it Octob. 22. 1704 and the Siege being raised the 20. of March following.



View of GIBRALTAR from the Bay



A View of GIBRALTAR from the North West



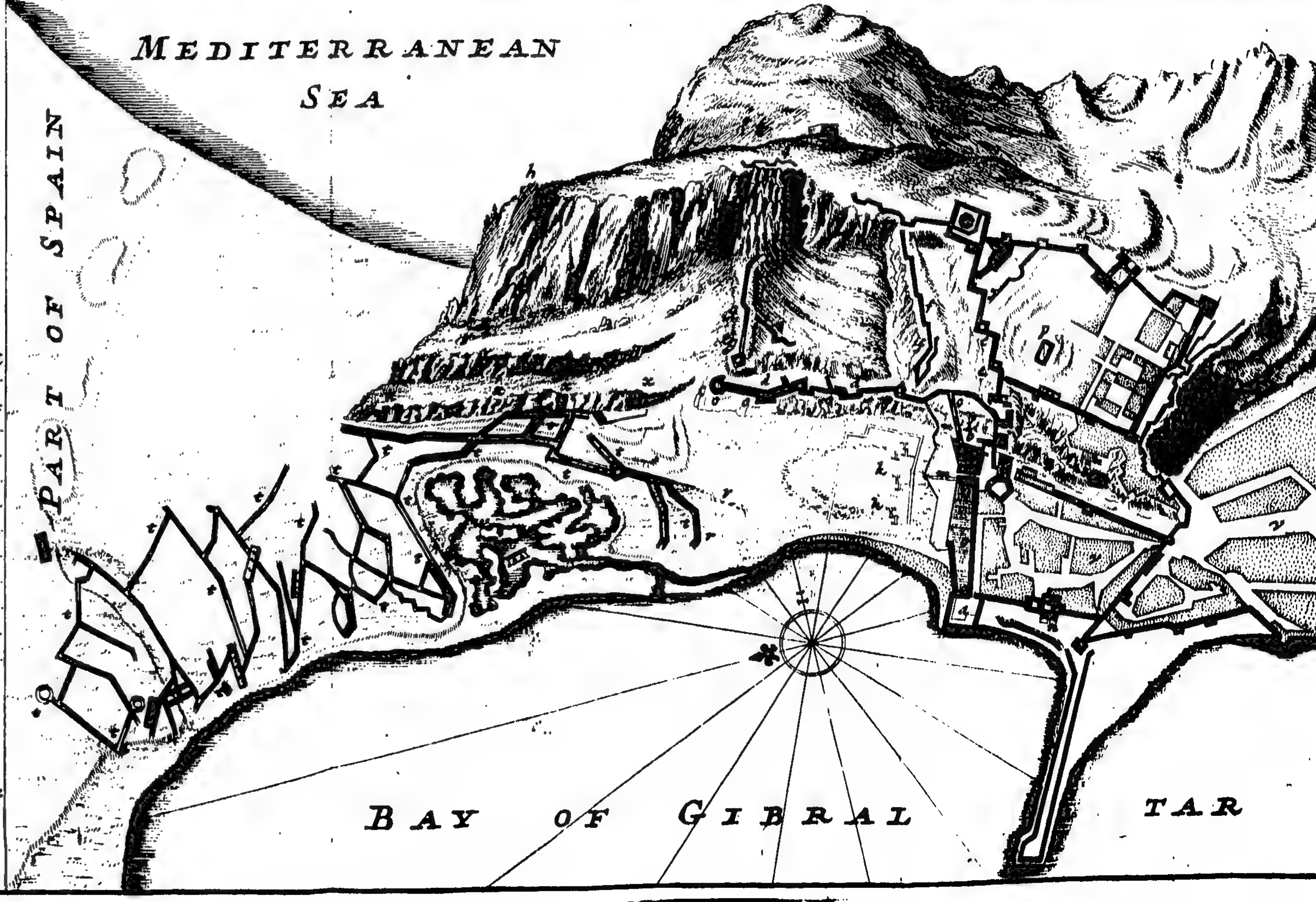
An Exact PLAN of Part of GIBRALTAR

Shewing all the FORTIFICATIONS on the Land-Side and the Enemies Approches against it in y^e Year 17th This Plan was dedicated to the PRINCE of HESSEN DARMSTADT By Col: Ol: D' Harcourt.

Explanation of the References of this Plan

| | |
|---|--|
| a. St Pauls Bastion | o. Breaches made by y ^e Enemy |
| b. St Peters Bastion | p. The Castle |
| c. The Round Tower | q. The Salto Lobo or the Catalan Guard |
| d. Comm ^o of y ^e Round Tower | r. Part of the Enemies Trenches w ^{ch} the Garrison Burnt |
| e. The Breaches in y ^e Castle from L'Arquis upwards | s. Entrenchment behind the Breach |
| f. The Breaches in y ^e Line from L'Arquis upwards | t. The Enemies Approches |
| g. Breaches in y ^e line from y ^e Round Tower up to y ^e Salto de Lobo | v. Part of the Town |
| h. Willis's Battery | w. The Moras's |
| i. Old Mole | x. Place where the New-works are now made |
| k. Our Mines | |
| l. Stone Bridge | |
| m. Land Gate | |
| n. Water Gate | |

Note. The Siege of this Town lasted five Months wthing two Days, Ground being opened before it Octob. 22. 1704 and the Siege being raised the 20. of March following.



H A P. XIV. down the rock. In the late siege, anno 1727, the Spaniards attempted to mine under the rock, but did not make such a progress as to give them hopes of removing the mountain, and it is by most held to be impregnable on the land-side. On the other hand, if the enemy should be masters at sea, it seems much more feasible to attack it from thence; and though the place might hold out a considerable time, it must of necessity yield at length, if it is invested on all sides: there is not a town in the world, perhaps, but may be taken if it can't be reliev'd, the art of war is arriv'd at such perfection. As to the town it self, it was little better than a heap of rubbish very lately; the native Spaniards most of them left the place upon our taking it in 1704, and there have not been many British families settled there since. The communication with the neighbouring country being entirely cut off by the Spaniards, makes it but an uncomfortable abode: they have no other provision than what is imported from abroad. The English government are indeed about to establish a corporation there, and to make it a free port; but the want of a good harbour, and the uncertainty of remaining long at peace, I doubt will discourage merchants from settling there: and as it is like to be a perpetual bone of contention, whether England will gain much by the possession of it, is a very great question. The streight to which this town communicates its name is about eight leagues in length and five in breadth. Ceuta in Africk stands directly opposite to Gibraltar, from whence it is distant five or six leagues. There is a strong current that constantly sets into this streight from the ocean, which will carry a ship ten miles an hour, and requires a brisk gale to stem it.

C H A P. XV.

Treats of the province of Grenada.

TH E province or kingdom of Grenada is bounded by Andalusia towards the north; by Murcia and the Mediterranean sea towards the east; by the same sea on the south; and by Andalusia on the west: being about sixty-five leagues in length from east to west, and twenty-five in breadth from north to south, where broadest. The face of this province is very rugged and uneven, and the mountains so exceeding high, that notwithstanding the heat of the climate they are generally cover'd with snow.

The breezes from the mountains and the sea are mighty refreshing in this province, but many of their valleys are hot notwithstanding; which, together with the scarcity of water in some places, renders travelling almost impracticable in the day-time during the heats, especially between Grenada

and Seville: but still the air is not unhealthful, or so excessive hot as in Andalusia. While the industrious Moors were masters of this kingdom, it equall'd most countries of Europe in plenty of corn, wine, oil, and delicious fruits. It was then croud'd with inhabitants, and manufactures flourish'd: but the banishing the greatest part of that people has render'd it quite another thing. However, at this day 'tis said to afford every thing that can render life agreeable, that their very mountains produce vines, olives, oranges and other fruit-trees, and their grapes are the largest we meet with any where: sugar-canes thrive in their valleys, and they make vast quantities of silk. Thyme and other sweet herbs growing in their pastures, gives the flesh of their cattle a delicious relish. From hence we import oranges, pomegranates, figs, raisins of the sun, Malaga raisins, and rich wines. The soil also produces melons, flax and hemp; and the sea abounds in good fish. They have rich mines in their mountains, and quarries of precious stones. The principal rivers are the Xenil and the Daro, which uniting their streams at Grenada, run to the westward, and fall into the Guadalquivir; the Guadalentia, which rising near Guadix, runs eastward through Murcia, and falls into the sea before Lorca. In the time of the Moors it contain'd thirty-three populous cities, of which not more than sixteen retain that name at present.

The chief towns at this day are Grenada, Guadix, Baza, Loxa, Antequera, Malaga, Cartama, Munda, Ronda, Velez Malaga, Alhama, Almunecar, Solebregua and Almeria.

The city of Grenada is situated at the foot of the mountain call'd Sierra Nerada, or the Snowy Mountain, partly on two little hills, and partly in a plain, at the confluence of the rivers Daro and Xenil, sixty leagues to the southward of Madrid, and twenty north-east of Malaga, and is said to have taken its name from the grenades or pomegranates which the country about it produces in abundance. It is surrounded with an antique wall and towers, being about twelve thousand paces in circumference, and hath twelve gates. On the west side of the city lies a delightful plain, well water'd with springs and rivulets: towards the east the country is rocky and mountainous, but abounds in fountains and refreshing streams. Between the two hills above mention'd is a deep valley, through which the little river Daro runs, and having travers'd part of the town, unites its waters with the Xenil, which is said to have gold dust mingled with its sands, from whence it is sometimes call'd the Golden River. The town is divided into four great quarters, known by the several names of Grenada, Alhambra, Albaycin and Antiqueruela. That of Grenada is much the finest, and stands in the plain between the mountains, where

C H A P. XV.

Produce of the soil.

Rivers.

Chief towns.

Grenada.

CHAP. where the nobility, clergy, merchants and wealthy citizens chiefly reside. This quarter is adorned with elegant buildings publick and private, and with several spacious squares embellish'd with fountains: most of the houses of the quality have gardens and fountains belonging to them.

The cathedral church is in this quarter; a fine edifice, but not large: the most remarkable thing in it is the dome, supported by twelve large pillars finely painted and gilded. Near it is the chapel where King FERDINAND V, and ISABELLA his Queen, who conquer'd Grenada, lie interr'd. The altar is nobly adorn'd, and the sacristy richly furnish'd. The chancery is in the same quarter, where the sovereign council of Grenada and the officers of the treasury assemble. There is a magnificent square before it of an oblong form, adorn'd with fountains.

The second quarter of the town, which commands the rest, is call'd Alhambra from the redness of the soil, and sometimes the Mountain of the Sun. Here are situated two castles or palaces, the one built by PHILIP II, and the other by the Moorish Kings. From the lower town we ascend to this quarter by a fine walk of trees, adorn'd with statues and fountains. The palace built by PHILIP is of blue stone, the architecture admirable, but it was never finish'd. The palace of the Moorish Kings is much larger, said to contain lodgings and accommodations for forty thousand people. The walls are lin'd with jasper, porphyry and other beautiful marbles, which form a sort of Mosaic work; the ceilings finely painted and gilded, and on the walls are abundance of inscriptions in Arabian characters. This palace is still kept in repair, and affords an admirable prospect of the city and neighbouring country. On the outside it has the appearance of an old castle, but within is extremely magnificent. In the middle is a spacious court pav'd with marble, surrounded with a noble piazza and galleries over them, at the four corners whereof are as many marble fountains, and in the middle one of an uncommon size, adorn'd with groups of figures, from whence the water is convey'd to the bagnio's of the Moorish Kings, which are rooms with vaulted roofs lined with alabaster, having basins to bathe in the middle of them: from the bathing-room they pass'd to another to dry themselves, and from thence to a third, where they slept, or trifled away the time with their women during the heat of the day. Adjoining to the palace is a fine park and gardens well replenish'd with fountains, rivulets and shady groves, which render it a very desirable retreat in the summer.

The third quarter of the city called Albaycin was formerly look'd upon as a suburb divided from the rest of the town by a wall. It stands upon an

eminence opposite to the other, and consists of about two thousand houses. All the inhabitants of this quarter are Morescoes, distinguish'd from the other Spaniards by their language, their habits and manners, and are for the most part husbandmen.

The fourth quarter of Grenada was call'd Antequerula because it was first peopled by a colony from Antiquera. It lies in a bottom, and is inhabited chiefly by those employ'd in the silk manufacture and dyers. Grenada is a trading town, but not comparable to what it was in the time of the Moors, when they computed there were sixty thousand houses, and two hundred thousand inhabitants in the place. There are an incredible number of fountains here, and they never want ice and snow in the adjoining mountains to cool their wines, which occasions abundance of people of quality to resort hither from all parts of the kingdom during the heats.

Grenada was esteem'd on account of its situation and its fortifications, one of the strongest towns in Spain while it was in the hands of the Moors, but it being of so large an extent, and having no other defence than the old walls and towers, would not be able to sustain a long siege, at this day. It was surrender'd by BOABDIL the Moorish King, to King FERDINAND V. Anno 1491, on condition that the Moors should be left in possession of their lands, arms and horses, keep their mosques, enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and be govern'd by their own laws; and such as desir'd it, had liberty to sell their effects and retire to Africk. How that capitulation was observ'd, will be related in the history of this country. It is at present an Archbishop's See and an University, but one of the most inconsiderable in Spain. The fields in the neighbourhood of the town are exceeding pleasant, particularly on the south and west: on that side next Antiquera, as has been intimated already, is a large plain eight leagues in length and four in breadth, call'd the Vega de Grenada, encompass'd with little hills, and interspers'd with villages, besides abundance of fine monasteries and hospitals: to sum up all, says my author, Grenada is a most delightful abode, the soil produces plenty of excellent fruit, and every thing that is desirable in life; the air is pure and serene, and not so excessive hot as in Andalusia; and so remarkably healthful, that people resort hither to restore their shatter'd constitutions. The Moors were so ravish'd with the situation, that they imagin'd paradise to be in that part of the heavens which is directly over it.

Guadix is situated ten leagues east of Grenada; it is an antient town formerly call'd Acci, or Colonia Accitana. It is a large place, and lies on the side of a hill, in the middle of a spacious plain surrounded by mountains on every side, and water'd with

CHAP. XV. with four little brooks or torrents. The houses are not well built; nor is it remarkable for any thing, unless the cathedral and some fine cloysters.

Baza, or Baca, lies seven leagues north-east of Guadix, in a valley call'd Hoya de Baca. It is tolerably large, containing about four thousand houses; but has nothing remarkable, unless the church of Our Lady of Piety, where they tell us great miracles are wrought. The soil is well cultivated for about half a mile round, and produces corn, wine, honey, flax and hemp; but the country beyond, as in many other parts of Spain, lies unmanur'd.

Loxa, or Loya, lies at the foot of the mountains, on the river Xenil, six leagues to the westward of Grenada. The town is moderately large, and remarkable for its pleasant situation, the fields about it being a perfect garden. They supply Grenada with great quantities of fruit, herbs, flesh and other provisions; the neighbouring mountains being well stock'd with flocks and herds of cattle as well as game.

Antiquera is situated twelve leagues south-west of Grenada, partly on little hills at the foot of the mountains, and partly in a plain. It is a fine large town, the streets spacious, and the houses well built; defended by an antique wall and towers, and a castle situated on an eminence at one end of the town, fortify'd after the manner of the Moors, and esteem'd a strong place in those days, but has no modern fortifications. It stands in a fruitful country, well water'd with fountains and rivulets, and the natives employ themselves in silk and other manufactures; but they are most famous for their salt-pits, where they make salt enough to serve the whole province. Two leagues from the town is a medicinal spring which cures many diseases, and particularly the gravel.

Malaga is situated on the sea-coast, two and twenty leagues north-east of Gibraltar, at the foot of a steep mountain, between which and the sea there is but just room enough for the town, which is not very large or well built, but considerable on account of its trade; its harbour and fortifications being defended by a double wall, and two castles one above another on the adjoining mountain. It is esteem'd a rich populous place, considering the extent.

In autumn every year resort hither great numbers of foreign ships, particularly from England and Holland, to load fruit, as raisins, almonds, figs, oranges, capers, &c. besides wines, some of which have obtain'd the name of Malaga from the place they are put on board, and are the produce of the neighbouring country. Malaga is the See of a Bishop suffragan of Grenada, and the cathedral an elegant building, richly furnish'd and adorn'd, as are most of the great churches in Spain. It was

near this city that happen'd the last general sea-fight between the Confederates and the French, in the year 1704, when the latter seem'd to resign the empire of the Ocean to their enemies, having never appear'd at sea with their grand fleet since.

Ronda is a pretty little town, honour'd with the title of a city, and stands on the top of a high rock, at the foot whereof runs the little river of Rio Verde, to which there is a descent by four hundred broad steps, cut out of the solid rock. It lies about six or seven leagues north-east of Gibraltar, on the confines of Andalusia, which is separated from this province of Grenada by a long chain of mountains, call'd the mountains of Ronda, vastly high and uneven, and almost one continued barren rock.

The town of Velez Malaga lies about five leagues to the eastward of Malaga. It is situated in a fine plain, surrounded with mountains, and has an old castle belonging to it of no great strength. The principal trade of the natives is in dry'd raisins, which grow on the hills about it, in oranges, citrons, and other fruits.

Near Velez Malaga lie the mountains of Alpuxarras, containing seventeen leagues in length and eleven in breadth, inhabited altogether by the descendants of the Moors, who notwithstanding they profess the christian religion, retain their antient customs and habits, and by their application to husbandry render this mountainous tract one of the most fruitful parts of the country.

The town of Alhama is situated near the source of the river Rio Frio, seven leagues south-west of Grenada, and is a handsome town, moderately large, but most famous for its baths, esteem'd the best in Spain; they rise from several fountains, and the waters thereof are so clear, that a piece of money may be seen plainly at the bottom: the heat is so moderate and agreeable, that people bathe in them with pleasure; nor have they any ill taste, and yet are allow'd to heal many diseases and infirmities. The Kings of Spain have built here a vast edifice for the use of the court, from whence people go down into the baths by stone steps, to what depth they please: and hither the nobility and gentry resort, as well for pleasure as their healths, at the seasons for bathing, which are in spring and autumn. A little above these baths are frightful rocks, from whence the river Frio issues with a terrible noise, forming several natural cascades. The waters of this stream are excessive cold, from whence the river takes its name. A little below it unites its waters with those of the baths, and running southward falls into the sea near Puerto de Torres, where it forms a small bay.

Almeria is situated on a bay of the Mediterranean, fourteen or fifteen leagues south-east of Grenada, and four or five north-west of Cape de Gata, well known to our mariners. It stands on a fruitful soil,

CHAP. soil, water'd with fountains and rivulets, and a-
XVI. bounds with such fruits as are common in the rest
of the province, but chiefly with olives, of which
they make excellent oil. The town is very an-
cient, and a Bishop's See, suffragan to Grenada.

C H A P. XVI.

Treats of the province of Murcia.

Murcia
province.

THE province or kingdom of Murcia is bound-
ed by New Castile on the north and west ;
by Valencia and the Mediterranean towards the
east ; by the same sea on the south, and by Gre-
nada on the south-west ; and is five and twenty
leagues in length, and three and twenty in breadth,
being much the least of all the provinces of Spain.
This country produces good corn and wine, but
not much of either, it is so very rocky and moun-
tainous. Their greatest riches are their fruits,
silk and sugar, and they have some rice. Here
are also quarries of rich marble, and other stones.
The air is generally pure and healthful.

Rivers.
Segura.

The most considerable rivers are, 1. The Segura,
antiently call'd Terebus and Sorabis, which rising
in New Castile, takes its course eastward, and run-
ning through the middle of this province, passes
over the south part of Valencia, discharging it self
into the sea at Guardamar. 2. The Guadalantin,
which rising in the kingdom of Grenada, runs
eastward through the south part of Murcia, and
falls into the sea near Almacaron.

Guada-
lantin.

Chief
towns.

Lorca.

The chief towns are Lorca, Murcia, Cartha-
gena and Almacaron.

Lorca is situated on an eminence, at the foot
whereof runs the river Guadalantin, about six
leagues from the sea. It is tolerably large, but
in a declining condition, inhabited chiefly by new
Christians, or Morescoes, as they are call'd, whose
principal employment is husbandry.

Murcia.

Murcia, the capital of the province, is situa-
ted in a fine plain on the river Segura, sixty-four
leagues south-east of Madrid, and about twelve
south-east of Alicant, being four or five miles in
circumference. It is tolerably well built, and be-
sides the cathedral, has several handsome churches
and monasteries. Upon an eminence a little a-
bove it stands a castle, more an ornament than de-
fence to the place. The country about it is ex-
tremely fruitful and pleasant ; it abounds chiefly in
olives and mulberry-trees, the leaves whereof feed
an incredible number of silk-worms, silk being
their principal manufacture. Here are also some
plantations of sugar-canes and rice, but very little
other grain.

Cartagena.

Cartagena, *Carthago Nova*, is situated at the
bottom of a fine bay of the Mediterranean sea, se-
ven or eight leagues south of Murcia. The town
is not large or rich, but most considerable on ac-

count of its harbour at present. In the adjacent
country, 'tis said, are some mines of precious stones,
as rubies, amethysts and carbuncles, besides o-
thers of gold and silver, which have not been
wrought for many years ; their alum mines how-
ever are still very valuable. HANNIBAL, or A-
MILCAR, 'tis said, first laid the foundation of this
town in the second Punick war, the Carthaginians
having here their principal magazine. It increas'd
within a short time to such a degree that it became
the capital of Spain, and it was computed sixty se-
veral people were subject to it, but was taken by
Scipio in the year of Rome 544, where he found
prodigious quantities of gold and silver plate, and
other treasures. This town was almost entirely
destroy'd by the Goths and Vandals, and remain'd
a considerable time almost buried in its ruins, till
the commodiousness of its harbour drew people a-
gain to settle here, whereupon PHILIP the second
built the last walls and fortified it, since which it
has flourish'd a little, but falls infinitely short of its
antient grandeur in the time of the Carthaginians
and Romans. It is still however the See of a bishop,
suffragan of Toledo, and one of the most antient
Sees in Spain.

Almacaron lies on the sea-coast at the mouth of Almacara
the river Guadalantin, six leagues to the westward
of Cartagena, considerable chiefly for its alum
mines, honour'd with the title of a city.

C H A P. XVII.

Treats of the Spanish islands.

THE principal islands belonging to Spain in the
Mediterranean are the Baleares, consisting of
Majorca, Minorca, Ivica and Fermentera, which
were sometimes call'd the kingdom of Majorca.
They are situated between the thirty-eighth degree
thirty minutes and forty degrees fifteen minutes north
latitude ; the most easterly of them, which is Mi-
norca, lying four degrees to the eastward of Lon-
don ; and Ivica, the most westerly of them, forty
minutes to the eastward of London. They are
said to have obtain'd the name of Baleares from
the Greek word *Ballo* to throw, the natives being
very expert at slinging stones, and using the sling
as the principal missile weapon in their wars.
They were also call'd Gymnesia from their going
naked.

Majorca, the largest of these islands, and which
has Minorca on the north-east and Ivica on the
south-west, is situated about seven and twenty
leagues to the southward of the coast of Catalonia,
and thirty-two to the eastward of Valencia, being
about twenty leagues in length from the south-
west to the north-east, and fifteen in breadth from
the south-east to the north-west. The face of the
country is very rough and mountainous, especially
on

CHAP. XVII. on the coast, but there are several fine plains and valleys in the heart of the island, where we meet with arable lands, meadows, vineyards and orchards. There are several good ports and roads for shipping on the coast. The air is healthful and more temperate than the neighbouring continent, not so hot in summer or so cold in winter; and they are said to abound in corn, wine, oil, salt, honey, saffron, cattle, wool, game and fish; but there are no wild beasts or noxious animals on the island. I don't find they have one stream that deserves the name of a river, to supply which defect however, they have a great many springs, from which they water their grounds; but in dry years they are forc'd to import corn from abroad for their subsistence. They resemble the Spaniards on the continent in their customs and manners, more particularly those of Catalonia. People of condition usually speak Spanish, but the common people a dialect called Limousin, a barbarous kind of French. The chief towns are Majorca and Alcudia.

Majorca is situated towards the bottom of a large bay, on the south-west side of the island, partly on a hill and partly in a plain, being defended by a wall and other fortifications, and contains about six thousand houses. The streets are broad and the squares spacious, the houses built of hewn stone. They reckon up two and twenty churches in the place, besides chapels and oratories; the cathedral esteem'd an elegant building. The harbour is large, and secure against all winds but the south-west. This city is the residence of the Viceroy, who had the government of all the islands till Minorca was yielded to the English, and is a Bishop's See, whose jurisdiction also extended over the whole kingdom.

Alcudia is situated on a peninsula in the east part of the island, and contains about a thousand houses. It is defended by a wall and two forts, but neither this nor the capital city made any defence, when the forces of King PHILIP landed here after the reduction of the Catalans in 1715.

The next island of consequence is that of Minorca, situate five or six leagues north-east of Majorca. It stretches itself from the north-west to the south-east, and is about ten leagues in length and four in breadth. This island also is incumber'd with mountains, which are not so fruitful as those of Majorca. The language and customs of this people differ'd little from those of Majorca, till the conquest of it by the English in 1708. What this island is most considerable for, is the fine harbour of Port-Mahon, situated in the south-east part of the island, where the greatest fleets may ride secure from tempests or enemies. The garrison of Fort Philip and the other forts erected for its security, made but a mean defence when the English attack'd them; but the fortifications

are since so well improv'd, that it wou'd require a good fleet and army to reduce them at this day. I do not meet with any rivers here any more than in Majorca; and notwithstanding the pretended fertility both of the one and the other, which most writers entertain us with, I am very well assured the English garrisons in Minorca wou'd find it difficult to subsist, if they were not supply'd with provisions from abroad. The only town of any note is Cividella, or Citadella, situate on a bay of the sea at the west end of the island, which contains about five or six hundred houses.

The island of Yvica, or Ivica, lies twelve or thirteen leagues south-west of Majorca, and is about ten leagues in length and eight in breadth. This island also is mountainous; it produces some corn and fruits; but what it is most considerable for, is its salt, of which they transport great quantities. The chief town is call'd Yvica, the antient *Ebussa*, situated on a bay of the sea in the south part of the island, which travellers have not thought worth a description.

The little island of Formentera lies about two leagues south of Ivica, once well peopled, but now perfectly deserted on account of the Turkish and Barbary rovers, who frequently come on shore here. Some have pretended that it was forsaken on account of the multitude of serpents and other poisonous insects that were found here; but I am pretty well assur'd there are no venomous insects here, or in any other of the islands of Baleares. There is another little uninhabited island call'd Cabreta, a little to the southward of Majorca, and several more near the mouth of the Ebro on the coast of Catalonia, but they have not been thought worth a particular description.

The islands of the Baleares have usually partaken of the fate of Spain. They were possessed by the Phenicians and Greeks, and afterwards by the Romans. The Moors made themselves masters of them about the seventh century. In the year 1230, JAMES King of Arragon conquer'd Majorca, and two years afterwards Minorca; and in 1344, PETER IV, King of Arragon, annex'd them to his crown. Majorca revolted at the instance of the Catalans against the present King PHILIP V, and continued the war against him after the Confederates had withdrawn their forces out of Spain; but Barcelona being surrender'd, they submitted to King PHILIP on his transporting an army of fourteen or fifteen thousand men thither without striking a stroke. As to Minorca, that was confirm'd to the English by the peace of Utrecht, having been reduced by them in the year 1708. There is nothing in the island but the celebrated Port Mahon which cou'd induce the English to be at the charge of keeping it; and this indeed, in case of a war with any of the powers that border upon the Mediterranean, might be a

CHAP. XVIII. considerable advantage to the nation. But if Spain is determin'd never to entertain a sincere friendship for us, 'till this, and that other barren spot on which Gibraltar stands are yielded to them, whether we shall be gainers by keeping them in the end, may deserve consideration. I proceed in the next place to give an abstract of the history of this kingdom.

CHAP. XVIII.

Contains an abstract of the antient and modern history of Spain.

Abstract of the antient history.

Phenicians and Greeks plant colonies in Spain.

The Celtæ fix themselves there.

THE writers of the last and some preceding ages, have pretended to shew us from which of the sons of NOAH every people on the face of the earth are descended, unless the inhabitants of America: but as they have no records, no history, or even tradition to support their conjectures, I shall not abuse the reader's patience by entertaining him with their random guesses. Certain it is, both the Phenicians and the Greeks, who planted colonies on the coast of Spain about the time that Rome was built, found the country well peopled at their arrival. The Celtæ also, a French nation, who passed the Pyrenees about the same time and fix'd themselves on the banks of Ebro or Iberus, are said to have inter-married and incorporated with the natives they found there; and from this union the inhabitants of the north-east part of Spain, 'tis supposed, afterwards obtain'd the name of Celtiberians.

JOSEPHUS and some other Hebrew writers relate, that NEBUCHADNEZZAR having subdued the Phenicians, Jews and Egyptians, and being acquainted with the rich traffick they carried on with Spain, invaded that kingdom afterwards, and extended his conquests as far as Cadiz. But however that were, it is agreed on all hands, that the Phenicians were soon after in possession of Cadiz, Malaga and the other ports they had made themselves masters of on the coast of Spain again (if ever they were expell'd from thence) and that the Phenicians encroaching on the natives, and building forts on the continent, so exasperated the Spaniards, that they enter'd into a general confederacy against them, and had well nigh driven them out of their country, when the Phenicians called in the Carthaginians, who were descended from the same ancestors, to their assistance. Which invitation the Carthaginians gladly accepted, having themselves long waited for an opportunity to make a descent on the coast of Spain, and for that end already possessed themselves of the islands of Baleares. It was about the year 236 after the building of Rome that the Carthaginians under the command of their General MAHER-

Carthaginians get footing in Spain.

A. R. 236.

BAL came into Spain to the assistance of their brethren and allies the Phenicians. The war continued between the natives and these foreigners for several years with various success; but the Carthaginians, who are represented as much superiour to the Phenicians as well as the Spaniards in point of policy or state-craft, partly by force and partly by treaties, procured themselves at length such an extent of country, and so strongly fortified themselves, that they began to assume the dominion of the south part of Spain, and treat both the natives and Phenicians as their subjects, and especially on the sea-coasts, there being at that time no maritime power able to oppose their naval forces.

It is related, that about the year 307 after the building of Rome, the Senate of Carthage fitted out two squadrons of ships, the one under the command of HANNO for the discovery of the coast of Africk, and the other under HAMILCAR to sail northward about Spain and the rest of Europe. HANNO, whose fleet consisted of sixty galleys, on which he had thirty thousand men and women on board in order to plant colonies where he thought proper, setting sail from Cadiz to the southward, built a city on the coast of Africk which he named Thymiaterion; and having afterwards discover'd some islands under the equinoctial, return'd home. PLINY indeed says, he pass'd the Cape of Good Hope and sail'd northward as far as the Red Sea, from whence he sent an account of his expedition to Carthage: but those who are acquainted with the seas about the southern part of Africk will not easily believe that the galleys his fleet is said to consist of could live in those seas. It is generally agreed, however, that HANNO was out five years upon discovery, and did not return to Carthage 'till the year 312. As to HAMILCAR, 'tis said he kept close to the coast of Spain 'till he had pass'd Cape Finisterra, and then steering eastward discover'd the coasts of Gaul and Britain, and according to some sail'd as far as the Baltick, spending about two years in this voyage.

The Carthaginians did not only establish themselves in Spain about this time, but were endeavouring also to subdue the islands of Sicily and Sardinia; but the natives calling in the Romans to their assistance, the Sicilian war prov'd a very long and bloody one, and the Carthaginians were in the end driven from thence. Several of the cities of Spain also, being weary of the Carthaginian yoke, enter'd into an alliance with the Romans, particularly Roses, Empurias and Saguntum. Whereupon HAMILCAR, father of HANNIBAL, was sent into Spain with a powerful army, and reduced some of the places that had revolted; after which he built the city of Barcelona, but was kill'd in a battle with

CHAP. XVIII.

Carthaginian discoveries of the coast of Africk.

312.

Hamilcar Governour of Spain, Builds Barcelona.

CHAP. XVIII. the natives and their allies the Romans about the year of Rome 522, in which, 'tis said, the Carthaginians lost forty thousand men.

522. ASDRUBAL succeeding HAMILCAR in the government of Spain, restored the affairs of the Carthaginians, and built the city of Carthagera, which so increas'd in wealth and power, that it soon after became the capital of their dominions on that side, to which the commodiousness of the harbour (being the best in Spain) did not a little contribute. While ASDRUBAL remain'd here, the Romans sent an embassy to the republick of Carthage, proposing that the Ebro might be the boundary between the Romans and Carthaginians in Spain, except the city and territory of Saguntum, which lay to the westward of the river Ebro, and was in alliance with Rome, which they desired might also remain independent of Carthage. And though that republick was not very well pleas'd with the Romans intermeddling in the affairs of Spain, yet being acquainted with the success of that people against the Gauls at this time, they thought fit to dissemble their resentment and sign a treaty to that effect. The Ambassadors however were no sooner dismiss'd, but ASDRUBAL began to make preparations for a war with the Romans; in which having spent three whole years, he was assassinated by the slave of a noble Spaniard whom ASDRUBAL had put to death, about the year 532. To him succeeded the celebrated HANNIBAL, no less an enemy to the Romans than ASDRUBAL, who determining to fall upon the Saguntines, and drive them and the rest of the Spaniards who were in confederacy with the Romans beyond the Ebro, if we may credit the Roman writers, underhand incited the Spaniards in alliance with Carthage to enter into a dispute with the Saguntines about their limits; and under pretence of doing justice to the allies of the republick, laid siege to that city. The Saguntines hereupon sent Ambassadors to Rome to acquaint that state with the danger that threatened them, and to desire an army might march to their relief. But the Roman Senate, either not prepared to enter into a war, or doubting the success of it, contented themselves with sending a herald to HANNIBAL, requiring him to rise from before Saguntum, and not offer violence to the allies of Rome: which that General was so far from regarding, that he press'd the siege with the greater fury, and after eight months carried the place by storm. It is reported, that many of the inhabitants finding all was lost, and that there was no prospect of relief, took all their richest movables and set fire to them in the market-place, killing their wives and children, and afterwards themselves with their own hands, rather than submit to the enemy: insomuch that when the Carthaginians took the city, they found in it scarce

any thing but a heap of ruins. Thus was Saguntum destroyed in the 536th year of Rome, or according to others the 534th, when PUBLIUS CORNELIUS and TITUS SEMPRONIUS were Consuls; a town much celebrated in Roman story for its unshaken fidelity to that republick, tho' the neglect the Romans shew'd of that brave people does not seem to reflect much honour on their state. The town of Morviedro in Valencia, about five miles from the sea, is supposed to have been built out of the ruins of Saguntum. But to proceed: The Romans upon the destruction of this city declared war against Carthage; whereupon HANNIBAL, leaving his brother ASDRUBAL in the Further Spain beyond the Ebro with a good body of African forces, assembled an army of 12000 horse and 90000 foot, composed of Spaniards and Africans, tho' some make their numbers much less, and having pass'd the Ebro, left HANNO another of his brothers with a body of troops in the Hither Spain, continuing his march from thence through France into Italy over the Pyrenean mountains and the Alps, which were before thought unpassable for an army. The Romans did not only assemble an army and make head against this bold invader in Italy, but sent CNEIUS SCIPIO into Spain with another army to make a diversion on that side. HANNIBAL's success in Italy, especially at the battle of Cannæ, where 40000 Roman foot and 3000 horse were kill'd, besides 12000 made prisoners, has been already related in the history of Italy.

In Spain however the Carthaginians were every where beaten: SCIPIO defeated the army of HANNO in the Hither Spain, and made their General prisoner. He gain'd a victory also over the Carthaginian fleet, took several towns in the Further Spain, and kept ASDRUBAL in play, whom HANNIBAL had left there, to command in his absence. The Senate of Rome hereupon sent PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO into Spain with a reinforcement of troops to the assistance of his brother, rightly judging that if they cou'd cut off the supplies which HANNIBAL receiv'd from Spain, he wou'd be obliged to abandon Italy. The two SCIPIO's therefore, in obedience to their orders, fell upon ASDRUBAL, who was marching towards Italy to the assistance of his brother, and entirely defeated him; ASDRUBAL with the remains of his army throwing himself into Carthagera. The Carthaginians were routed afterwards in several other encounters, but receiv'd at length such numerous reinforcements from Africa, and particularly from their friend and ally MASSINISSA, an African Prince, that the Romans in Spain receiv'd a signal defeat, wherein the two SCIPIO's who commanded them were kill'd. And now the Carthaginian Generals believing there was no enemy left to oppose them, ob-

CHAP. XVIII. 536.

Hannibal's march thro' France into Italy.

Success of Scipio in Spain.

The two Scipio's killed in Spain.

CHAP. serv'd no manner of discipline, but dispers'd themselves all over the country, either to plunder or revenge themselves on such Spaniards as had appear'd in the interest of their enemies. Which MARCUS, a Roman tribune, observing, assembled a body of Roman troops, and falling first upon one part of the Carthaginian army and then upon another, and defeating them in several engagements, maintain'd his ground 'till PUBLIUS CORNEIUS SCIPIO was sent into Spain with a greater reinforcement to his assistance. SCIPIO laid siege to the capital city of Carthage in the year of Rome 544, which he carried in a few weeks. The next year the Carthaginians were defeated in a general battle, and before the end of the year 548, driven intirely out of Spain.

Carthage taken by the Romans.

544.

The Carthaginians driven out of Spain.

548.

The war being ended in Spain, SCIPIO return'd to Rome, and being chosen Consul, attack'd the Carthaginians in Africk, where meeting with a series of success, the republick of Carthage found themselves under a necessity of recalling HANNIBAL from Italy to defend their own country; but this General being defeated also by a SCIPIO, a peace followed, the terms whereof were very advantageous to the Romans, and thus ended the second Punick war, in the year of Rome 552. SCIPIO, who was son and nephew to the two SCIPIO's who lost their lives in the Spanish war, obtain'd a triumph on his return from Africk, and had the title of AFRICANUS conferr'd upon him for the signal service he had done the republick in this war. But to return to Spain.

552.

The Romans assume the dominion of Spain.

The Spaniards had no sooner expelled the Carthaginians by the assistance of the Romans, but they found themselves in a worse condition under their deliverers than they were in the days of their former masters; for HANNIBAL and many of the Carthaginian chiefs having intermarried with the Spaniards, they were in a manner become one people, and their interests the same, though there might be some instances of partiality towards the Africans, as they received their governours from thence. But still, 'tis evident they had much better have borne with a few slight inconveniences and discouragements from the Carthaginians than have promoted another revolution in favour of the Romans; for the latter had no ties of relation or interest to induce them to use the Spaniards better than any other people they had subdu'd. They politickly pretended indeed, when they invited Saguntum and other cities to accept of their alliance, to have no other views but the freeing an injur'd people from the Carthaginian yoke, and restoring them to their liberties: but when they had driven out the Africans, and establish'd themselves in their rooms, they soon gave the natives to understand they must now receive laws from their republick; and what is

CHAP. worse, they saw themselves frequently abandon'd to the avarice and cruelty of the Governours and Generals that were sent amongst them, and liv'd neither under the protection of their own laws, or the institutions of that people who had acquir'd the dominion of them. Magistrates were sent amongst them, not to assert their liberties, or defend their rights, but to patch up their broken fortunes by pillaging the natives, as is become the general practice of our days, where any Power is possessed of distant plantations, and hath establish'd colonies abroad. CHAP. XVIII.

The Spaniards endeavour to throw off the Roman yoke. The Spaniards provok'd by the cruelty and oppressions exercis'd on them by the Roman officers, had recourse to arms in many places, and several smart engagements happen'd, wherein great numbers were kill'd on both sides. The Roman writers have not been so particular in enumerating their own losses as those of their enemies, of whom they tell us in one engagement they kill'd 12000, in another 15000, &c. but still the Roman Senate were so apprehensive of a general revolt, that they thought fit to send M. PORCIUS CATO thither, A. R. 559, (the first Consul that ever commanded in Spain) with a reinforcement of two legions, of whom their writers relate, that having kill'd forty thousand Spaniards in one general battle, besides a multitude of others in sieges and skirmishes, he sold abundance of the natives for slaves, demolish'd most of their fortifications, and reduced them to that despair, that many of them chose to die by their own swords rather than submit to the Roman government; after which he left strong garrisons in the country and return'd to Rome, whither he carried a hundred and forty-eight thousand pound weight of silver, and five hundred and forty pound weight of gold, which he had plunder'd the country of, besides a prodigious treasure that he distributed amongst his soldiers.

559.

After CATO, Spain was govern'd generally by Prætors, one sent to the Hither and the other to the Further Spain, 'till the year 601, during which time we find the natives complaining to the Senate of Rome of the oppressions and extortions committed by their Governours, for which they cou'd have no redress, which occasion'd a general insurrection of the Spaniards: they defeated their enemies in several engagements, killing many thousands of them. The city of Numantia, situated in Old Castile near the source of the Duero, being at the head of this confederacy, it obtain'd the name of the Numantian war, and was a very long and bloody one; insomuch that the Roman Senate found it necessary to send Generals of consular dignity into Spain again, at the head of numerous armies. Of these LUCULLUS and GALBA render'd their names infamous by their treachery and cruelty: GALBA, when the town

601.

The first Numantian war.

H A P. town of Coca had surrender'd to him upon certain conditions, was no sooner possess'd of the place but he put all the inhabitants to the sword: And SERGIUS GALBA, when the Lusitanian army had submitted to him, caus'd them all to be murder'd.

the Roman
generals
under the
Spaniards. Both LUCULLUS and GALBA, rais'd prodigious fortunes by the plunder of this people, and being charg'd with their rapaciousness and cruelty at Rome, which had render'd the Spaniards desperate, and occasion'd the continuance of the war, and a considerable loss both of men and money to the republick, they found means to buy their peace with the very spoils they had robb'd the Spaniards of: from whence some have observ'd, that the most notorious villains often escape the hand of justice, while poor puny sinners are executed without mercy.

604. Upon GALBA's return to Rome, Spain was again under the government of Prætors; when VIRIATUS, a poor shepherd, a Lusitanian by birth, anno 604, caus'd another insurrection, and defeated the Romans in several battles: nor were they able to reduce him by pure force, but 614. after ten years hired some of his officers to assassinate him while he lay asleep.

Pompey opposed the Spaniards. POMPEY, who now commanded in Spain, observing that the city of Numantia and some others who had made their peace with Rome, and were call'd friends and allies to that republick, affected to retain their independency, and refus'd to be directed or influenc'd by that state, studied how he might pick a quarrel with them, and reduce them under his power; and having made or found some frivolous pretence to break with that people, assembled his forces and block'd them up on all sides; nor wou'd he accept of any condescensions or satisfactions offer'd by the Numantians for the pretended injuries receiv'd. However, the Spaniards being at that time as well disciplin'd as the Romans, maintain'd their ground against this great man, and the Consuls that succeeded him, 'till the year 617, when C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS, the Consul, coming into Spain, they defeated his forces, and surrounding the Consul with the remains of his shatter'd army, obtain'd such a peace of him as was very advantageous to themselves, and no less dishonourable to the Roman state: but the Senate refus'd to ratify it, ordering the Consul who made it to be deliver'd up to the Numantians. To which that people answered, the whole army ought to be delivered up if they would not ratify the treaty, since it was at their mercy when the peace was signed. But the Senate determining to reduce all Spain under their domination, in the year 619 sent the celebrated SCIPIO AFRICANUS into the Hither Spain, as they had done DECIVS BRUTUS into the Further Spain, with numerous armies: and these experienced Generals, within the compass of two years, brought

almost every city under the subjection of the Romans; even Numantia itself offered to submit upon conditions, but were told by SCIPIO they must surrender at discretion: which they refusing, he intrenched himself in such a manner The destruction of Numantia. round their little state, that nothing could go in or out. They endeavour'd several times to break through the Roman army, but were repuls'd. Whereupon being reduced to the utmost despair, they first killed their wives and children, and having set their houses and their goods on fire, threw themselves into the flames. Thus fell the Numantines in the year 621, and with them the liberties of Spain, the Romans ever after exercising an absolute dominion in that province, except among the Cantabri, who possessed some inaccessible mountains, and were not conquered 'till the reign of AUGUSTUS. And this was looked upon as so signal a service to the Roman State, that both SCIPIO and BRUTUS had a triumph granted them on their return home.

Spain now remaining in peace for several years, The Baleares conquer'd by the Romans. was governed by ten Legates or Lieutenants; and in the year 631 the Consul Q. CECILIUS METELLUS conquered the Baleares or islands of Majorca, Minorca, &c. and in the years 643 and 650 the Cimbri, a northern nation, having penetrated through France, and invaded Spain, were repulsed by the Romans. About the same time were insurrections in several parts of Spain, which were suppress'd by CALPURNIUS PISO, SULPITIUS GALBA and TITUS DIDIVS: and in the year 657 the Consul PUBLIUS LICINIUS CRASSUS being sent into *Hispania Ulterior*, suppress'd several formidable insurrections, for which in the sixth year of his government he obtain'd a triumph. And in this country it is supposed CRASSUS heaped up that immense wealth which occasion'd his son MARCUS CRASSUS to be esteem'd the richest citizen in Rome. In the year 660 Italy was distracted with civil wars, the two factions being led by MARIUS and SYLLA; in these Spain also was involv'd, by the contrivance of SERTORIUS, a Roman tribune, who set up for himself, and maintain'd his ground against the Generals of the republick, and even POMPEY himself, who was sent against him, 'till the year 681, when SERTORIUS was assassinated by his own party for some acts of tyranny he had committed. 660.

PERPENNA, who succeeded SERTORIUS, being entirely defeated by POMPEY, the rest of Spain made their submission: whereupon POMPEY erected several trophies upon the Pyrenean mountains, some footsteps whereof 'tis said are to be seen at this day; and among the Vascones or Gascons, in the kingdom of Navarre, he founded the city of Pompeiopolis, now called Pampelona. At his return to Rome in the year 683, a triumph was Pompey suppress'd an insurrection in Spain. 683.

631.

657.

681.

CHAP. XVIII. was granted him for his successes in Spain; and **METELLUS**, who was join'd with him in command, had the same honour.

Cæsar subduces Pompey's party there.

706.

Cæsar defeats Pompey's Sons.

710.

714.
A new Æra in Spain from the government of Augustus.

Augustus conquers the Cantabri.

JULIUS CÆSAR afterwards commanded in Spain in the years 685 and 693; but in 701 the government of that province was again conferr'd upon **POMPEY**, which he govern'd by his Lieutenants, finding it necessary to remain at Rome to support his interest in the senate. Whereupon **CÆSAR**, who was in Gaul, led a great body of his forces over the Pyrenean mountains into Spain, and subdued **POMPEY**'s party there, for now the civil wars were begun in the Roman Empire, **CÆSAR** being at the head of one party, and **POMPEY** of the other. **CÆSAR**, having obtain'd the victory at Pharsalia, in the year 706, subdued King **PTOLEMY** in Egypt, and afterwards **JUBA** another African Prince, and having settled his affairs at Rome, came again into Spain in the year 709, where he had the good fortune also to vanquish **POMPEY**'s two Sons **CNEIUS** and **SEXTUS POMPEIUS**, and having amass'd together a prodigious treasure (for he did not spare even the temple of **HERCULES**) he return'd to Rome, leaving the government of the Hither Spain to **MARCUS LEPIDUS**, and that of the Further Spain to **ASINIUS POLLIO**.

JULIUS CÆSAR being kill'd in the senate on the 15th of March, A. R. 710, **SEXTUS POMPEIUS**, the youngest of **POMPEY**'s Sons, assembled his friends in that province, fell upon **ASINIUS POLLIO**, who commanded in the Further Spain, and defeated him. But this war was soon after terminated by the mediation of **LEPIDUS**. In the year 714, **AUGUSTUS**, **JULIUS CÆSAR**'s heir, **MARC ANTONY**, and **LEPIDUS**, divided the Roman Empire between them; in which division Spain was allotted to **AUGUSTUS**, which occasion'd a new Æra to be begun in that province, call'd *Æra Cæsaris*, that commenc'd from the year of Rome 714, and was generally made use of in this country till the year of Christ 1383, when King **JOHN** of Castile, in an assembly of the states, decreed, that all future computations of years should be from the birth of Christ. Notwithstanding which, the *Æra Cæsaris* was made use of in several parts of Spain many years after, which commenc'd 29 years before the Christian Æra, or the birth of our Saviour.

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR having subdued his rivals in the Empire **LEPIDUS** and **MARC ANTONY**, and for some time govern'd the Roman Empire in peace, the Cantabri, who inhabited that part of Spain now call'd Biscay, trusting to their mountains, which were look'd upon as inaccessible, ventur'd to fall upon the Roman colonies in Spain, and drew the people of Asturia and Gallicia into their alliance, who were weary of the extortions and oppressions of the Roman Governours. **AUGUS-**

TUS hereupon assembling a numerous army, went into Spain in person; but finding the enemy fortified in their mountains, after he had in vain endeavoured to bring them to a battle, falling sick with the fatigue and vexation at the disappointment, he left the continuation of the war to his General **M. AGRIPPA**, and retir'd himself to Tarragona in Catalonia to wait the event of it.

Agrippa having divided the army in three parts, order'd them to surround the three principal mountains the enemies were possess'd of, and cast up such intrenchments that it was impossible they should receive any supplies of provisions; whereby the Cantabrians were at length oblig'd to submit, tho' many of them, 'tis said, chose rather to die by their own hands than surrender at discretion, as the Roman Generals insisted they should. And thus the war in Spain was brought to a period after five years continuance, being about two hundred years after the Romans first entrance into that country. **AUGUSTUS** having sold many of the most resolute of the Spaniards for slaves, oblig'd the rest to leave their habitations in the mountains, and come down into the valleys, that they might not be in a condition to insult the Roman colonies again. He also fortify'd several places, and left strong garrisons in them to keep the natives in awe, as Merida, Saragossa (*Cæsar Augusta*), Badajoz, Bracara-Augusta, now Braga, &c. A Triumph was decreed **Augustus** at his return to Rome for the entire conquest of Spain, but he did not accept it; sports however were instituted in the room of it. And now the temple of Janus was shut the fourth time, all the world remaining in peace. This great Emperor died in the 15th year after the birth of Christ.

From the time of **AUGUSTUS**, Spain being divided into three provinces, viz. those of Tarracoenfis, Bætica and Lusitania, was govern'd by as many Prætors. In Tarracoenfis, or Hispania Citerior, which was now much the largest of the three, were fourteen colonies, thirteen municipiums, and seven sovereign courts, viz. at Carthagenæ, Tarragona, Saragossa, Cluma now Corunna, Astorga, Luga and Braga. In Bætica were eight colonies, and as many municipiums, with four sovereign courts, viz. at Cadiz, Seville, Ezija and Cordoua. In Lusitania were five colonies, and one municipium, viz. Lisbon, call'd Felicitas Julia; and three sovereign courts, viz. at Merida, Badajoz and Santeren, then call'd Scalabis.

In the year of our Lord 99, Spain had the honour of giving an Emperor to Rome, and one of the best that had reign'd for many years, viz. **M. ULPIUS TRAJANUS**, born at Italica near Seville. He was a Prince of great natural parts, which were improv'd by his preceptor **PLUTARCH** the philosopher; and he was as remarkable for his humanity and universal benevolence, as for his parts and learning.

The Government of Spain from the time of Augustus

Trajan, 99.

CHAP. ing. He built two bridges of admirable structure, XVIII. one over the Danube in Germany, and the other in Spain, over the Tagus at Alcantara, which is still standing. He govern'd the Empire nineteen years and an half.

400. The Romans continued sovereigns of Spain till the beginning of the fifth century, when the northern nations broke in upon the Empire. The Vandals, the Suevi, the Alans and Silingians, first settled themselves in France; but the Romans and Goths uniting their forces against them, they pass'd the Pyrenean mountains, wasting Spain as they had Italy and France before. The Vandals, and Swedes fix'd themselves in Galicia and Castile, the Silingians in Bætica, and the Alans in Lusitania, insomuch that only Cantabria and Asturia now remain'd under the dominion of the Romans. These nations falling out among themselves, the Vandals went over into Africa, while the Swedes reduced both the Alans and Silingians under their dominion, and had infallibly conquer'd the rest of Spain, if the Goths, another northern nation, had not stopp'd their progress. That people having ravag'd Italy, and plunder'd Rome it self, march'd into Gaul, making Narbonne the seat of their Empire there, which in the beginning extended only over Languedoc and Catalonia, though afterwards it comprehended most part of Spain. ATOLPHUS, or ADOLPH their King, had scarce establish'd his dominion in Gaul, but he was besieg'd in his capital by the Generals of the Emperor HONORIUS, notwithstanding he had married the Princess PLACIDA, that Emperor's sister, because he refus'd to deliver up ATTILA, whom ALARICK had caus'd to be proclaim'd Emperor in Rome. ATTILA being taken at sea during this siege, and consequently the occasion of the war remov'd, a treaty was concluded between these two powers; but so little to the satisfaction of the Goths, who thereby lost all hopes of returning to Italy, that they assassinated ATOLPHUS, and advanc'd SIGERICK to the throne in his stead, who confirming the peace with the Romans which ATOLPHUS had made, was assassinated also by his subjects in the year 416, before he had reign'd a whole year.

418. WALLIA, supposed to be the son of ATOLPHUS, was unanimously elected King in the room of SIGERICK. With this Prince the Romans join'd their arms, and assisted the Goths in driving the Swedes and the other barbarous nations out of Spain. I shall pass over the reigns of the future Gothick Kings till we come to that of EURICK, esteem'd one of the bravest of them: he conquer'd all that the Romans had left in Spain, took Galicia from the Swedes, and reduced all the southern provinces of France under his dominion, and died at Arles, his capital city, anno 483. Under the reign of RECAREDA, the Son of LEUVIGILDA, 487. the Empire of the Goths was in its greatest glory,

for then it not only comprehended the southern CHAP provinces of France, and the whole kingdom of XVIII. Spain, but that part of Africk which lies next Tangier. Their Empire began to decline under the reign of King WITIZA, and was 710. totally destroy'd in the reign of RODERICK, who abandoning himself to his passion, ravish'd the beautiful CAVA, the daughter of Count JULIAN, Governour of Gothick Mauritania, and of that part of Spain which borders upon the streights of Gibraltar. This unfortunate father, to revenge the disgrace done to his family, 713. took a resolution to do it at the expence of his country, and confederating himself with some other malecontent Lords, invited the Saracens into Spain, who defeated the effeminate Goths in a general battle, where RODERICK is suppos'd to be kill'd, and within three years after made themselves entirely masters of Spain, except some of the mountains of Asturia, Biscay and Navarre, whither such of the Gothick Christians retir'd as did not think fit to live under the dominion of the infidels. Thus was the Empire of the Goths destroy'd, about three hundred years after their first arrival in Spain. And here it is thought proper to give a list of their Kings.

The Empli
of the Goth
destroy'd b
the Saracen

Gothick Kings of Spain, before the invasion of the Saracens.

ADOLPH, or ATOLPHUS, invaded Spain, A. D.

| | |
|---|-----|
| | 411 |
| SIGERICK succeeded | 415 |
| WALLIA | 416 |
| THEODORIC I. | 419 |
| THORISMOND | 451 |
| THEODORIC II. | 453 |
| EVARIC | 466 |
| ALARIC, the first King of the Visigoths | 483 |
| GESALIC | 506 |
| THEODORIC III. | 511 |
| AMALARIC | 526 |
| THEUDIS | 531 |
| THEODEGESILUS | 548 |
| AGILA | 549 |
| ATHANAGILDUS | 554 |
| LEUVA I. | 567 |
| LEUVIGILDUS | 568 |
| RECAREDUS I. | 586 |
| LEUVA II. | 601 |
| WITERIC | 603 |
| GONDOMAR | 610 |
| SISEBUT | 612 |
| RECAREDUS II. | 620 |
| SWINTILA | 621 |
| SIZENANDUS | 631 |
| CHINTILANUS | 635 |
| TULGA | 640 |
| CHINDASUINT | 641 |
| RECHESWINT | 649 |
| WAMBA | 672 |
| ERVIGIUS | |

CHAP. ERVIGIUS

XVIII. EGICA

WITIZA

RODERIC

He was defeated and kill'd in a general battle by the Moors or Saracens

I must here beg leave to detain the reader a little, and observe, that these Moors or Saracens who conquer'd Spain, were indebted to that impostor MAHOMET, of whom I have treated already in the state of Arabia, both for their religion and empire: as he had assum'd the office of High-priest of that new religion he struck out, as well as the sovereignty of the people he subdued; his successors also pretended to the supreme power, both in ecclesiastical and temporal affairs, which they exercis'd for some centuries under the title of Caliphs, making Babylon the seat of their empire; and such prodigious success did the successors of this impostor meet with, that they established their dominion in most of the kingdoms of Asia and Africa within the compass of fourscore years. It was in the year of our Lord 713, and the 97th of the Mahometan Æra, that they pass'd into Europe and possess'd themselves of the kingdom of Spain. They allow'd liberty of conscience, I find, to the Christians wherever they came, tho' the Mahometan religion only was encourag'd by them, and those who embrac'd it generally obtain'd the name of Saracens from the Arabs the founders of it, who had long gone under that denomination; they were also called Moors in many countries, from the darkness of their complexion.

Ulid Caliph of Babylon when the Saracens conquer'd Spain.

ULID, or ULIT, the ninth Caliph from MAHOMET, was Emperor and High-priest of the Saracens when they were invited over from the coast of Barbary by JULIAN and some other treacherous Christians, who were disgusted at King RODERICK's administration. They apply'd themselves to MUZA then Governour of Barbary, who sent over at first a small detachment of four or five hundred men, rather to sound the inclination of the Spaniards than with any hopes of success; but finding the people generally inclin'd to revolt, he rais'd a powerful army, and sent them under the conduct of Tarif, a Saracen General, to make a descent on the Spanish coast. RODERICK on this occasion, 'tis said, behav'd himself with as much bravery and conduct as any of his Gothick ancestors, and bid fair for the victory when the armies came to an engagement, but was betray'd by his general officers, and even by his Bishops, who in the heat of the battle join'd the Mahometans. They imagin'd possibly that the infidels, after they had assisted them in dethroning their sovereign King RODERICK, whose tyranny they dreaded, would have been so complaisant as to have retir'd on the other side the water again, and left them to have nominated a successor in his stead: but the Sara-

680

687

701

711

713

cens were too well acquainted with the fruitfulness and riches of the country to abandon it; tho' in gratitude to the Spaniards, who invited them over, they indulg'd them in a general toleration of their religion: nay, ABDALASIS, the Son of MUZA Governour of Barbary, to whom his father committed the government of Spain, condescended to marry Queen EGILONA the widow of RODERICK, and suffer'd her to enjoy the free exercise of her religion in his own palace.

ABDALASIS having caus'd himself to be acknowledged King of Spain by the persuasion of his wife EGILONA, made Seville the seat of his government; and carrying the war into France, conquer'd the southern provinces, which were then in possession of the Goths.

ABDALASIS having reign'd three years, was assassinated by his kinsman AJUB, who usurp'd the government of Spain, but not the title of King any more than his successors, till ABDARAMEN, who assum'd the regal title about the year 731, against whom MUNIZ the Saracen, Governour of Gallia Gothica, revolting, ABDARAMEN march'd into France, and having defeated MUNIZ, he afterwards conquer'd great part of France, but was oppos'd by CHARLES MARTEL prime minister of that kingdom, and kill'd in a general battle, where, according to the French historians, the Saracens lost upwards of 300000 Men; and in the year 739 the Saracens were driven almost out of France by the same successful General CHARLES MARTEL.

Not long after the Saracens erected several petty kingdoms in Spain, viz. the kingdoms of Toledo, Saragossa, Cordoua, Seville, Grenada and Murcia: which division of their conquests gave the Christians a great advantage of them. And this brings me to treat of the Gothick Princes who recover'd their country again from the Saracens.

The Moors having made themselves masters of all Spain, except some barren inaccessible rocks and mountains in Asturia, Biscay and Navarre, whither the Christians retir'd who refus'd to submit to their government, pass'd the Pyrenees in order to reduce that part of France under their power which belong'd to the Goths there, as has been intimated already. During this expedition of the Moors into France, which was in the third year after their arrival in Spain, the Goths in the mountains of Asturia finding it difficult to subsist the multitudes that had taken refuge there, made choice of PELAGIUS for their leader, a gentleman who had serv'd in the Moors army, and upon some disgust had retir'd to his distress'd brethren, and under his conduct ventur'd to descend into the plains again. Having made themselves masters of Oviedo, they proclaim'd PELAGIUS their King. He afterwards obtain'd a signal victory over the Moorish forces, and upon this success being join'd

CHAP.

XVIII.

Abdalasis the first Moorish King of Spain.

The Saracens defeated in France by Charles Martel.

The Saracens erected several petty Kingdoms in Spain.

716.

Pelagius defeats the Saracens, and is made King by the Christians.

722.

by

CHAP. XVIII. by the Christians from all parts, besieged and took the capital city of Leon, subduing great part of that province, from whence his successors afterwards obtained the title of Kings of Leon. What contributed mightily to this success, was the multitude of Christians that remained dispersed among the Moors, who found means to deliver up many places to their brethren. For the Moors having been invited over by the bulk of the people, seemed to look upon the Spaniards as their friends; and on their expedition into France trusted many of the Christians with commands in the army they left behind them, and with the government of some considerable places, looking upon this as the most probable means of keeping the people quiet while they were employed in the Gallick war; so that there is no reason to have recourse to miracles to account for the success of the Christians at this time, as the Spanish writers constantly do. But to proceed; Pelagius after a long and fortunate reign, died in the year 737, leaving his new-erected kingdom to his Son FAVILA, of whom nothing remarkable is related, unless it be, that he was killed by a bear as he was hunting, two years after his accession.

To FAVILA succeeded Don ALONSO, or ALFONSO, who retook several considerable towns from the Moors, extending his conquests to the most distant provinces. He died in the year 757; and had the Spaniards continued united under his successors, the Moors had probably been driven out of Spain in a few years: but about this time several others of the Gothick nobility, observing the successes of the Kings of Leon, attacked the Moors in different parts, and assumed to themselves the title and dignity of sovereign Princes, particularly Don GARCIA XIMENES in Navarre; AZNAR Son of EUDO Duke of Aquitain in Arragon; BERNARD, a Frenchman, made Earl of Catalonia by CHARLES the Great, upon the taking of Barcelona; and several others took upon them the titles of Counts and Earls in Castile, acknowledging however the King of Leon for their supreme Lord. But to return to Leon.

Don ALONSO was succeeded by his Son FROILA, who gained a signal victory over the Moors, and bravely defended what his father had acquired. He was murdered in the year 768 by his brother AURELIUS, who usurped his throne to the prejudice of his Son AURELIUS, and appointed SILON to succeed to the throne after his death; which happened in the year 774. Of SILON little more notice is taken in history, than that he died anno 783, and was succeeded by ALONSO the Son of FROILA.

MAUREGATUS, ALONSO's uncle, by the assistance of the Moors, deposed him, and having reigned five years and six months died anno 788. He was detested by the Christians as well on ac-

count of his usurpation, as his agreeing to pay the Moors annually a tribute of an hundred virgins, of which fifty were to be of noble extraction. The same year died ABDE RHAMAN King of the Moors, who having united all the infidels under one head again, recovered Barcelona, and most of the towns the Christians had possessed themselves of in the reign of ALONSO I.

BERMUDO, called the DEACON, succeeded MAUREGATUS, and having declared the deposed ALONSO his companion in the government, died anno 791. ALONSO refusing to pay the tribute of virgins, was attacked by the infidels, whom he defeated, and killed 70000 of them in the field of battle, according to the Spanish writers, whom I cannot give entire credit to upon these occasions; for the numbers of their enemies slain within the compass of a few years were so many, according to them, that there could have been no Moors left in the country.

ALONSO having no children, 'tis said, appointed CHARLEMAIN his successor, upon condition he would assist him in expelling the Moors out of Spain: but the Spanish nobility dreading the dominion of the Franks, united their forces with the infidels, and taking the passes of the Pyrenees about the mountains of Roncevaux, gave CHARLEMAIN a memorable defeat, wherein the celebrated ROLAND was killed, whose actions the Spanish histories as well as romances are stuffed with. ALONSO died in the year 843, having appointed RAMIRO the Son of BERMUDO his successor.

The reign of RAMIRO is celebrated for a signal victory he obtained over the Moors, whereby he abolished that infamous tribute of an hundred virgins which the Christians had been obliged to pay the Infidels for many years. He also defended the coasts of Galicia against the Normans, who invaded them, and obliged the Normans to return to their ships.

ORDONNO the Son of RAMIRO succeeded his father anno 850. He defeated the Moors and took several towns from them, and dying in the year 862, was succeeded by his eldest Son ALONSO the great.

Don ALONSO was driven from his throne, and having recovered it again, was successful against the Moors; but squandering away his treasures in magnificent buildings, and oppressing his subjects with heavy taxes to reimburse himself, an insurrection was raised against him, to appease which he was obliged to resign his crown to his Son GARCIA, anno 910.

GARCIA was successful against the Moors, and died anno 913.

ORDONNO his brother succeeded him, and transferred the seat of his government from Oviedo to Leon. The Earls of Castile endeavouring to ren-

CHAP. XVIII. der themselves independent, he summon'd them to meet him on pretence of consulting them, and caused them all to be put to death, and died himself soon after, anno 923.

Froila. 923. He was succeeded by his brother **FROILA**, who putting to death several other Castilian noblemen, that province revolted from him, chusing two of the nobility to govern them; one of whom had the civil, and the other the military government conferr'd on him.

Alonso. 924. **ALONSO** succeeded on the death of **FROILA**, which happen'd anno 924. He resign'd his crown to his brother **RAMIRUS**, anno 931, and became a monk.

Ramirus. 931. **RAMIRUS** defeated the Moors and plunder'd the town of Madrid. He resign'd his crown to his son **ORDONNO** in his old age, and died soon after, viz. anno 950.

Ordonno. 950. **ORDONNO** joining his forces with the Castilians, obtain'd a signal victory over the Moors, and died anno 955, being succeeded by **SANCHO** his brother.

Sancho. 955. **SANCHO** was depos'd and expell'd the kingdom in the beginning of his reign by **ORDONNO** the Son of **ALONSO** the monk, by the assistance of the Moors; but **SANCHO** recover'd his throne again. He was engag'd in war with the Earl of Castile, and compell'd at length to renounce the sovereignty of that earldom. **SANCHO** was poison'd with an apple by **GONZALO**, a disaffected Earl, and died anno 967, being succeeded by his Son **RAMIRUS**, an infant of five years of age.

Ramirus. 967. **RAMIRUS** was under the tuition of his mother and aunt most part of his reign. His cousin **BERMUDO** the Son of **ORDONNO** raised a rebellion against him; of which the Moors took advantage, and recover'd several towns from the Christians. The clergy are said to be extremely wicked in this reign. **RAMIRUS** died anno 982, and was succeeded by his cousin **BERMUDO**, who had incited the rebellion against him.

Bermudo. 982. **BERMUDO**, or **VEREMUND II**, obtaining the crown by a faction, was distracted with civil wars in the beginning of his reign, of which the Moors taking advantage, retook abundance of towns from the Christians, and even the city of Leon: whereupon **BERMUDO** enter'd into a confederacy with the Earl of Castile and King of Navarre, and repuls'd the Infidels, driving them out of his country. He died in the year 999, and left his kingdom to his Son **ALONSO**, an infant.

Alonso V. 999. The beginning of the reign of **ALONSO** was unfortunate, the Moors ravaging his territories in a terrible manner. But the infidels being afterwards weaken'd by civil dissensions, and dividing their country among a multitude of petty royaleys (or every one that could possess himself of a city stiled himself a King) the King of Leon re-possess'd himself of all the Moors had taken from him; and in

CHAP. XVIII. confederacy with the King of Navarre and the Earl of Castile, made incursions into the enemies country as far as Cordoua; insomuch that the infidels were glad to purchase their peace on very hard terms. King **ALONSO** afterwards rebuilt the city of Leon which had been demolish'd by the Moors, and invaded Lusitania or Portugal, and laying siege to Visco, he was kill'd before that town with a dart, anno 1028.

BERMUDO, or **VEREMUND III**, succeeded his father **ALONSO**. During this reign it was, that **SANCHO** King of Navarre having married the sister and heiress of **GARCIA**s, Earl of Castile, united Castile to the kingdom of Navarre on the death of **GARCIA**s, who was murder'd by some of his vassal Lords. **SANCHO** King of Navarre afterwards made war on **BERMUDO** King of Leon, and conquer'd part of his territories, which produced a treaty between the two Kings, wherein it was agreed, that Don **FERDINAND**, the King of Navarre's Son, should marry **DONNA SANCHA**, the daughter and heiress of the King of Leon, and that she should receive as a dower in present, all that had been conquer'd of Leon, and be declared heiress of that kingdom. **SANCHO** died anno 1035, most of Spain being at this time united in his house. He left four sons; to **GARCIA**s the eldest he gave Navarre and Biscay, to **FERDINAND** Castile, to **GONSALVO** Sobrarva and Ripagorfa, and to **RAMIRUS**, a natural Son, Arragon; and on every one of them conferr'd the title of King. **GARCIA**s the eldest going a pilgrimage to Rome, **RAMIRUS** endeavour'd to make himself master of Navarre; but **GARCIA**s returning home, drove him even out of Arragon. **BERMUDO** King of Leon, while the brothers were engag'd in war among themselves, invaded Castile, the dominions of his brother **FERDINAND**; but **GARCIA**s coming to the assistance of **FERDINAND**, they defeated **BERMUDO**, and kill'd him in the field of battle, whereby **FERDINAND** became possess'd of the kingdom of Leon in right of his wife. A war happen'd afterwards between **GARCIA**s King of Navarre and **FERDINAND**, in which **GARCIA**s losing his life, **FERDINAND** succeeded to Navarre, and during the dispute, **RAMIRO** found means to recover Arragon again. **FERDINAND** also recover'd great part of Lusitania from the Moors, and dying in the year 1065, divided his dominions among his sons.

Kings of Castile after the invasion of the Saracens.

This country was govern'd after the year 904 by Counts; the last was **GARCIA**s, who was kill'd on the day of his marriage. His sister **ELVIRA** married **SANCHO II**, King of Navarre, by which Castile was added to the crown of Navarre. **SANCHO** divided his dominions among his children, anno 1037, or 1038: he gave Castile to his Son **FERDINAND**,

CHAP. XVIII.

Sancho K. of Navarre conquers Leon, and obtains Castile by marriage.

Divides his territories among his sons.

Ferdinand. 1038. First K. of Castile, &c.

CHAP. FERDINAND, who conquer'd Leon, and on his XVIII. death divided his kingdoms among his three Sons; to SANCHE he gave Castile, to ALONSO, Leon, and to GARCIA, Galicia.

her first husband, was proclaim'd King of Castile CHAP. and Leon. About this time ALONSO King of XVIII. Arragon took Saragossa from the Moors. Both ALONSO King of Arragon, and ALONSO his son-in-law, King of Castile, were very successful against the Moors, taking towns without number from them: but the King of Arragon had the misfortune to be kill'd in a skirmish with the infidels in the year 1134. By his will he left his dominions to the knights templers and hospitallers, but his subjects did not acquiesce in it: the Navarros chose GARCIA, descended from their former royal family, for their King; and the Arragonians elected RAMIRO, a Monk, brother to their late King, whereby these kingdoms became divided again.

1134.

ALONZO King of Castile being now the most potent of the Spanish Sovereigns, caus'd himself to be crown'd Emperor of Spain at Toledo, on Whitsunday 1135.

Alonso K. of Castile
crowned Em-
peror.

Two years after, the Earl of Portugal, Don ALONSO, who was then possess'd of the eastern part of that country, having great success against the Moors, was saluted King of Portugal by his army, which title his successors retain'd for many hundred years.

1135.
Kingdom of
Portugal
founded,
1139.

ALONSO the Emperor entering into a confederacy with the Kings of Navarre and Arragon against the Moors, they took from the infidels the cities of Banca, Almeria, Tortosa, Lerida and Fraga in the years 1147 and 1148, and about the same time Lisbon was taken from them by the King of Portugal.

The Moors
decline a-
pace.

1147.

ALONSO the Emperor died in the year 1157, his eldest Son SANCHE succeeding to Castile, and FERDINAND his youngest Son to Leon and Galicia.

Sancho.
1157.

SANCHE dying within little more than a year, was succeeded by his Son ALONSO an infant. During his minority, his Uncle FERDINAND, King of Leon, wasted his country, endeavouring to get the young King into his hands; but the nobility of Castile defended their monarch's person against all his efforts, notwithstanding King FERDINAND had made himself master of Toledo, and most of the considerable towns in that kingdom. The Castilians weary of the tyranny of FERDINAND King of Leon, invited their young King ALONSO to take the government upon him, about the year 1168; and upon his appearing, Toledo and other cities expell'd the King of Leon's garrisons, and declar'd for him. Not long after the Kings of Castile and Arragon enter'd into a defensive alliance, and the young King of Castile, to strengthen himself still more, married the Princess ELEANOR, the daughter of HENRY II, King of England. And now the Spanish Kings being at peace among themselves, enter'd into a confederacy against the Moors. The Infidels on the other hand having invited over vast numbers

1168.

1195.

- SANCHE succeeded to Castile, anno 1067
- ALONSO his brother succeeded him 1073
- ALPHONSUS VII. 1109
- ALPHONSUS, or ALONSO VIII. 1118
- SANCHE II. 1157
- ALPHONSUS, or ALONSO IX. 1158
- HENRY I. 1214
- FERDINAND III. 1217
- ALPHONSUS X. 1252
- SANCHE III. 1284
- FERDINAND IV. 1295
- ALPHONSUS XI. 1312
- PETER 1350
- HENRY II. 1369
- JOHN I. 1379
- HENRY III. 1390
- JOHN II. 1407
- HENRY IV. 1454
- FERDINAND V. 1474
- PHILIP I. 1504
- CHARLES I. 1516
- PHILIP II. 1558
- PHILIP III. 1598
- PHILIP IV. 1621
- CHARLES II. 1665
- PHILIP V. 1700

CHARLES III, Archduke of Austria, the present Emperor, was proclaim'd King of Spain anno 1703, and is to retain that title during his life, together with Naples, Sicily, Milan and Spanish Flanders, which are to descend to his heirs: the rest of the dominions of Spain are confirm'd to PHILIP V, and his heirs.

SANCHE having driven ALONSO out of his dominions, and taken GARCIA prisoner, possess'd himself of the territories of his two brothers about the year 1067; but being kill'd at the siege of Camora, ALONSO his brother, who till this time had resided among the Moors, made himself master of Castile as well as Leon, and afterwards took Toledo, held impregnable in those days, and a vast extent of country from the Moors. Great reinforcements coming over from Africk afterwards, the infidels defeated the Christians in two general battels; notwithstanding which, ALONSO at length repuls'd them again, and oblig'd the King of Cordova, then the greatest of the Moorish sovereigns, to become tributary to him.

ALONSO VI dying in the year 1109, ALONSO, who had married URACA his only daughter and heiress, succeeded to his dominions; but this marriage being declar'd void for consanguinity, ALONSO the Son of URACA, by RAYMUND of Burgundy,

Sancho.
1067.

Alonso VI.
1073.
Takes To-
ledo and a
vast extent
of country
from the
Moors.

Alonso VII.
1109.

Alonso
VIII.
1118.

CHAP. XVIII. numbers of Africans to their assistance, fell upon **ALONSO** King of Castile, and routed his army before the Kings of Leon and Navarre had join'd him, whereupon follow'd a truce between the Christians and Moors. The year 1212 was more favourable to the Christians; for the four Kings of Spain, viz. the Kings of Leon, Navarre, Castile and Arragon, having assembled all their forces, and being join'd by an hundred thousand foreigners, who came from France and other Christian countries, gain'd a signal victory over the Moors, who had been re-inforc'd in like manner by the Mahometan Princes from Africk, and, according to the Christian account, kill'd two hundred thousand of them upon the spot.

A signal
victory
gain'd by the
Christians.

Henry I.
1214.

Ferdinand.
1217.

Leon and
Castile
united again.
1231.
The Chris-
tians conquer
Majorca,
Valencia,
Andaluzia,
Murcia, &c

Alonso X.
1252.

ALONSO died in the year 1214, leaving behind him one son named **HENRY**, whose minority occasion'd great disturbances in the kingdom. He died without issue in the year 1217. His eldest sister **BLANCH** had been married to **LEWIS VIII**, son of **PHILIP-AUGUSTUS** King of France: the other, **BERENGARIA**, to **ALONSO** King of Leon. The crown should have descended to the eldest and her heirs, but the states, out of their aversion to foreigners, transfer'd their allegiance to **FERDINAND**, surnam'd the Holy, Son of **BERENGARIA**, who immediately possess'd himself of the kingdom. It is related by some, that **BLANCH** was not the eldest sister, and that the Castilian noblemen disputed **BERENGARIA**'s right to the crown, only on account of the Pope's having declar'd her marriage with **ALONSO** void, and their children illegitimate, as being too near in blood.

By the death of **ALONSO**, Leon and Castile were re-united again under **FERDINAND**. The power of the Moors began to decline extremely at this time; King **JAMES** of Arragon took from them Majorca in the year 1230, Minorca in the year 1232, Yvica in the year 1234, the city and kingdom of Valencia in the year 1238. **FERDINAND** took from them in the year 1230, Merida and Badajoz, and several other places; in the year 1236, the city and kingdom of Corduba; in the year 1240, Murcia put it self under the protection of Castile; in the year 1243, Seville and the greatest part of Andaluzia submitted to **FERDINAND**: but whilst he was making preparations to carry the war into Africa, he died in the year 1252, being succeeded by his Son **ALONSO X**.

ALONSO or **ALFONSO** the tenth was famous among foreigners for his wisdom and great skill in astronomy; but he was unfortunate at home, and hated by his subjects; the first occasion of which was his loading his subjects with taxes, in order to replenish his exhausted treasury: he also caus'd the current coin to be diminished, which enhanc'd the price of every thing; whereupon he set certain rates on all provisions, and this occasion'd a general scarcity, the people not being willing to sell at the rates pre scrib'd them. He was by

some of the Electors chosen Roman Emperor, but because his children were then very young, and great divisions arisen among his nobility, he delay'd the taking possession of the imperial dignity so long, that **RODOLPH** of Hapsburg was elected in his stead, and when he would afterwards have accepted of it, he was excommunicated by the Pope, and oblig'd to renounce the title of Emperor.

Upon the death of **FERDINAND** his eldest Son, **SANCHO** the younger brother begun to form designs upon the succession, though **FERDINAND** had left children behind him. This occasion'd a jealousy betwixt the father and son, which at length broke out into an open rebellion, the son being assisted by the major part of the states.

This commotion however ceas'd on the death of **ALONSO**, which happen'd anno 1284, when **SANCHO** usurp'd the crown, to the prejudice of his nephews. Under the reign of this King, many battles were fought against the Moors with various success. In the year of his accession happened the Sicilian Vespers, by which means **PETER** King of Arragon obtain'd the kingdom of Sicily. He died in the year 1295.

During the minority of his Son **FERDINAND** the fourth, the kingdom of Castile was in great distraction. After **FERDINAND** came to age, he commenc'd a war with the Moors, taking from them Gibraltar, and died in the flower of his age, anno 1312, leaving one Son named **ALONSO**, an infant about twelve months old. Under the reign of this King, **JAMES** King of Arragon obtain'd the kingdom of Sardinia by the Pope's grant, who pretended to a right of disposing of it; and the republick of Pisa being then in possession of the same, were beaten out by the Arragonians.

The minority of **ALONSO XI**, was in like manner full of trouble, the Moors receiving great reinforcements from Africa. The Castilians however obtain'd a signal victory over them in the year 1340, in which battle, 'tis said, two hundred thousand Moors were kill'd, and but twenty-five thousand Spaniards; upon this Algezira was taken, and a peace concluded with the King of Grenada, on condition that he should be tributary to Castile.

King **ALONSO** died at the siege of Gibraltar, anno 1350, and was succeeded by his Son **PETER**, surnam'd the Cruel, who reign'd very tyrannically. He drew the hatred of most of his subjects upon himself by parting from his Queen **BLANCH**, whom he afterwards caus'd to be murder'd for the sake of a concubine. This occasion'd a plot against him, which he suppress'd with a great deal of bloodshed. In the mean while a war arose betwixt him and **PETER IV** King of Arragon, who assisted the rebels in Castile. They had set up for their King, **HENRY** the King's brother, by a concubine call'd **ELEONORA GUSMAN**. With him also join'd a great many French volunteers, so that falling upon **PETER** of Castile, he forc'd him to flee into Aquitain.

Alonso XI.
1312.

A victory
over the
Moors, an.
1340.

Peter the
Cruel.
1350.

CHAP. XVIII. But PETER having prevail'd with the Prince of Wales to assist him with an army of veteran troops, return'd into Spain, defeated HENRY, and obliged him to retire into France in his turn. King PETER however did not desist from his tyranny, whereby he quite lost the affection of his subjects; and HENRY having gather'd another army in France, re-enter'd Castile, where being assisted by the Castilians, he defeated his rival, and killed him with his own hands.

1367. HENRY II, surnamed the Bastard, did at first labour under great difficulties, the neighbouring powers attacking him on every side; but at last a peace was made with all of them upon honourable terms. He died in the year 1379.

John II. 1369. His son JOHN endeavour'd to obtain the crown of Portugal upon the death of FERDINAND its King, whose daughter he had married; but the Portuguese, out of their aversion to the Castilians, set up for their King JOHN, natural son to PETER King of Portugal, who maintain'd himself against the Castilians, and gain'd a signal victory over them near Alumbaret. Castile was at that time in great distraction, the English siding with the Portuguese under the Duke of Lancaster, who having married the daughter of PETER surnamed the Cruel, pretended a right to the crown of Castile, and accordingly assumed the title and arms; but the dispute was at last compos'd, by marrying the daughter of the English Duke to the Prince of Castile. After which a peace was likewise concluded with Portugal. JOHN died by a fall from his horse, anno 1390.

Henry III. 1390. HENRY III was a sickly Prince, under whose minority great divisions arose in the kingdom. He did nothing remarkable, except that he restor'd the revenues which the nobility had alienated from the crown. He died in the year 1407, leaving behind him JOHN II, a child of two months old.

John II. 1407. The tuition of this Prince was committed to his mother and Don FERDINAND his uncle, to whom the States offer'd the kingdom, which he refused, but accepted however the crown of Arragon. This King under the tuition of his mother being grown very effeminate, addicted to pleasure, and having no genius or inclination for publick business, committed the whole management of the State to his favourite ALVAREZ DE LUNA, an ambitious man, which occasion'd great murmurings among the nobility. JOHN taking his favourite's part, a civil war ensued, wherein the rebels were headed by his own son, and the city of Toledo declar'd against him. At last the King tired out with protecting ALVAREZ, and the many inconveniences he had brought himself under, consented to cut off this favourite's head, and died himself the next year. Under the reign of this King a war broke out betwixt the Spa-

niards and the Moors of Grenada, wherein the first had great advantages. In the year 1420 King ALONSO of Arragon was adopted by JOAN Queen of Naples for her heir; but a difference arising betwixt JOAN and ALONSO, she declar'd the said adoption void and null, receiving in his stead LEWIS Duke of Anjou; which afterwards occasion'd bloody wars betwixt France and Spain: but at last ALONSO prevail'd, making himself master of Naples, and leaving the same to his natural son FERDINAND.

In the kingdom of Castile, JOHN II was succeeded by his son HENRY IV, stiled by some the Scourge and Scandal of Castile, who being incapable of begetting children, to remove the suspicion of his impotence, hired one BERTRAND DE CUEVA, afterwards created a Duke, to lie with the Queen, who having been deliver'd of a daughter named JOAN, HENRY caused her to be proclaimed heiress to the crown. What confirm'd the people in this belief was, that the Queen afterwards had another bastard by another person. To wipe off the scandal, and to exclude JOAN from the succession of the crown, the nobility of Castile enter'd into an association; and placing the image of HENRY upon a scaffold, they there formally accused him of this wicked contrivance, and afterwards having taken off his ornaments, threw his image from the scaffold, proclaiming at the same time ALONSO, brother of HENRY, their King. From hence arose intestine wars, which occasion'd several battles. During these troubles ALONSO died.

About the same time FERDINAND, son of JOHN II, King of Arragon, whom his father had declared King of Sicily, propos'd a marriage with ISABELLA, HENRY's sister, to whom the rebellious Castilians had offer'd the crown, and forced HENRY to confirm her right to the same: whereupon the nuptials were celebrated privately. Yet would HENRY, by making his concession void, have afterwards set up again the title of JOAN, whom he had promised in marriage to CHARLES Duke of Aquitain, brother to LEWIS XI King of France. But he dying suddenly, HENRY at last was reconciled to FERDINAND and ISABELLA, and died in the year 1474.

ISABELLA, now Queen of Castile, being married to FERDINAND King of Sicily, and presumptive heir to the kingdom of Arragon, and thereby most of the dominions of Spain becoming subject to one house, I shall treat more largely of the future reigns than I have of the former, when this country was split into so many little kingdoms and principalities, that their history was not of such consequence as that of the succeeding Monarchs. But it may be proper here to give a list of the Kings of Arragon before it was united to Castile.

CHAP. XVIII.

Henry IV. 1454.

Ferdinand, son of John II, King of Arragon, married to Isabella, sister to Henry of Castile. 1469.

Ferdinand and Isabella King and Queen of Castile. 1474.

Kings

CHAP.
XVIII.Kings of Arragon after the invasion of the
Saracens.

This kingdom was erected in 905, and contain'd then Sobrarva and the country of Ripagorfa. SANCHE ABRACA was their first King, and called himself King of Navarre and Arragon. They continued in one hand 132 years, till SANCHE the Great divided his dominions betwixt his sons; and Arragon fell to his bastard son RAMIRO, who was the first of the separate Kings.

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------|
| RAMIRO came to the crown | anno 1037 |
| SANCHE RAMIR succeeded | 1067 |
| DON PEDRO I. | 1094 |
| ALPHONSUS, or ALONSO I. | 1104 |
| RAMIRO II. | 1134 |
| RAIMOND I. | 1138 |
| ALPHONSUS, or ALONSO II. | 1165 |
| PETER II. | 1196 |
| JAMES I. | 1214 |
| PETER III. | 1276 |
| ALPHONSUS III. | 1285 |
| JAMES II. | |
| ALPHONSUS IV. | 1328 |
| PETER IV. | 1336 |
| JOHN I. | 1389 |
| MARTIN | 1395 |
| FERDINAND | 1413 |
| ALPHONSUS V. | |
| JOHN II. | 1460 |
| FERDINAND | 1478 |

FERDINAND and ISABELLA met with great opposition in the beginning of their reign, as well from a powerful faction in Castile, as from ALONSO King of Portugal, who having espoused the Princess JOANNA, by some pretended to be the legitimate daughter (though generally held to be illegitimate) of the late King HENRY, assumed the title of King of Castile, and raised a numerous army to assert his title. But the King of Portugal being defeated in a general battle near Toro, desisted from his pretensions, and the Princess JOANNA, whom he had espoused, retired into a nunnery.

1479.
Arragon descends to
Ferdinand.

JOHN King of Arragon dying in the year 1479, FERDINAND took possession of that kingdom, together with Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca, which belonged to it; so that he was now in his own or his wife's right Sovereign of all Spain, except Navarre, Portugal, and Grenada, the last of which provinces was yet in the possession of the Moors.

The people of Castile complaining that the nobility oppressed the commons, and had devour'd the revenues of the crown, which was the occasion of the heavy taxes imposed on the nation, all

grants extorted by force, or granted voluntarily by the late King HENRY were declared void. At the same time Prince JOHN, the son of King FERDINAND and ISABELLA, was declared heir to the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon. He was born in the year 1478.

And now King FERDINAND and his Queen being peaceably settled in their dominions, employed themselves in reforming such abuses in the administration, as had been introduced during the late wars; and particularly in the courts of justice: for lawyers are the same in every country, and if their practice is not sometimes examin'd into by the legislature, greater oppressions will be committed under a colour of justice, than could have happen'd in places where there was no law in being. His next care, say the Spaniards, was to root all errors and heresies out of the church; and to that end he establish'd the holy inquisition, to keep the converted Moors and Jews in awe, and deter them from returning to their idolatry and superstition. But notwithstanding the specious pretences for erecting this court, in the words of the judicious PUFFENDORFF, it is esteem'd by other nations an inhuman and execrable tribunal, and carries the greatest injustice with it, in making the children to bear the guilt of their parents, and not suffering any one to know either his accusers, or the particulars of the charge brought against him, in order to clear himself of it. But I shall enlarge further on this head, when I come to give the history of the persecution raised against the converted Jews and Moors of Grenada, &c.

The greatest part of Spain being united under one head, was become too powerful for the Moors of Grenada, who were also much weaken'd by their intestine divisions, which induced King FERDINAND about this time to endeavour the making an absolute conquest of them. The war was begun in the year 1481, by skirmishing and attacking some inconsiderable towns, which were often taken and retaken; but nothing of any great consequence happen'd in this war till the year 1487, when the city of Malaga was besieg'd by King FERDINAND with an army of twelve thousand horse and forty thousand foot. It was taken on the 18th of August 1487, when it surrender'd at discretion, after it had been bravely defended upwards of three months.

There being some disturbances in Arragon, and the plague sweeping away great numbers of people in Spain the three following years, the war against the Moors was not carried on with vigour, only the country was harassed and wasted to the very walls of Grenada. In the year 1491 that capital was besieg'd by the Christians, said to contain at that time sixty thousand houses, and to have no less than a thousand and thirty beautiful towers city.

1481

1487

Malaga
taken by
FerdinandGrenada
besieged.

1491

The last
nest of

CHAP. towers on the walls. King FERDINAND sat
XVIII. down before it on the 24th of April 1491, and it
surrender'd upon articles on the 25th of November
following, having held out a siege of seven
months. The articles were sworn to by King
FERDINAND on the one side, and by BOABDIL,
the Moorish King, on the other: the substance
whereof were;

articles of
surrender.
' That the Moors within sixty days deliver up
' to the King the two castles, the towers, and
' gates of the city. That they do homage to
' King FERDINAND, and take an oath of alle-
' giance to him. That they set at liberty all
' Christian slaves without ransom. That till these
' articles be performed they deliver up five hun-
' dred sons of the principal inhabitants as hostages.
' That they be left possess'd of their lands, arms,
' and horses, only delivering up the artillery.
' That they keep their mosques, and have the
' free exercise of their religion. That they be
' govern'd according to their own laws; and to
' this purpose persons of their own nation be ap-
' pointed, by whose advice the King's officers shall
' administer justice to them. That part of the
' usual taxes be abated during the term of three
' years, and never after be greater than they used
' to pay to their own Kings. That such as will
' go over into Africk may sell their goods, and
' be furnish'd with ships for their passage into any
' port they shall chuse. That King BOABDIL's
' son, and the other hostages deliver'd by him, be
' restor'd after the city is surrender'd.'

Before the sixty days were expired a fanatick
Moor rais'd an insurrection in the city, exclaim-
ing against the capitulation, which King BOAB-
DIL with some difficulty suppress'd; and being
apprehensive of farther tumults, sent immediately
to King FERDINAND to acquaint him with the
situation of affairs, offering to deliver up the city
before the time was expired. Whereupon King
FERDINAND made his entry into the city of
Grenada at the head of his army on the day after
New-Year's-Day 1491-2, being met by King BO-
ABDIL at the head of fifty horse, who upon de-
livering up the keys of the town to FERDINAND,
said, 'We are your slaves, invincible King! We
' deliver up this city and kingdom to you, not
' doubting you will use us with clemency and
' moderation'

To King BOABDIL was assign'd the valley of
Purchena for his residence, with a handsome re-
venue; but he chose to transport himself to A-
frica, rather than live a subject in a country of
which he had been Sovereign. And here it may
be proper to insert a list of the Moorish Kings of
Grenada.

Kings of Grenada after the invasion of the
Saracens.

*This was the last of the kingdoms of the Moors in
Spain, whither that people generally retired after
their expulsion from the other provinces.*

MAHOMET ABEN ALHAMAR began his reign
A. D. 1238

MAHOMET MIR 1273

MAHOMET ABEN ALHAMAR 1305

MAHOMET ABEN AZER 1313

ISMAEL 1314

MAHOMET 1328

JOSEPH 1334

MAHOMET LAGUS 1361

MAHOMET of Cadiz 1394

JOSEPH 1409

MAHOMET ABEN BALVA 1412

JOSEPH 1424

MAHOMET the Crook-back 1428

MAHOMET the Little ibid.

MAHOMET the Crook-back again 1430

JOSEPH ALBEN ALMAO usurp'd the crown.

MAHOMET the Crook-back was restored again

1435

MAHOMET the Lane 1439

ABEN ISMAEL 1452

MULEY HACEN 1470

MAHOMET BOABDIL the Little 1482

MULEY BOABDIL 1485

And being besieg'd in his capital city of Gre-
nada, surrender'd it, together with his king-
dom, to FERDINAND and ISABELLA, King
and Queen of Castile and Arragon, on the day
after New-Year's-Day, anno 1491-2; which
put an end to the dominion of the Moors in
Spain.

King FERDINAND and Queen ISABELLA be-
ing at Grenada in the year 1492, commanded
all Jews to depart the kingdom of Spain within
the space of four months; but gave them leave to
sell their effects or carry them with them.
Whereupon, 'tis said, seventeen thousand fami-
lies of that people (and according to others, eight
hundred thousand souls) quitted that kingdom;
some transported themselves to Africa, others to
Italy, &c. but the bulk of them went to Portugal,
where King JOHN II permitted them to be
receiv'd upon condition of their paying him
eight crowns of gold for every head, and their
promising to depart his kingdom within a certain
limited time, on the expiration whereof all who
remain'd behind were to be made slaves. But
when this people came to the port-towns of Por-
tugal in order to transport themselves, they found
the

CHAP. XVIII. the King had prohibited all ships to take them on board; and notwithstanding their stay was occasion'd by the King's own orders, he caus'd all their effects to be seiz'd on the expiration of the time prefix'd, and sold their persons to his subjects for slaves.

Doctor GEDDES adds, 'That King EMANUEL, who succeeded JOHN, reckoning it to have been both an unjust and dishonourable thing that his predecessor had done to the Jews, he set them all at liberty again; but at the same time commanded them all, upon pain of perpetual servitude, either to be baptized within a certain term of months, or to leave Portugal, promising that ships should be provided for all that would depart at the three chief ports of his kingdom. The Jews who had all left Spain, where they and their ancestors had liv'd for a great many generations, because they would not turn Christians, did intend to leave Portugal for the same reason, and did accordingly repair with their families to the ports appointed for their embarkation, where instead of ships to carry them off, they met with a proclamation prohibiting them upon pain of death to embark any where but at Lisbon: To which city when they were all come with their families, the King commanded all their children that were under fourteen years of age to be taken from them, and to be baptized by force. With which unexpected violence several parents were so inrag'd, that they threw their children that were under that age into the river and into wells, and themselves after them. But the time appointed for their embarkation being expired, and no ships being permitted to take any of them aboard, they did, rather than be made slaves again, consent to be baptized.

'The Jews who were baptized at this time, in this manner, are reckon'd to have been above three hundred thousand, men, women and children. And whereas few, if any of them, were in their hearts Christians when they were thus forced to receive baptism, great numbers of their descendants do to this day in Portugal continue to breed up their children in the Jewish religion, notwithstanding the unintermitting cruelties which have ever since been exercised by the Inquisition upon all who have been convicted of having returned to that faith.

'This dispersion of the Spanish Jews is reckon'd, by all of that nation and religion, to have been, both as to hardships and as to their numbers, nothing inferior to that which followed upon the destruction of Jerusalem.

America discovered by Columbus. It was soon after the conquest of Grenada that CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a Genoese, attempted the discovery of America for the Spaniards. He had apply'd himself first to the court of Portugal, and afterwards to HENRY VII, King of

England, for a Squadron of ships in order to undertake that enterprize, and was slighted by both of them. At length FERDINAND and ISABELLA, Sovereigns of Castile and Aragon, after deliberating upon the matter seven years, assisted him with three ships and seventeen thousand ducats, which they were forc'd to borrow, their treasury was so exhausted by the wars: and with these COLUMBUS set sail from Palos on the third of August 1492, and having touch'd at the Canaries, after several days sail discover'd certain islands which he named the *Prince's Islands*; and having built a fort, and left some men in garrison there, he return'd to Spain.

The next year he discovered the islands of Cuba and Hispaniola, and great part of the continent, both north and south, introducing the Spaniards into a country of many thousand miles extent, rich and fruitful beyond expression, and where they found such inexhaustible mines of gold and silver, that they have supply'd Europe with the greatest part of those precious minerals ever since. To establish themselves, they destroyed the two vast empires of Peru and Mexico, which they found little difficulty in effecting, the natives being perfectly naked and unarm'd. But I shall not here enlarge on the discovery of America, reserving this part of modern history 'till I come to treat of that part of the world.

The French King designing to make an attempt on the kingdom of Naples, to which the house of Arragon had some pretensions, in order to secure the Friendship of King FERDINAND while he was engaged in that expedition, he made him a cession of Roussillon and Cerdagne, in the year 1493.

Not long after, King FERDINAND possessed himself of the masterships of the three military Orders in Castile, the masters whereof had claim'd an exemption from the regal jurisdiction, and were become so very powerful by reason of their vast revenues and numbers of dependants, that they were formidable to the King himself. These Masterships were confirm'd to his Majesty by Pope INNOCENT VIII. His Holiness also gave him the title of the Catholick King, on account of the zeal he had shewn for extirpating the Jews and Mahometans.

In the year 1497 died JOHN Prince of Castile and Arragon, and presumptive heir to both those crowns.

I come now to enquire into the usage the Moors met with in Spain, after they had submitted to the Christians, of which our countryman Doctor GEDDES has given us a very full account. He observes, that notwithstanding the taking of the city of Grenada put an end to the dominion of the Moors in Spain, the body of the people in that province, as well as in the king-
doms Grenada

1492.

1493.

Roussillon and Cerdagne yielded to the Spaniards.

John Prince of Castile dies.

1496.

Dr. Geddes account the usage the Moors after the conquest of Grenada.

H A P. doms of Valencia and Murcia, were still Mahometans; and that there were also great numbers of them still dispers'd over Castile, Estramadura, Arragon, Catalonia, and other provinces of Spain, who continu'd a distinct people from the Spaniards by an obstinate adherence to the religion, language habits, and customs of their ancestors, scarce any of them having been converted to the Christian faith by the Spanish missionaries who had been employ'd for that end.

Whereupon King FERDINAND and Queen ISABELLA coming to Grenada in the year 1499, sent for the famous XIMENES, Archbishop of Toledo, and charged him, as he had any regard for the honour of the Christian religion, the salvation of mankind and the safety of the government, that he would take effectual measures for the conversion of their Moorish subjects, who were no less infidels than when they liv'd under Mahometan Kings.

XIMENES, says that writer, who was a man that wou'd not be easily baffled in any thing that he undertook, begun that great work with courting and caressing the chief men among the Moors, and having by rich presents and greater promises persuaded some of the first quality among them to turn Christians, their examples were followed by a considerable number of the inferiour sort.

The Moors both in the city and country being much alarmed and displeased with those conversions, several of their principal men, with whom the Archbishop had not been able to prevail, did go about to persuade their kindred and others neither to be flatter'd nor bribed out of the religion of their forefathers.

The Archbishop, as soon as he heard of those counterworkings, laying all humanity, faith the writer of his life, almost aside, he commanded all those zealots to be apprehended, and having loaded them with irons, he order'd them to be thrown into dungeons, and to be treated in them as the greatest of malefactors.

Among these zealots there was one named ZAGRI, who was of a noble family, and had been in a high command in armies, and who, among his other exploits, had in his younger days fought hand to hand with GONZALO, the Great Captain. The Archbishop reckoning that if he were but able to subdue ZAGRI's high spirit so far as to make him turn Christian, none among the Moors would after that dare to oppose him in his conversions, he committed him to the custody of one of his own chaplains named LEONI, a man of a fierce and cruel disposition, in whose keeping ZAGRI had not been many days before he begg'd of his keeper to be permitted to speak with the Archbishop; which having been granted, ZAGRI when he

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appear'd before him, desired that his irons might be knocked off that he might deliver his mind with the more freedom, which having been done, he declared that he had been commanded the night before in a dream to turn Christian; adding at the same time with a smile, I am not such a blockhead as to want any more arguments to persuade me to that, besides those I have had given me by that terrible lion of your Lordship's, (alluding to his keeper's name:) to whom said ZAGRI, Let my countrymen be but committed for so many days as I have been, and I will undertake they shall all be converted by him to Christianity; intimating how barbarously he had been used by LEONI.

The Archbishop being overjoy'd at his having thus converted ZAGRI, commanded him to be led out and washed, and having cloathed him in scarlet, he baptized him himself, calling him by the name of GONZALO FERDINANDO, the Great Captain who was at that time in Grenada, and settled a pension on him of 5000 crowns yearly for his life.

The other Moorish prisoners being no more able than ZAGRI to withstand LEONI's arguments, did yield and were baptized likewise by the Archbishop; who after this commanded all the Moors to deliver their Alcorans and all their other Arabick books to him; which having been done, he order'd all the books that treated of philosophy and medicine to be preserved, burning all the rest in the market-place of the city, to the great mortification of the Moors who had not chang'd their religion. And being resolved to make his harvest as great as it was possible, he commanded the children of all the Moors, who were called Elkes, to be taken from them and baptized, upon pretence that their ancestors were antiently Christians, who had apostatized to the Mahometan sect.

These violent proceedings of the Archbishop's occasion'd an insurrection in the city, which being with difficulty suppress'd by the King's troops, his Majesty order'd the mutineers to be dealt with as traytors, unless they would turn Christians. Whereupon, 'tis said, no less than fifty thousand of them submitted to be baptized.

The Moors in the country, understanding the force that had been put upon their brethren in Grenada, had recourse to arms; whereupon the Great Captain GONZALO march'd against them, and having taken the town of Huyar, put all the Infidels therein to the sword, men, women, and children; which render'd the Moors desperate, and occasion'd the insurrection to become still more general, insomuch that the Great Captain was obliged to desire his Majesty to assemble the rest of his army, and march against them in person.

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The

1500.

CHAP. XVIII.

CHAP. XVIII. The Christians afterwards made themselves masters of Guadix, Almeria, and many other towns of the Infidels; but those who had retired into the most inaccessible part of the mountains, still defending themselves, obtain'd leave to go over to Barbary on their paying ten dollars a head, many of whom however were obliged to remain in Spain and be baptized, for want of money to pay for their passage. And in this manner 'tis computed about two hundred thousand Moors, men, women, and children, were made Christians within the compass of a few months.

200000
Moors ob-
liged to pro-
fess them-
selves
Christians.

As to the usage of the Moors in the other conquer'd provinces, I find that in Andalusia, where the same forced conversions had been practised, the Inquisition of Seville had condemn'd no less than an hundred thousand of the Moriscoes, present or absent, for apostacy within the space of forty years; of which number four thousand had been actually burnt, thirty thousand reconciled to the church, and the rest had made their escapes into Barbary; insomuch that many thousand houses, in the district of Seville only, were deserted and left without inhabitants, which had occasion'd grievous complaints from the nobility, and put a stop to these barbarities for a time.

The Moors
subject to
Arragon
more mildly
dealt with.

The Moors of Valencia, who were conquer'd by JAMES King of Arragon in the year 1236, enjoy'd the free exercise of their religion many years afterwards. That Prince had indeed order'd his clergy to endeavour to make proselytes of them by preaching, and upon their representing that the Moriscoes were such incurable Infidels that they could never be converted to Christianity but by force, and the Pope's exhorting him to banish them out of his dominions, he did propose the expulsion of them to the Cortes. Yet the thing was so warmly oppos'd by his Barons, to whom most of the Moriscoes were vassals, and whose lands would have been of little value to them, if these people, by whom they were cultivated, were banished, that the design was laid aside, and not revived again in above three hundred years, notwithstanding they did all that time continue Mahometans.

As to the general expulsion of this people out of Spain, I shall reserve the account of it till I come to the year 1610, when it was effected by PHILIP III.

The Princess JOANNA, the eldest surviving daughter of King FERDINAND and Queen ISABELLA, having been married to PHILIP Duke of Burgundy and Archduke of Austria, son to the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, was on St. MATTHIAS's day, 1500, deliver'd of a Prince, afterwards called CHARLES V, Emperor of Germany and King of Spain. And PHILIP and his Princess coming into Spain in the year 1502, were sworn heirs of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon.

The Em-
peror
Charles V
born.

1502.

Thus was the Austrian family first introduced into Spain.

The French King, CHARLES VIII, having about this time made a conquest of the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Naples, FERDINAND King of Castile and Arragon enter'd into a confederacy with the Pope, the Emperor, Venice, and Milan, to drive the French out of Italy, sending GONSALVO FERDINAND DE CERDUA, commonly called the Great Captain, to the assistance of the Neapolitans, by whose conduct the French were expelled that kingdom. But not long after a treaty of peace was concluded between France and Spain, wherein it was agreed to depose FREDERICK King of Naples, and to divide that kingdom between them; Apulia and Calabria were allotted to FERDINAND the Catholick King, and Abruzzo and Campania to the French; and the Pope gave each of them the investiture of his part. The two Kings accordingly made an entire conquest of the country, and the unfortunate FREDERICK fled to the island of Ischia. But the French and Spaniards afterwards falling out about the limits of their territories, GONSALVO the Great Captain drove the French out of that kingdom a second time, and most of their army perish'd in their retreat. From this time we may look upon the Spaniards to be sole Sovereigns of Naples as well as Sicily.

The Spa-
niards make
a conquest
of Naples.

ISABELLA Queen of Castile dying in the year 1504, appointed the Princess JOANNA and the Archduke her husband heirs to the crown of Castile: but if the Princess, on account of her indisposition (she is reported to have been distracted with jealousy) should not take upon her the government, she committed the administration of it to King FERDINAND, till Prince CHARLES, their son, arrived at the age of twenty years, according to an act of the Cortes, or three Estates of Castile, passed not long before for that purpose. She confirm'd also to King FERDINAND the masterships of the three military orders, and half the revenues of the new conquests in America.

1504.
Isabella
Queen of
Castile dies.

King FERDINAND immediately upon the Queen's death caused his daughter the Princess JOANNA to be proclaimed Queen, and her husband PHILIP King of Castile in right of his wife, but took the administration of the government upon himself; and in order to support his power, enter'd into an alliance with the King of France, which he cemented by marrying GERMANA DE FOIX, the French King's niece, on whom he agreed to confer the kingdom of Naples, in exclusion of Prince CHARLES his grandson; which his son-in-law King PHILIP highly resented, as well as his taking upon him the government of Castile. PHILIP therefore coming to Spain from the Low Countries with a great fleet and a good body of German

CHAP. XVIII. German troops, with which his friends in Castile join'd him on his arrival, King FERDINAND was obliged to retire to Arragon, and leave PHILIP in the possession of Castile. However, a treaty was set on foot between them, and they parted friends, in appearance at least.

Philip I. K.
of Castile.

King PHILIP, as has been intimated already, entertaining a variety of mistresses, provoked his Queen to the last degree. Whereupon she took all opportunities of shewing her resentment; and the people were so disgusted at the ill usage she received from her husband, that a party was form'd in the kingdom to rescue her out of his hands. PHILIP, on the other hand, gave out she was mad, and proposed the excluding her from the regency; but when the matter was mention'd in the Cortes, and they were required to take the oaths of allegiance, it was carried, that they should swear to Queen JOANNA as Queen of Castile in her own right, to King PHILIP only as her husband, and to Prince CHARLES as heir to the crown after his mother's death. Another occasion of discontent among the Castilians was the displacing the native Spaniards, and putting the Germans and Flemings into all posts of honour and profit in the kingdom; and so general was the disaffection at this time, that if FERDINAND had return'd into the kingdom, the people would infallibly have deposed King PHILIP, and conferred the administration of affairs on the Catholick King again: but he was gone to Naples to secure that kingdom, being apprehensive that GONSALEVO the Great Captain might set up for himself, or yield that kingdom to some other Sovereign. To prevent which, the Catholick King propos'd the bringing back the Great Captain with him to Spain, under pretence of his having occasion for his service on that side; and in the mean time King PHILIP died, viz. on the 25th of September, 1506. The situation of affairs in Spain on this event is so well described by Dr. GEDDES, that I chuse to follow that gentleman in the relation of them.

1506.
King Philip
died.

Queen Jo-
anna's beha-
viour to her
dead hus-
band.

He says, 'That the Queen, whose brain was somewhat distemper'd before, did upon this loss sink into so deep a melancholy, that those who were about her had much ado to keep her from famishing herself. And as during the whole time of her husband's sickness she had never, though she was big with child, day nor night, stirr'd from his bed-side; so having, some days after he was buried, been told by a Monk, that he had read in some legend or other of a King who came to life again after he had been dead fourteen years, she immediately commanded her husband's body to be brought into her bed-chamber, where, having taken it out of the coffin, and laid it in a bed of state with its face uncover'd, she kept it there as long as she liv'd,

CHAP. XVIII. which was above twice fourteen years; and when she was awake, was continually looking upon it, and watching when it would rise.

'And as the Queen's fondness for her husband, who had little deserved it from her, so her jealousy of him was so much increased by his death, that she would never suffer any woman but herself to go near his corps, nor none of that sex, besides her old servants and confidants, to come within the doors of the room where it lay. And having left Burgos, with a resolution never to see that nor any other city any more, she travell'd in the night by torch-light, with her husband's corps drawn in a hearse by six Flanders mares from one obscure village to another, until she settled at last at Tortela, where in a very mean house she was deliver'd of a daughter, without the help of a midwife; for as there was no persuading of her to lie-in in any other room but in that where her husband's corps was, so she would not hear of a midwife, tho' never so antient, being brought into it.

'The breath was not well out of PHILIP's body, when the Grandees were all to pieces about the administration of the government during Prince CHARLES's minority. The Nobles, who had appear'd most forward in driving FERDINAND out of Castile, talk'd high against his being recalled to be their Governour; alleging, That if his government was grievous to his Nobles before, it would be much more so now, after he had been so highly provoked by their having join'd with PHILIP against him. His being married to the Princess GERMANA, in hopes of having male issue by her, was likewise urged as an unkind thing to the posterity of their Queen ISABELLA, and which, if he were its Governour, might prove of dangerous consequence to Castile.

'The Queen, who when she would speak, which was but seldom, did always give very pertinent answers, being address'd to know to whom she would have the administration of the government of her kingdoms committed, is said to have answer'd, "My first-born son and heir CHARLES is too young to administer the government himself, and MAXIMILIAN my father-in-law cannot well leave the Empire and his own hereditary dominions; or if he would, he is altogether a stranger to the tempers and customs of my people, which are all perfectly understood by my father, and who has with great toil and danger, much enlarged my territories." But when she was desired, after so wise an extemporary answer, by a publick instrument to constitute her father Governour of Castile during her son's minority, not a word more was to be had from her, neither would she to her dying day ever be persuaded to put her

CHAP. XVIII. her hand to any writing, or to give any reason why she would not do it; only on other occasions she would sometimes say, "That it was scandalous for the widow of a good husband to let any thing trouble her thoughts but the memory of her great loss."

Cardinal XIMENES, Archbishop of Toledo, the wisest and most disinterested statesman that Spain, or perhaps any other kingdom, ever had, at first seem'd to agree with the Nobles to exclude FERDINAND from the regency, to which his near relation to the Prince gave him so good a title; but being sensible that no man was so fit as FERDINAND to govern Spain at that time, he so manag'd the Council of State, that he prevail'd with them to send for FERDINAND, who was then at Naples, to desire him to come and take upon him the administration of the government, during the time of his daughter's indisposition, and of his grandson's minority. And though the Queen would not be persuaded to give any countenance to his coming by writing a line to invite him, yet having been desired by his Ambassador at her court, to order publick prayers and supplications to be made in all the churches for his safe arrival in Castile, she made answer, it shall be done; and added, that she doubted not but that God would both give her father a prosperous voyage, and would bless him in the administration of the government of her kingdoms.

FERDINAND being arrived in Castile, went directly to visit his disconsolate daughter; and though the place he found her in was extremely incommodious both for herself and the court, he had much ado to persuade her to leave it, to go to Santa Maria de Campo, from whence he intended to have moved her to Burgos, and to have fixed her there, so soon as the castle of that city (which was held out against him by one EMANUEL, the great favourite of King PHILIP) was reduced. But the Queen, when she came to Arcos, suspecting that her father intended to have carried her to Burgos, would not go a step further; telling him, that she was resolved never to see the place any more, wherein she had been so unhappy as to lose the best of husbands. And though Arcos was a town of bad air, and very inconvenient for the court, it was five months before he could persuade her to leave it to go to Tordeillas, a pleasant village, and where she had a palace, in the neighbourhood of Valladolid: but having at last prevail'd with her to remove, she travell'd all the way by night with her hearse, stopping still at the first house she met with, though it was a cottage, after the day began to dawn, and remain'd there till it was dark night. And when she was desir'd by her father, who accompanied her, not

to feed her melancholy by travelling after such a dismal manner, all the answer he could have was, "That the sun ought never to see a woman, after she was so unfortunate as to be a widow."

The Emperor MAXIMILIAN did at first oppose King FERDINAND's taking upon him the government of Castile, alledging, that as his daughter Queen JOANNA was non compos, the administration of the government devolv'd upon him (the Emperor) during the minority of his grandson Prince CHARLES. But matters were at length accommodated between the Emperor and FERDINAND, and the latter continued Regent of Castile all the remainder of his life. The most remarkable things that happen'd during his administration were the Italian war and the conquest of Navarre. For in the year 1508 FERDINAND enter'd into a confederacy with the French King and other Princes against the Venetians, on account of that republick's refusing to deliver up to him Brundisium, Otranto, and some other cities of Calabria, which the Venetians had possess'd themselves of. But the Venetians agreeing to surrender those places to him, he thought fit to change sides, and thereby prevented the French and Imperialists from making themselves masters of the Venetian territories. And this occasion'd the other war against Navarre; for JOHN D'ALBERT, King of Navarre, entering into an alliance with the French King against Spain, FERDINAND took this opportunity of reducing all that part of Navarre, which lies on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees (which is four times larger than that on the French side) to the obedience of Castile: in which expedition he had the Pope on his side, who excommunicated the King of Navarre for joining with France, and gave his dominions to any power that could conquer it. Nor were the Kings of Navarre ever able to recover this part of their territories again. This victorious King also took Tripoli and several other towns on the coast of Barbary from the Infidels; and after a long and glorious reign, wherein immense treasures continually flow'd in from the American conquests that were discover'd and subdued under his administration, (and to which as well as his wisdom his successes are to be ascribed) he died on the twenty-third of January, 1515-16, leaving all the provinces of Spain, except Portugal, united under one head. He had made three wills, in all of which he named his daughter Queen JOANNA his Heiress, and her son Prince CHARLES Governour of his dominions; and during that Prince's absence he appointed his illegitimate son the Archbishop of Saragossa to be Governour of Arragon, and Cardinal XIMENES, Archbishop of Toledo, Governour of Castile, which was complied with afterwards; only the Dean of Louvain, producing

CHAP XVIII

King Ferdinand resumes the administration.

1508.

Navarre conquer'd by Ferdinand.

1510.

1515 K. Ferdinand dies.

CHAP. XVIII. producing the Prince's commission, was admitted joint Governour with Cardinal XIMENES. To Prince FERDINAND, his younger grandson, he left some towns in the kingdom of Naples, and an annual pension of fifty thousand ducats. He was interr'd in the royal chapel in the cathedral of Grenada, near his late wife Queen ISABELLA, with the splendor and magnificence due to so great a conqueror.

Charles his
grandson K.
of Spain.

Prince CHARLES, upon the death of his grandfather King FERDINAND, took upon him the title of King of Spain, notwithstanding his mother Queen JOANNA was living, but did not arrive in Spain however till a year and a half afterwards; the government of Castile in the mean time being committed to Cardinal XIMENES and ADRIAN Dean of Louvain, CHARLES's preceptor, who afterwards arrived at the papacy by the powerful interest of his pupil.

The Spaniards had been entertained with such a glorious character of their new Sovereign CHARLES, that they expected him with the utmost impatience, and were apt to impute his stay to the arts of the Flemings, who obtained vast remittances of treasure from Spain in the mean time. But however that was, CHARLES arrived at length with a royal fleet at Villa Viciosa in Asturia on the nineteenth of September 1517, whither Cardinal XIMENES was going to attend his Majesty, but died upon the road before he saw him; whereupon CHEVERS, a Frenchman, the then favourite in King CHARLES's court, begg'd that noble preferment, computed to be worth fourscore thousand pounds sterling per ann. for his nephew WILLIAM DE CROY Bishop of Cambray. Other posts of honour and profit were taken from the native Spaniards and conferred on the Germans and Flemings, which very much disgusted the Castilians, and began to make them alter the good opinion they had conceived of their new Monarch.

1518. A Cortes was assembled in the year 1518, where King CHARLES took the usual oaths to govern according to their laws, and to protect the liberties and privileges of the subject: after which a motion was made by the court-party for a supply to defray the charges of the government; but the Commons insisted before they parted with their money, to have two of their antient laws confirmed, viz. 1. That none but natives of Castile should be admitted into any office or employment in Church or State. And, 2. That no treasure should be sent out of the kingdom, on pain of death: wisely foreseeing, that if these restrictions were not complied with, Spain must sooner or later be reduced to a state of beggary. But the court-party, by places or pensions, or the hopes they gave the majority of finding their account in complying with his Majesty, procured the supply

to be granted before the privileges of the subject were confirmed; and the donative, as the Castilians call a bill of supply, was immediately borrowed of the Italian bankers at a high interest, and distributed among the Flemings, though it was not to have been raised under three years: and what was a further mortification to them was, that they saw all that vast sum exported to Flanders by the King's Dutch favourites, almost as soon as it was borrowed.

Donna LEONORA, the King's sister, was about this time given in marriage to EMANUEL King of Portugal, though he had married two of her aunts before, and he was old enough to be her grandfather. This the Castilians made another subject of complaint, ascribing this match to CHEVERS the King's favourite, who, 'twas said, sacrificed this young Princess to his covetousness, being known to have received one and twenty thousand ducats of the King of Portugal. The King also sent his brother Don FERDINAND to Flanders under the tuition of a Flemish Governor; and conferred the rich archbishoprick of Tortosa on his preceptor ADRIAN, for whom he procured a Cardinal's cap; which so disgusted the Spanish clergy, that they refused to raise the tenths the Pope had granted him.

The King afterwards assembled the Cortes of Arragon at Sarragossa, where he took the oaths to maintain their privileges, and then demanded a supply; but the States answered, It was not usual to give money before their grievances were redressed, and the debts of the crown were paid. But the Emperor MAXIMILIAN dying about this time, and the King desiring them not to delay the supply, because he should be obliged to go into Germany to be present at the next election, in order to prevent the French King's being chosen Emperor, the donative was granted; clogged however with so many appropriations to publick uses, that there remain'd but little for the King. From hence he went to Barcelona, and assembled the States of Catalonia, who were nine months before they granted any money, and then applied so much of it to the paying of old debts, that there were not above twenty-five pounds left for his Majesty's use; which the courtiers exclaiming against, were told, That the King seem'd to be governed by Dutch and French Ministers, who were come into Spain as into an enemy's country, intending after they had plunder'd it, to carry the spoils to Flanders. They complained also, that all offices were sold by the Prime Minister CHEVERS or his Lady; a practice till then not known in Spain.

The King having been chosen Emperor while K. Charles he remain'd at Barcelona, the Spaniards foresaw chosen Emperor that they should now be made a province of Germany, and that as the King would generally reside.

1519.

CHAP. XVIII. side there, the treasures of Spain would be exported thither, which made them still more untractable; inſomuch that when the Emperor deputed Cardinal ADRIAN to hold a Cortes at Valencia, they refused to grant him a ſupply, or even to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, till he came amongſt them, and took the oaths to obſerve their privileges in perſon, which he could not do at this time, being preſſed by the Imperial Diet to haſten into Germany. However, as he was in great want of money, he order'd the Cortes of Caſtile to aſſemble at the Groyne, a port-town in Galicia, from whence he intended to embark for Flanders; and threatned the electors, if they did not ſend representatives thither prepared to grant what money he ſhould aſk, he would remove all the Courts of Judicature out of Caſtile into that loyal province of Galicia.

Miſunder-
ſtandings be-
tween the
Emperor and
the Cortes of
Caſtile.

The Caſtilians hereupon complained openly, that they were treated by their Dutch King and his miniſtry more like ſlaves than ſubjects; that the commanding them to meet in Galicia, a remote province, and demanding a new donative before the time for raiſing the former was expired, and threatning to remove the Courts of Judicature, if they did not raiſe ſuch ſums as the miniſtry demanded, were things unprecedented. This was indeed to rule them with a rod of iron, as ſome of his Dutch favourites had threatned; and the city of Valladolid in particular was ſo exaſperated at the King's removing both the Courts and Cortes from thence, that they had recourſe to arms, and determined to prevent his Maſteſty's going out of the gates; but he took the advantage of a tempeſtuous night, and eſcaped from them, going from thence to the Groyne. Here he was met by Commiſſioners from Toledo, who proteſted againſt his holding a Cortes in Galicia, declaring it to be unlawful. But the King, who had now ſo many valuable poſts to diſpoſe of in the Empire, as well as in the dominions of Spain, notwithſtanding their oppoſition, procured the Cortes to be aſſembled at the Groyne, and found means to influence a majority to grant him the ſupplies he demanded, for which indeed they were called *tools and journey-men* to CHEEVERS the Prime Miniſter, and charged with conniving at their country's being plunder'd by foreigners, that they might have a ſhare in its ſpoils. And the nation in general was ſo provoked at the proceedings of this Cortes, that an inſurrection was looked upon as inevitable. However, the King proceeded in his voyage, embarking at the Groyne the twenty-second of May 1520; and Cardinal ADRIAN was left Governour of Caſtile, a man the moſt grateful to the Spaniards of any of the foreigners the King had brought over, on account of his unblemished integrity; but he was not truſted with the diſpoſal of any preferments of confe-

quence, for theſe the Spaniards were forced to go over and ſolicit in Germany, and in the Spaniards phraſe, *to buy them of the Prime Miniſter* CHEEVERS.

The people of Valencia had already taken up arms, and excluded the nobility of that kingdom from all employments; and the King was no ſooner gone to his German dominions, but the city of Toledo propoſed an aſſociation among all the cities of Caſtile, for redreſſing their grievances, and recovering their invaded liberties. Accordingly they choſe them a General, formed an army, and elected representatives in every town, who aſſembled at Abula, and took upon them the title of a Cortes, and the direction of all affairs. The members who had voted the ſupply at the Groyne were ſoon made ſenſible of the people's reſentment; they fell upon them wherever they met with them, dragged them from the very altars, and tore them in pieces, crying out, that *Rogues who had betrayed their country ought not to have the benefit of its ſanctuaries*.

The firſt thing the Cortes or Junta of the diſaffected Commons entred upon, was the drawing up a particular of their demands; the chief whereof were, 'That the King ſhould reſide in Caſtile, 'or appoint one of the natives his Viceroy. That 'no foreigner ſhould be capable of any office or 'preferment. That the King ſhould give no office or ſalary to any member of the Cortes. 'That a Cortes ſhould meet once in three years. 'That the ſoldiers ſhould not have free quarters. 'That all privileges granted to the nobility to 'the prejudice of the Commons ſhould be re- 'voked. That the lands of the Nobility ſhould 'be taxed equally with the Commons. That no 'gold, ſilver, or jewels ſhould be ſent out of the 'kingdom, &c.'

Their de-
mands.

With theſe demands they ſent a deputation to the King in Germany; but before thoſe gentlemen had paſſed through France, they underſtood the King had ordered them all to be made priſoners as ſoon as they enter'd his German dominions; whereupon they return'd to Spain, endeavouring to heighten the diſcontents of the people againſt their Sovereign. And now the breach appear'd to be ſo wide, that nothing but the ſword could decide it; whereupon the Cardinal, who was left Governour of Caſtile, aſſembled all the forces he could, and the malecontents increaſed theirs. The Commons had much the advantage at firſt, for both the Clergy and Nobility, if they did not join them, lay ſtill and were not diſpleaſed to obſerve their ſucceſs; but when they found that the Commons were no leſs bent upon their deſtruction than that of the Miniſters, they join'd with the Court againſt them, which in the end brought their affairs into an ill ſituation. Another occaſion of their miſfortune

1520.
The Empe-
ror embarks
for Ger-
many.

HAP. tune was their making choice of Don JOHN DE PADILLA for their General, a nobleman of very little knowledge or experience in martial affairs. The King however having but few forces in Castile at the time of the insurrection, the Commons remained masters of the country for near eighteen months; but when the royal army advanced from the kingdom of Navarre, that had been employ'd against the French, the great army the Commons had assembled, consisting chiefly of an undisciplined mob, dispersed without ever coming to a battle; whereas if they had kept together but a very few weeks, the French having over-run all Navarre, and enter'd the frontiers of Castile, the royal army must have returned to Navarre again to have prevented the loss of that kingdom.

Upon the dispersion of the army of the malecontents, their Generals and superiour Officers were made prisoners, of whom some few were executed, particularly Don JOHN DE PADILLA; but the common soldiers were pardon'd, on condition of surrendering their arms, and returning to their houses. This success of the Royalists so terrified the associated cities, that they all submitted to the government in an instant. Never did any cause, says Dr. GEDDES, which was espoused by the body of a people, and which had been allowed time to put itself under some government, fall so flat at once as this of the Commons of Castile; no place besides Toledo having made the least effort to renew the war, after they heard of their army's being dispersed, and this the Clergy held out only out of prejudice to their Archbishop, who was a foreigner, and he happening to die a few months after, the town surrender'd without any army's appearing before it. The war with the Commons of Valencia ended about the same time, which had been carried on with much greater fury and devastation than that of Castile, and concluded with a very great slaughter of the Commons in the last decisive battle.

1522. Cardinal A. In the mean time Cardinal ADRIAN, Governor or Viceroy of Castile, received news of his being elected Pope, while he was at Victoria in Biscay, carrying on the war against the French; whereupon he immediately set out for Italy, as the Emperor did for Spain, where he arrived the September following. His Imperial Majesty returning to Castile very much in debt, assembled a Cortes at Valladolid, the members whereof were generally esteem'd to be in the court-interest, for the other party, since their late ill success, durst not appear to contest the elections with the Royalists; and yet when the Emperor came to demand a supply of them, they insisted that their grievances should be redressed before they raised any money; which is the more to be admired, since the Speaker in his speech to the Emperor on this

occasion takes notice, *That there was not one of the Members of this Cortes, who was not either of his Majesty's household, or in some post in the government*, and had been a sufferer for the crown in the late insurrection. The Emperor answer'd, that he could never alter the custom introduced of raising money before any other business was enter'd upon. And when the Cortes address'd him in a body, that their grievances might be first taken into consideration, he told them in short, *That it was in vain to struggle with him for a thing which he was resolv'd never to grant*; whereupon they ceased to importune him any more, and granted the sum he required, being forty hundred thousand ducats, to be raised within three years; the consequence whereof was, that their grievances were never redressed, or their privileges confirmed. But what could be expected more from a Parliament compos'd entirely of creatures of the court? And what can any people ever expect, where a majority of their Representatives are always such? Private interest will ever exclude that of the publick.

The Clergy found themselves in a still worse condition than the Commons; for ADRIAN the Emperor's Preceptor being advanced to the papal chair, instead of the tenths formerly granted, conferred on the Emperor the fourths of the Clergy in his dominions. He also granted to him and his successors, Kings of Spain, the power of electing and presenting to all bishopricks in their dominions, with the mastership of the three military orders for ever, of which his predecessors had only temporary grants from former Popes. But ADRIAN's pontificate proved very short, his Holiness dying in September 1523. He was the last ultramontane Pope: 'tis observ'd, the Italians have ever since chosen one of their own nation; which 'twas very easy to do, the reigning Pope always taking care to have a majority of Italian Cardinals. ADRIAN was succeeded by Cardinal JULIUS DE MEDICIS, and took the name of CLEMENT VII.

The French having enter'd the duchy of Milan in the year 1524, were defeated by the Imperial Generals, who afterwards passed the Alps, and laid siege to Marseilles; whereupon FRANCIS the French King assembled a powerful army, and raised the siege: he afterwards followed the Imperialists into Italy, and reduced great part of Milan. In the mean time the Emperor enter'd into an alliance with Pope LEO for driving the French out of Italy; by which treaty it was agreed, that the Emperor should annually on St. Peter's day, pay his Holiness seven thousand ducats and a white pad, as a tribute for the kingdom of Naples, to which the Popes had long laid claim. That the Emperor should also acknowledge Sicily to be a fief of the Church, paying

CHAP. XVIII.

Nomination to bishopricks in the crown.

1523.

War between the Emperor and France in Italy.

Naples and Sicily held of the Pope.

CHAP. XVIII. paying annually 15000 ducats to the Holy See for that island; and that the duchy of Milan should be conferr'd on FRANCIS SFORZA, after the French were driven out of it.

1525.
Battle
of Pavia.
The King
of France
taken pri-
soner.

In pursuance of this treaty, the Pope's forces having join'd the Imperialists, they attack'd King FRANCIS in his trenches before the city of Pavia, which he had besieg'd, and the French being entirely defeated, their King was taken prisoner, and soon after sent to Spain. This battle was fought on Friday the twenty-fourth of February 1526, being St. MATTHIAS's day, and the Emperor's birth-day.

1526. Whilst King FRANCIS remain'd a prisoner at Madrid, a treaty of peace was concluded between him and the Emperor, by which the French King renounc'd all pretensions to the sovereignty of Flanders, Milan, Genoa and Aste. He promis'd also to restore the duchy of Burgundy to the Emperor, to marry the Emperor's sister, ELEANOR Queen dowager of Portugal, and to pardon CHARLES Duke of Bourbon, who had deserted the French service, and was at this time General of the imperial army. Upon the conclusion of this treaty the French King was set at liberty, but left his two sons, FRANCIS the Dauphin and HENRY his younger brother, hostages for the performance of the articles.

The Empe-
ror seizes
Milan.

The Emperor afterwards depriv'd FRANCIS SFORZA of the duchy of Milan, and took possession of it himself, under pretence that the Duke held correspondence with France; whereupon the Pope changed hands, and enter'd into a confederacy with France, England and the Venetians against the Emperor. But CHARLES Duke of Bourbon, the imperial General, taking the field before the confederates had assembled their troops, invested the city of Rome, where he was kill'd by a musket-shot from the walls; notwithstanding which the Imperialists took the town by storm, and laid siege to the castle of St. Angelo, whither the Pope and Cardinals had retir'd. The Emperor being at Valladolid in Spain when this news was brought him, declar'd that Rome had been besieg'd without his knowledge, and order'd a fast to be proclaim'd and prayers put up for the safety of his Holiness, which was look'd upon as a piece of grimace by the rest of the Princes of Europe: however, matters were soon after accommodated between his Imperial Majesty and his Holiness. The Florentines, who mortally hated the Pope, took this opportunity of expelling the family of MEDICIS, to which the Pope was nearly related.

1527. In the mean time the French having assembled a fine army, join'd their confederates, and march'd through Italy, laying siege to Naples; but the plague wasting their army, and ANDREW

1528. DORIA their Admiral, who was a Genoese nobleman, deserting their service, they were forc'd to

raise the siege of Naples, and most of the French army perish'd before they reach'd their own country. The Genoese at the same time, by DORIA's assistance, expell'd the French faction, and declar'd themselves a free state, and have ever since look'd upon the family of DORIA as their deliverers.

The following year a peace was concluded between the Emperor and France, wherein it was agreed, that the French Princes should be released on their father's paying his Imperial Majesty two millions of gold: that Burgundy was confirm'd to the French; who on the other hand renounc'd all superiority or homage in respect to the Spanish Low Countries. The Portuguese also agreed to advance the Emperor 350,000 ducats, on condition the Spaniards should not trade to the Molucca islands in the East-Indies, where the fine spices grow, till that sum was repaid.

The Emperor after this went over to Italy, and was crown'd by the Pope at Bologna, the ceremony being perform'd with the utmost splendor and magnificence. His Generals, of whom PHILIBERT Prince of Orange was the chief, about the same time besieg'd the city of Florence, and took it; whereby the Florentines lost their liberties, and were compell'd to accept ALEXANDER DE MEDICIS for their Duke and Sovereign. From Italy the Emperor went to Germany, and held a Diet at Augsburg, the principal design whereof was to depress the Lutheran interest; but those of that persuasion presented their confession of faith in writing to the Diet, said to be compos'd by PHILIP MELANCTON, which from the place where it was drawn up, afterwards obtain'd the name of THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

The next year the Emperor procur'd his brother FERDINAND, Archduke of Austria and King of Hungary and Bohemia, to be elected King of the Romans; and the Turks threatening to invade Hungary, the Emperor thought fit to grant liberty of conscience to the Protestants, who joining their forces with the Catholics, form'd a numerous well-disciplin'd army, which oblig'd the infidels to retire from the confines of Christendom.

The two or three following years nothing remarkable happen'd, unless a conference between the Pope and the Emperor at Bologna, in order to extirpate heresy; and an expedition of the Emperor's to the coast of Barbary, where he restor'd the depos'd King MULEASSE to the crown of Tunis. From Africa the Emperor went to Naples and Rome, and being highly provoked at the conduct of FRANCIS the French King, who had invaded Italy in his absence, he sent him a challenge, which was not accepted. He afterwards pass'd the Alps, and laid siege to Marseilles, but was oblig'd to return to Italy without taking the town.

From Italy the Emperor went to Spain, where nothing remarkable happen'd, unless the death of the

CHAP.
XVIII.

1529.

1530.
Florence
taken by the
Emperor.

1531.

1535.

1536.

CHAP. XVIII. the Empress, till the year 1540, when there being a rebellion at Ghent in Flanders, the Emperor ventur'd to pass thro' France, the territories of his old enemy King FRANCIS, to suppress it; in which, the writers of those times observe, he run a very great hazard, it having been debated in the privy council of that kingdom, whether they should not make him prisoner, and oblige him at least to restore to France, what he had extorted from King FRANCIS when he was prisoner at Madrid; but it seems it was carry'd in the negative. The same year the order of the Jesuits was first confirm'd by Pope PAUL, having been instituted by IGNATIUS LOYOLA, a native of Biscay, who was a soldier, and wounded in the late wars of Navarre, before he erected this new sect.

The order of the Jesuits instituted.

1541. The Emperor having pacified the tumultuous Flemings, went to Germany, with an intent, as 'tis said, to endeavour an accommodation between the Papists and Protestants, for which end conferences were held between the most celebrated Doctors on both sides, but to very little purpose. The Emperor afterwards had a conference with the Pope at Luca, on the subject of holding a general council to determine the disputes that were arisen about religion; which being deferr'd for some years, the Emperor in the mean time undertook an expedition against the Moors of Barbary, in which he was very unsuccessful, most of his fleet being dispers'd or wreck'd upon that coast, after which he return'd to Spain.

The Emperor proposes an accommodation between the Papists and Protestants.

1542. Such swarms of locusts came over from the coasts of Africa to Italy and Spain this year, as intercepted the light of the sun where they came, and destroy'd the fruits of the earth.

1543. The French King and the Turk entring into a confederacy against the Emperor, and BARBAROSSA, the Turkish Admiral, ravaging the coast of Naples, while the French attack'd Milan, his Imperial Majesty went thither to defend that part of his territories, and entring into an alliance with the King of England, (who made a diversion on the side of Picardy, took Bologn, and sent out parties to the very gates of Paris) the French King found himself under a necessity of accepting the peace that was offer'd him by the Emperor; the principal articles whereof were, that all places should be restor'd that had been taken since the last truce, and that both Princes should unite their forces against Turks and Hereticks.

1545. The year following the council of Trent was open'd; and great endeavours were used to induce the Protestants to submit to the decisions of that council; but the Protestants insisted that this was to refer their differences to their enemies, and thought it reasonable that their Divines should be admitted to offer their arguments, and defend their doctrines. A Diet thereupon was held at Ratisbon,

Council of Trent open'd.

1546.

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and conferences set on foot between the protestant and popish divines, which tended only to render the breach still wider, it was observ'd; and both sides not long after had recourse to arms, wherein the Protestants had the disadvantage at first, being defeated in a pitch'd battle, and their General the Duke of Saxony made prisoner.

The council of Trent breaking up without determining any thing in relation to the matters in dispute between Papists and Protestants, a book was publish'd by the Diet of Augsborg, allowing the marriage of priests, the communion in both kinds, and some other concessions by the Catholics, which was call'd the Interim, being to remain in force till the council should meet again and determine these matters. The Pope the same year publish'd a bull, declaring that the descendants of Jews, Hereticks, or Moors, should be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical preferment in Spain.

Another war broke out between the Protestants and Papists in the year 1550, in which the Protestants had the advantage, and reduc'd the Emperor to very great straits.

The council of Trent being open'd again in the year 1551, the Protestants were admitted to send some Divines thither, where they presented a book to the council, stil'd, The Wittenburg Confession: but while their opinions were under debate, news was brought to Trent, that MAURICE Duke of Saxony had possess'd himself of Augsborg, and was near surprizing the Emperor at Inspruck; whereupon the council broke up in great consternation, and the Emperor, in order to pacify the protestant Princes of Germany, thought fit to release the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, whom he had made prisoners at the beginning of the war, and made several important concessions in their favour. This treaty obtain'd the name of the treaty of Passau.

In the year 1554, MARY Queen of England having restor'd the popish religion in that kingdom, which disgusted many of her subjects, in order to support her self on the throne, say the Spanish historians, married Prince PHILIP, the Emperor's eldest son, to whom his father resign'd the kingdom of Naples and duchy of Milan on that occasion, and the marriage was solemniz'd at Winchester on the 25th of July 1554.

The Emperor the following year thought fit to resign all his Spanish dominions to his Son PHILIP, and the Empire to his brother FERDINAND; after which he took leave of his Flemish subjects, and went by sea to Spain, retiring into the monastery of St. JUST, of the order of St. JEROM, in the territory of Placentia, where he died two years after. Some ascribe this to his contempt of the world, and an excess of piety, which prompted him to devote the remainder of his life to divine contemplation.

1555. The Emperor resigns Spain to his son Philip, and the Empire to his brother Ferdinand. Dies two years after.

5 M

CHAP. XVIII. temptation ; while others relate, that his ill success in the Protestant war, wherein he was perpetually defeated, and losing the towns of Metz, Toul and Verdun in Lorraine to the young French King, which he endeavoured in vain to recover, so soured his spirits, that it occasion'd his retiring from the world in discontent. There are other writers who affirm, that this Prince in his latter days was in reality a Protestant in his heart, which induced him to grant such advantageous conditions to those of that communion at Passau. PUFFENDORFF adds, that his will was so far from pleasing the Inquisition, that it was in danger of being burnt as heretical ; and that his Confessor, and the rest of the Monks of the convent who were present at the executing it, were severely dealt with by that court.

Spain and the Empire impolitickly divided.

The dividing the Spanish territories from the Empire on the abdication of CHARLES V, prov'd of fatal consequence to Spain : From that time, it is observ'd, that monarchy begun to decline. Nor was this unforeseen by the late Emperor, who endeavour'd to persuade his brother FERDINAND to relinquish his expectations as King of the Romans to his son PHILIP ; but FERDINAND would never be brought to approve that scheme. What gave the principal shock to the Spanish monarchy, however, was the insurrection that follow'd in the Netherlands, which might easily have been suppress'd in the beginning, if PHILIP would have given himself the trouble of going thither in person, and not sent the Duke of Alva thither, whose rigid government and severities reduced that people to the utmost despair, especially when they understood that the inquisition had condemn'd the Catholics as well as the Protestants who had not oppos'd the malecontents, and endeavour'd to prevent the defacing their churches and images. The introducing Spanish customs and Spanish troops into the Netherlands, had a great stroke also in alienating the affections of the Flemings, who on King PHILIP's entering into a war with ELIZABETH Queen of England, found themselves so effectually supported by that Princess, that they were enabled to bid defiance to the haughty Spaniard. This provoked King PHILIP to equip that mighty fleet, to which he gave the name of the Invincible Armada, in order to make an entire conquest of England, which if he could have affected, his dissatisfy'd subjects of the Low Countries must have submitted of course. This fleet of the Spaniards, which had been several years in getting ready for this expedition, 'tis said, consisted of a hundred and fifty sail of men of war, carrying sixteen hundred brass guns, and above a thousand of iron ; eight thousand seamen, and twenty thousand land-forces of veteran troops, besides noble volunteers and their servants, which were very numerous : they were arm'd also with

Spanish Armada.

the Pope's authority, who had excommunicated CHAP. XVIII. Queen ELIZABETH, and transferr'd her dominions to King PHILIP. This glorious fleet set sail for England in the year 1558, but never reach'd those shores ; for first a storm, and then the English fleet, handled them so rudely, that they return'd home miserably shatter'd, having lost so many gentlemen of the first quality, that 'tis said, not a noble family in Spain but mourn'd for one relation or other. King PHILIP's courage and temper are much admired however on this occasion ; who when he received advice of the destruction of his fleet, calmly answered, I did not send them to fight with winds and seas. And as one misfortune usually follows another, the English not long after defeated another fleet of the Spaniards near Cadiz, and having taken the city, plunder'd it of an immense treasure before they left it.

Another project King PHILIP form'd for enlarging his dominions, was the fomenting an insurrection in France, where the malecontents assum'd to themselves the title of the Holy League. PHILIP propos'd to have excluded the family of Bourbon, under pretence of their being heretically inclin'd, and to have annex'd that fine kingdom to the crown of Spain ; in which also he was countenanc'd by the Pope, and some other Catholick powers, as well as in his enterprize upon England : but HENRY IV broke all his measures by declaring himself a Catholick ; and while the Duke of Parma left Flanders to march to the assistance of the League in France, the discontented Flemings had an opportunity of establishing themselves. HENRY IV, to retaliate the injuries he had received from the Spaniards during the civil wars, after he had reduced most part of the kingdom to his obedience, attack'd the Spanish cities which PHILIP was possess'd of in the Netherlands, particularly Cambray, which he took in the year 1594 ; but a peace was at length concluded between the two crowns at Vervins.

PHILIP also, for great part of his reign, was engaged in wars with the Infidels. They had taken Tripoli, after it had been forty years in possession of the Spaniards : to revenge which, PHILIP assembled a fleet and army, which were defeated by the Turks, with a very great slaughter of the Christians, anno 1560. On the other hand, the Turks having laid siege to Malta, were compelled to raise it by the Spaniards, anno 1566. And in the year 1571, the united fleets of Spain, Venice, and other Italian powers, commanded by Don JOHN of Austria, obtain'd that memorable victory over the Turks near Lepanto, which quite broke their naval strength. But the loss of the island of Rhodes is at the same time ascribed to the sluggish indolence of the Spaniards, who neglected to reinforce their troops in that island.

King

CHAP. XVIII. King PHILIP in the year 1573, having resolved to attempt the retaking of Tunis, Don JOHN of Austria, his natural brother, was pitch'd upon to command in that expedition; and had so good success, that he took the town, and order'd several works to be added to the fortifications, in order to maintain that conquest; but the year following, the Moors laying siege to it before the works were perfected, made themselves masters of it, together with Galetta, and the whole kingdom of Tunis, to the irreparable loss of the Spaniards. About the same time there happen'd an insurrection by the Moors of Grenada, occasion'd by the cruelties of the Inquisition. These people being continually reinforced by the Infidels from Africk, were not suppress'd under three years time, and that with a great deal of difficulty, by Don JOHN of Austria. The Arragonians also had recourse to arms in defence of their privileges, which were invaded in the person of ANTONIO PEREZ, one of the King's Ministers, who being a native of Arragon, and prosecuted illegally in Castile, fled to his native country for protection.

And as nothing can tend to illustrate the Spanish history during the reign of PHILIP II, more than the account Dr. GEDDES has published of those two great men, Don JOHN of Austria, and ANTONIO PEREZ, I shall give an abstract of it before I proceed further.

Don John of Austria, an abstract of his history.

Don JOHN of Austria was the natural son of the Emperor CHARLES V. He was happy in a beautiful person, and an elevated genius, improv'd by a good education. He endeavour'd by heroick achievements, says my author, to wipe off the stain of his illegitimate birth, and had the happiness to insinuate himself into the affections of his brother King PHILIP, after their father's death. When the Moors of Grenada had baffled several of the King's Generals, his Majesty pitched upon his brother Don JOHN, who was then but two and twenty years of age, to put an end to that war; and he was so fortunate to reduce them in a very little time. This success induced the King to make him Generalissimo of the confederate fleet against the Turks in the year 1571, when he gained that decisive victory at Lepanto, that render'd his name famous throughout Christendom, and began to inspire him with ambitious views; insomuch that when he afterwards made a conquest of Tunis, he did not scruple to discover his passion to be Sovereign of that kingdom; and notwithstanding he received positive orders from court to demolish that city, and withdraw his forces, he proceeded to augment the fortifications; at the same time dispatching an envoy to the Pope, to influence his brother so far as to make him King of Tunis. The Pope complied with Don JOHN, and used all his interest with the court of

Spain to get him declared King of Tunis; but King PHILIP, who did not like this aspiring temper in his brother Don JOHN, let his Holiness know that the thing was not feasible: whereupon the project was laid aside. The King suspecting SOTO his brother's Secretary had cherished, if not infused these ambitious thoughts into him, prefer'd SOTO to another post, under colour of advancing him; and JOHN DE ESCOVEDO, a person that King PHILIP thought he could rely upon, was made Secretary to Don JOHN in his room. But ESCOVEDO soon became more obsequious to his new master than SOTO had been, and promoted those very projects, which he was placed about that ambitious young Prince to oppose; particularly he put him upon applying to the Pope to prevail with his brother King PHILIP to invade England, of which kingdom he had procured a promise from his Holiness to make him King, when it should be conquer'd: and this project ESCOVEDO came from Flanders to promote, in conjunction with the Pope's Nuntio there, which gave King PHILIP abundance of perplexity; but at length, under pretence that his affairs in the Netherlands were at that time in such confusion, that a descent upon England was impracticable, he persuaded his brother and the Nuntio to lay aside the thoughts of that enterprize.

Soon after this the Court of Spain discover'd that Don JOHN, who was at that time Governor of Flanders, had, in the name of his Catholick Majesty, enter'd into an alliance with the Duke of Guise, the head of the Holy League in France, for the extirpation of heresy in both kingdoms; which was so bold a step to undertake without acquainting his Sovereign with it, that King PHILIP apprehended ESCOVEDO would in time put his young hero upon assuming an authority equal, if not superiour, to that of his own, unless he found some means to remove him from Don JOHN's Councils. Accordingly he laid his commands upon ANTONIO PEREZ his Secretary to procure ESCOVEDO to be assassinated, as he was soon after in the streets of Madrid by some bravo's or cut-throats, whom PEREZ employed. Nor did Don JOHN his master survive him many months, supposed also to be poison'd by the directions of the Court; tho' others relate, that the disappointment of his ambitious projects brought on the distemper which carried him off the stage. And notwithstanding all the artifices used by ANTONIO PEREZ, to avoid his being suspected of the murder of ESCOVEDO, as his going to his country-house at the time the fact was committed, and the like; yet it was no sooner done, but every body believ'd the Secretary PEREZ to have been the author of it, not upon a political account indeed, but for his having thwarted him in his amours with the Princess of Eboli.

CHAP.
XVIII.

The Arrago-
nians lose
their privi-
leges by pro-
tecting An-
tonio Perez.

Arragonians
lose their privi-
leges by pro-
tecting An-
tonio Perez.

The King, notwithstanding he had commanded ANTONIO PEREZ to procure ESCOVEDO to be taken off, in the manner above related, as an offender whom he durst not prosecute in the Courts of law, and had promised him his protection, yet to remove the odium of that action from himself, he suffer'd ANTONIO to be prosecuted and condemned for it, believing that it would be in vain for the Minister to charge his Sovereign with having authorized the fact, because he had seized his papers, and there was no living witness of his having given those commands. But ANTONIO PEREZ having secured some papers in a friend's hands, that plainly shewed he received his authority from his Majesty, found means to escape into Arragon, of which province he was a native, and refer'd his case to the sovereign Court of that kingdom; from which, if he was acquitted, there lay no appeal but to the Cortes, or Assembly of the States of Arragon. The King having founded the Arragonefe Judges, and finding they were inclined to acquit the prisoner, order'd him to be taken out of their hands, and committed to the prison of the Inquisition for heresy and witchcraft, which he had charg'd him with. This the Arragonians looked upon as such a flagrant breach of their privileges, that they had recourse to arms, took ANTONIO PEREZ by force out of the prison of the Inquisition, and stood upon their defence. The King hereupon declared them rebels; and having assembled an army of veteran troops, sent them under the command of Don ALONSO DE VARGAS to invade the kingdom of Arragon; but the malecontents dispersing, and submitting themselves upon the approach of the King's army, there happen'd no action; the gates of the capital city were set open to the General, the Chief Justice and some of those who had been the forwardest to assert their liberties were hanged up, or otherwise executed, and Arragon from that time looked upon as a conquer'd province: the Cortes indeed here, and in Castile, continued to be assembled as antiently, to give a sanction to the King's edicts; but there are not many instances where they have had the courage to oppose the Court since, in any thing that has been demanded of them. It is only to amuse the people with a shadow of their antient constitution, and to take off the odium from the Court, when their concurrence is required to any oppressive edicts. As for ANTONIO PEREZ, he had escaped into France from Arragon two or three days before the King's forces arrived there, and afterwards visited England and some other foreign Courts; but I don't find the enemies of Spain gave him any great encouragement, or that he made any mighty discoveries of the intrigues of the Spanish Court, though he and his father had been above forty years Secretaries of State in

that kingdom, and had a great share in the administration there. And indeed a man that by his own confession turns assassin, to support the arbitrary views of a wicked Prince, ought deservedly to be detested by all mankind, to be prosecuted at home with all the fury this man was, and to be treated with suspicion and coldness in foreign Courts: he seems richly to have deserved the usage he complains of. But I refer the reader to Dr. GEDDES for a fuller account of this mystery of iniquity; and indeed the Doctor has laid open such a scene of state-craft in the relation he has given us of this occurrence, that I can't but recommend it to the perusal of my countrymen.

To return to the history of Spain: We find King PHILIP caused his son Prince CHARLES to be poison'd in prison in the year 1568. What his crime was, does not appear; but it is generally said, he was engaged in a conspiracy against the life of his Sovereign and Father: though others say, that this unfortunate Prince having made love to his mother-in-law while she was single, they carried on the amour after she was married to his father, which provoked him to this severity; and the Queen herself died soon after, not without the suspicion of being poisoned.

The King marrying a fourth wife had four sons by her, of whom PHILIP, who alone survived, and afterwards succeeded him, was born in the year 1578. The same year SEBASTIAN, King of Portugal, assembling a great fleet and army, made a descent on the coast of Africa, and was defeated in a general battle by the Infidels, in which he lost his life; and leaving no issue, his uncle Cardinal HENRY was proclaimed King; and he dying in the year 1580, without children, PHILIP King of Spain seized on the kingdom of Portugal, which he claimed in right of his mother ELIZABETH the Empress; and though there were many other pretenders to that crown, PHILIP being the most powerful, established himself in that kingdom; whereby all the provinces of Spain were now united under one head, and King PHILIP became master of the treasures both of the East and West-Indies.

King PHILIP having fitted out the Spanish armada, with an intent to have made a conquest of England, as has been mentioned already, ELIZABETH, Queen of England, in return of that hostile attempt, espoused the interest of Don ANTONIO, called the Bastard of Portugal, whom the Portuguese had declared their King, and sent a considerable fleet to Lisbon, in order to advance him to that throne; but the Spanish forces being too numerous in the city, that fleet returned to England without effecting any thing. Queen ELIZABETH had better success in the year 1596, when her fleet plunder'd Cadiz of a prodigious treasure, 1596.

CHAP.
XVIII.

K. Philip
puts his son
to death.

King of Por-
tugal de-
feated and
killed in
Africa.

King Philip
seizes Por-
tugal, and
becomes sole
Monarch of
Spain.

Cadiz plu-
nder'd.
treasure, 1596.

HAP. VIII. treasure, and burnt the galleons, which lay there bound for Mexico, as has been related already. King **PHILIP** died on the thirteenth of September 1598, after a reign of great action, having been engaged in almost perpetual wars, either in Italy, the Low-Countries, or against the Infidels, in which he exhausted an immense treasure; as he did also in his magnificent buildings, of which the palace of the Escorial was the chief. He was successful in his expedition against Portugal, but the loss of the seven United Provinces was a great blow to the Spanish monarchy; not so much for the value of those territories, as the laying the foundation of a State, which became a most implacable enemy to Spain, and rose to that greatness we see them at this day, chiefly by the spoils they acquired from the Spaniards and Portuguese.

Philip III. **PHILIP III.** succeeded his father, and the year following was married to the Princess **MARGARET**, daughter of **CHARLES** Archduke of Austria. In this reign **Final** was surprized by the Spaniards, anno 1602; and a truce for twelve years was concluded between Spain and the United Provinces, anno 1609, by which the Dutch were left at liberty to trade to the East-Indies. But the most remarkable event that happen'd during the reign of **PHILIP III.** was the expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain.

The learned writer above-cited ascribes the banishing of this people entirely to the bigotry and zeal of the Spanish Clergy, who threatned the King with the heaviest judgments if he did not consent to it. The Barons, whose vassals they were, and whose lands were cultivated by the Moriscoes, made the most pathetick representations to the throne to prevent its being put in execution; assuring his Majesty, that the kingdom would be absolutely ruin'd, if the Moriscoes, who were the only husbandmen and mechanicks in the country, were sent away. In answer to which, they received the following letter from his Majesty.

Venerable and Beloved,

YOU cannot but be sensible of the great endeavours that have been used through a long series of years to convert the New Christians of this kingdom, and of an edict of grace having been granted to them, and of all the other means which have been made use of to instruct them in our holy faith; as also of the ill success of all those endeavours, not so much as one of them (as is believed) having been converted thereby. On the contrary, their obstinacy has gone on increasing daily, with an inclination to plot the disturbance of the peace of these our kingdoms.

CHAP. XVIII. Now the danger and irreparable damage, which may attend our suffering these people to remain any longer among us, having been laid before me some years ago, by several learned and holy men, and who exhorted me to a speedy remedy, and which, they told me, I was bound in conscience to make use of; assuring me farther, that I might, without any scruple of conscience, punish them all with death, and the loss of their estates, for the crimes whereof they were guilty, all of them being guilty of heresy and apostacy, and of divine and human treason: nevertheless, notwithstanding we might have proceeded against them with the rigour that their crimes do deserve, we continuing desirous, if it had been possible, to have reduced them by mild and gentle methods, did, as you know very well, order a Junta to be held at Valencia, to consult together, to see whether any new ways might be found out to convert them, that so we might not be obliged to banish them out of Spain. But while we were thus labouring their conversion, we received advice by several ways of their having sent deputies to Constantinople and Morocco, to invite the Turk and **MULEY SELEM** to come to their assistance, with an assurance of fifty thousand men being ready to join them when they landed in Spain, who were all as true Mahometants as any in Barbary, and would all sacrifice their lives and estates in their service: and to encourage them to enterprize it, they told them it would be an easy conquest, Spain having but few men in it that were fit to bear arms, and yet fewer that knew any thing of martial discipline. They have been guilty also of holding a correspondence with heretical and other Princes, who are enemies to the greatness of our monarchy, having offer'd to assist both the one and the other with their forces. Furthermore, we are certainly informed of the Turk's having concluded a peace with the Persian, and with some of his rebellious subjects, that so he may be at liberty to send his fleet into our seas; and that **MULEY SELEM** also has quitted his kingdom, and is treating with the northern hereticks about ships to transport an army of Moors into Spain, which those hereticks have promised to supply him with. Now in how great danger Spain would be if it should be invaded by these and some other enemies, I leave you to judge.

Now considering all that has been said, and being desirous to comply with the obligations we are under to procure the conservation and security of our kingdoms, and of this in particular, and of all our good and faithful subjects therein, who are of all our other subjects in the greatest danger; and that the heresy and apostacy, where-with our Lord is so much offended may be extirpated,

CHAP. XVIII. 'tirpated, after having recommended this affair, and caused it to be recommended to God, trusting in his divine favour, in a work wherein his glory is so deeply concern'd, we have resolved to banish all the Moriscoes out of this our kingdom, and that of Castile, in such a manner as you will be advertised of; and with which, as good and faithful subjects, I have ordered you to be acquainted, on purpose to make you sensible that it is the security of your persons and affairs, and to prevent the dangers which do threaten you and them, and the great love I have for you, that move me to take this resolution, the execution whereof cannot be delayed any longer, without running the hazard of seeing Spain speedily invaded by so many enemies, and particularly the forementioned Infidels.

'We do therefore earnestly charge you, to whose security and repose the effectual and speedy execution of this our purpose will redound so much, to be assistant to it, as you shall be directed by the Marquis DE CARAZENA, our Lieutenant and Captain-General of this kingdom. And this I expect from the zeal you have for God's service and mine, and your own preservation; and herein you will comply with the obligations of faithful and good Christians and subjects, and will perform the most acceptable service you can do us.

'As to every thing relating to the execution of this our purpose, we do remit you to our Viceroy, who shall in my name direct you, and whose directions you shall execute.

From St. Laurence, the 11th
of September, 1609.

This letter was on the twenty-second of the same month deliver'd by the Viceroy to the Barons, who having the same thoughts of the treasons mention'd in it, as they had some years before, when they called them speculations and chimaera's, were not at all satisfied with it, though the great fleet and army, that were at that time in their ports, obliged them to submit to what it order'd.

And on the same day the band for expelling all the Moriscoes of the kingdom was published by sound of trumpet, in all the publick places in the city of Valencia, and in a short time after in all the cities and towns of that kingdom.

The reasons the Doctor assigns for the Moriscoes continuing Mahometans, notwithstanding all the cruelties the Inquisition had exercised upon them for so many years, are these; 1. Their living in such numbers together, not only whole

villages, but some whole towns and countries having no other inhabitants; whereby they confirmed and encouraged one another in their infidelity, and were not so easily discover'd by the Inquisition, as where they were intermingled with Christians. 2. Their understanding no language but the Arabick, especially their women and children, which the Missioners sent amongst them were seldom masters of. 3. Their living so near the Moors of Barbary, with whom they held a correspondence, and might entertain hopes of regaining the sovereignty of Spain by their assistance. 4. The pride and sollicitude of the Spaniards to distinguish themselves from the Moriscoes, by calling themselves Old Christians, and the Moriscoes New Christians; and by excluding the Moriscoes from offices and employments in Church and State, by which they preserved the memory of their being descended from the Moors, which was the principal root of their persisting so obstinately in Mahometism. And lastly, The Spaniards worshipping images, for which the Mahometans have an insuperable aversion. There are others who ascribe their prejudices to Christianity to the cruelties exercised on them by the Inquisitors; it being impossible for people to entertain a favourable opinion of a religion, which transformed its disciples into such barbarous monsters.

The substance of the band or edict for their banishment was as follows:

1. That all the Moriscoes, men, women, and children, should, within three days after the publication of it, begin their march towards the ports assigned them to embark for Barbary, where they should meet with vessels furnished with provisions to transport them. That they might take with them so much of their movable goods as they were able to carry, and lay in provisions for their voyage, besides what were laid in by the government: and whoever did not comply with this edict was to be put to death.

2. That any person might apprehend such Moriscoes as absented themselves; and if they resisted, they might be killed.

3. That if any of them should burn or destroy their houses, plantations, corn, or effects, they should suffer death; which the people of the place where it was done were empowered to execute.

5. That the sugar-works, plantations of rice, aqueducts, &c. might be preserved, six families in a hundred (to be nominated by the Barons) with their wives and children, were permitted to remain behind.

7. None shall conceal any of the Moriscoes, on pain of the galleys.

9. Such children as are under four years old are permitted to stay behind.

AP. 10. Children of six years old, where one of the parents is an Old Christian, may stay with such parent.

11. Those were also permitted to remain in Spain, who had lived amongst the Old Christians a considerable time, and had not been at the Morisco meetings for two years past, and those who could produce a certificate from the parish-priest of their receiving the sacrament.

13. They were permitted to retire to any country out of the Spanish dominions, provided they departed from their habitations at the time appointed.

Dated at Valencia, 22 Sept. 1609.

Most of the Moriscoes of Valencia were exported to Barbary according to this edict; but some of them retired to the mountains, and stood upon their defence: whereupon a body of regular troops were sent against them, and having defeated them with a very great slaughter, the rest were exported to Africa.

By another band or edict dated the ninth of December, 1609, the Moriscoes of Grenada, Murcia, and Seville, were in like manner banished, as those of Arragon and Catalonia were by other edicts dated the twenty-ninth of May, 1610; and those that were dispersed in the two Castiles, Estremadura, and La Mancha, were expelled by another, dated the tenth of July, 1610.

The Spaniards are not agreed as to the numbers of those that were transported at these several embarkations; some make them to be a million of souls, those who speak most moderately, compute them at six hundred thousand, who were set on shore on the coast of Africa in a starving condition. The King indeed gave all of them leave to sell their goods and cattle (except those of Valencia) and to carry the value of such effects away with them, provided it consisted in the produce and manufactures of Spain: but they were to take no gold, silver, or bills of exchange, with them, except travelling charges; so that this which was at first look'd upon as a great favour, became of very little benefit to them; the Moriscoes, who were obliged to dispose of their goods within a limited time, being obliged to sell them to the Christians for a trifle, while the Spaniards, on the other hand, held the merchandize and effects the Moors carried with them at an excessive price.

My author observes, that notwithstanding this expulsion of the Moors to a barren coast, with little or nothing for them to subsist on, was one of the greatest pieces of barbarity that ever was committed; the kingdom of Spain, and the Christians who were the contrivers of it, were almost equally sufferers by this expulsion: for as the

riches of a country is generally ascribed to the multitudes of people it contains, the loss of so many thousands at once, considering them only as common men, must have had a great influence upon Spain: but where the people expelled, as in this case, were the most industrious part of the nation, who alone applied themselves to manufactures and husbandry, the loss must be inconceivably great. And in fact we find that the Spaniards have been ever since the most inconsiderable and beggarly people in Europe; and that for want of manufactures of their own, they lose all the advantages that might be made of those rich empires of Mexico and Peru, of which they are Sovereigns; the wealth whereof only passes thro' their hands to the merchants of other nations. And this must have been the consequence of that barbarous act, though we should not suppose the divine providence to have interposed, and thrown them into these miserable circumstances by way of punishment for their injustice and cruelty. These are some of the genuine fruits of those merciless courts of Inquisition, which that bigotted people are taught to look upon as the great support of the purity of the Christian faith. It was but a very little time after, that the Court of Spain itself was made sensible how impolitick this proceeding had been; for in the same reign, anno 1618, the King having assembled an extraordinary Council to consider of the ruinous state of his dominions, and how it might be remedied, the Council, in the preamble to their representation on that subject, set forth, That the depopulation, and want of hands in Spain, was greater than ever had been known in the times of his predecessors; so great, that if God did not provide a remedy, the crown of Spain was hastening to its final ruin and destruction. Nothing was more visible than that Spain *esta a quique de dar in terra*, is on the point of falling flat to the ground. Its houses were in ruins every where, without any one to rebuild them; and its towns and villages lay like desarts.

To return to our history: The Valteline, a pass between Italy and Germany, revolting from the Grisons, the Spaniards endeavoured to make themselves masters of it on one side, as the French did on the other; which occasion'd a war of many years continuance, sometimes one power getting possession of it, and sometimes the other, till at length the country was restored to its former state.

In Germany the Spaniards taking part with the Catholick Princes against the Protestants, contributed to the defeating the Elector Palatine, and wresting the crown of Bohemia from him.

PHILIP III died on the fifteenth of March, 1620. 1620-1, whom the Spaniards admire for his piety and dies.

CHAP. XVIII.

1619.

CHAP. and virtue; while others relate, that the horrors XVIII. and remorse he underwent in his dying moments, on account of the cruelties he had exercised on the Moriscoes, were inexpressible.

Philip IV. PHILIP IV succeeded his father at sixteen years 1621. of age. It is observed, that every Minister of State in this reign, at the entrance on his office, was obliged to give in a particular of his estate. One reason whereof might be, that none should be admitted, whose circumstances might tempt them to rob the publick; and the other, that it might be known what addition they had made to their fortunes during their administration.

The war with the Dutch revived.

The truce with Holland expiring, the war with the Dutch was renewed, wherein the Spaniards were great sufferers by sea and land, notwithstanding the Netherlanders were now no longer supported by the English, who began to look upon them as their rivals in trade.

1623. About the same time CHARLES Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham arrived in Spain, in order to conclude a treaty of marriage between that Prince and the Infanta the Princess MARY: but the Spanish historians relate, that the match went off on the Court of England's insisting, that the Elector Palatine's dominions in Germany should be restored to him.

1624. The war continuing in the Low Countries, the Marquis SPINOLA, General of the Spaniards there, took Breda from the Dutch, after a brave defence.

1628. In the year 1628, PETER HEYN, Commander of a Dutch Squadron, surprized the Spanish plate fleet, wherein he took twelve millions of florins. The Dutch also made a descent in Brazil, and plundered the Portuguese settlements there, carrying off a vast booty: and though they were afterwards driven out of Brazil, they made themselves ample amends by the settlements they surprized and took in the East-Indies, which belonged to the Spaniards and Portuguese. But the history of the Spanish wars with the Dutch, as well as the French, being contained in the former part of this volume, I shall not trouble the reader with the repetition of those occurrences.

1639. The Catalonians having been oppressed by the Prime Minister OLIVAREZ, revolted from Spain, and put themselves under the protection of France, in the year 1639, remaining subject to that crown for eleven or twelve years afterwards. The same

1640. tyrannical measures induced the Portuguese to throw off the Spanish yoke, and advance the Duke of Braganza to the throne of Portugal, who was descended from their former Kings; and to add to their misfortunes, there happen'd a rebellion

1647. in Naples in 1647, whereby that kingdom had infallibly been wrested out of their hands, if the French had been at leisure to support it. The kingdom of Naples for some time after the con-

Massaniello's insurrection in Naples.

quest of it, was governed with great moderation by the Spaniards; the taxes demanded of them were inconsiderable, and those paid under the name of a donative or free gift of the States: but they had of late years been extravagantly increased, and in a manner forced from them by insolent collectors and receivers. But none were paid with more reluctance than those imposed on provisions; insomuch that when the collectors came into the markets to demand the duties laid upon fruit, herbs, and fish, they frequently met with resistance, and were some of them beaten and wounded; the officers calling the guards to their assistance, several of the common people were apprehended and severely punished. At length a bold young fisherman, named THOMAS ANIELLO, (commonly called MASSANIELLO) having had his fish taken from him for refusing the tax demanded, assembled the mob about him, and standing on a table in the market-place, so effectually represented the hardships and oppressions they lay under, that the multitude, one and all, cried out there was no bearing them, and that they would get the duties taken off, or die in the attempt; whereupon MASSANIELLO offer'd to be their leader, and first set fire to all the little offices where the collectors used to receive the excise: from thence he led the mob to the Viceroy, demanding that all the taxes should be remitted, and the charters of their privileges granted in the reigns of King FERDINAND and CHARLES V, produced and confirmed. The Viceroy endeavoured to appease the malecontents with fair words, and throwing money amongst them, but all in vain; they were increased in a day or two to near an hundred thousand men, armed with such weapons as they could get, when their General took upon him to settle the price of provisions: after which he burnt or demolished the houses of the farmers of the revenue, plunder'd the palaces of the nobility, and brought out their richest plate and moveables, which he set on fire; commanding his followers not to apply any of it to their own use on pain of death, which he did not fail to inflict on such as transgressed his orders. No Sovereign was ever more punctually obeyed than this mushroom of a Prince, whose authority was scarce of four days standing. The Viceroy finding it in vain to resist the torrent with the small force he had, shut himself up in one of the castles, and privately hired a body of banditti or cut-throats to murder MASSANIELLO, which being discovered, the banditti were cut in pieces, and the Viceroy's brother, who was concern'd in the contrivance, dragged through the streets till he was dead; after which a butcher cut off his head, and exposed it on a pole, which put the nobility into the utmost consternation. The Archbishop however had the courage to propose a treaty between

CHAP. XVIII. between the Viceroy and MASSANIELLO; and the Viceroy consenting to remit the taxes, and produce the charters of their liberties, and to issue a general pardon for all that was past, MASSANIELLO agreed that all acts of hostility should cease, but would not lay down his arms however, till the treaty was ratified by the King of Spain. Things being thus pacified, the Viceroy, 'tis supposed, found means to get the usurper poison'd, for he immediately became delirious, giving out absurd and contradictory orders; whereupon the mob abandon'd him, and he was killed by some of the nobility: thus his reign ended within ten days after the insurrection begun. Some say his head was only turned with his sudden advancement, and the variety of business it brought upon him, for the dispatch whereof he did not give himself time to eat or sleep. All agree he was a wonder of a man, and managed a mob to admiration, considering the meanness of his birth and education. Notwithstanding the people had lost their leader, they still continued in arms, and the nobility raising their vassals to oppose them, the nation was divided, and a kind of civil war ensued. The mob, to strengthen their party, invited in the French; but they were not in a condition to afford them any great assistance, only the Duke of Guise was sent to be their General. The people finding themselves disappointed of the reinforcements they expected from France, upon a general pardon being offer'd them returned to their duty, and abandoning the Duke of Guise, he was made prisoner by the Spaniards.

1648.
Peace of
Munster.

The next considerable transaction in this reign, was the peace concluded at Munster with the United Provinces, whereby King PHILIP acknowledged the sovereignty and independency of the States-General, and consented that they should enjoy the places and countries they were possessed of; particularly Boisleduc, Bergenopzoom, Maestricht, Breda, the Grave, Hulst, and all such places as they then held in Brabant or Flanders: That the States also should retain all they possessed in the East and West-Indies, Asia, Africa and America. On the other hand, it was agreed that the Spaniards might continue their trade and navigation to the East-Indies in the same manner they then did, but not extend themselves on that side. That each party, both in the East and West-Indies, should abstain from the trade and navigation of such places as belonged to the other. That the river Scheld, and the channels of the Sas and Scoyn, and other entrances into the sea thereabouts, should remain in the possession of the States, who might lay what duties they pleased on vessels passing that way, and on all goods passing through their country by the Rhine or Maese.

The Spaniards were induced to make these concessions to the Dutch by the perpetual losses they

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CHAP. XVIII. sustained from that people by sea and land, and their despair of ever reducing them under their dominion again, and that they might have their hands at liberty to prosecute the war against France and Portugal. The Dutch were also pleased to have their sovereignty and independency acknowledged by the Spaniards, and the places and countries they had acquired during the war, with the East-India trade, confirmed to them: they began to be apprehensive also of the growing power of France, which would have received a considerable addition by the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands, and brought a much more dangerous enemy upon their frontiers than the Spaniards were.

Spain still continued the war against France and Portugal, but was unsuccessful in both, except that from Catalonia the French were expell'd, and that province was reduced under the obedience of Spain again in the years 1651 and 1652; not so much by the force of arms, as the assurances the Court of Spain gave that people of restoring their antient rights and privileges, and granting them an indemnity for what was passed. 1652.
Catalonia submits to the King of Spain.

In the year 1654, that exquisite building called the Pantheon, in the Escorial, was finished by PHILIP IV, which had been begun by PHILIP II; whereupon the bodies of CHARLES V, and all the Princes of the Austrian family, were removed thither, and their descendants have been interred there ever since. 1654.
The Pantheon finished.

In the year 1655, CROMWELL the Protector of the Commonwealth of England, as he called himself, without making any declaration of war, invaded the Spanish islands in the West-Indies, particularly Hispaniola, in which attempt he did not succeed; but the fleet sailing afterwards to Jamaica, the English subdued that island: and in 1657, Admiral BLAKE destroyed the Spanish galleons at the Canaries, notwithstanding they lay under the protection of the forts on shore. Jamaica subdued by the English.

The Protector the year following having enter'd into a confederacy with the French, they took Dunkirk from the Spaniards, which, in pursuance of articles, was put into the hands of the English. Thus the Spaniards having the worst of it on every side, began to think seriously of peace, and as the French had been exhausted by almost continual wars, they were not averse to it; whereupon a treaty was set on foot between the two crowns in the Island of Pheasants, which lies in the river Bidassoa, and divides France from Spain. It was negotiated by the Prime Minister of each kingdom in person, viz. Cardinal MAZARIN on the side of France, and Don LEWIS DE HARO on the part of Spain, and was called the Pyrenean treaty, from the neighbourhood of the place to the Pyrenean mountains. 1658.
Pyrenean treaty.

The peace was concluded on the seventh of November 1659, being about a month after the conferences were open'd; the principal articles whereof

5 N

were,

CHAP. XVIII. were, that the French King should marry the Infanta of Spain, that he should not assist the Portuguese, and that he should relinquish his pretensions to Franche Comte and Catalonia: on the other hand, Roussillon, and several towns the French had taken in the Netherlands, were yielded to that crown. The year following, on the sixth of June, the Kings of France and Spain had an interview in the Isle of Pheasants; and on the seventh, the King of Spain deliver'd the Infanta, MARIA-THERESA of Austria, to his most Christian Majesty LEWIS XIV, the marriage being solemnized at the city of St. John de Luz on the ninth of the same month. Both the French King and the Infanta, on this occasion, renounced all right that they themselves, their heirs, and successors, had or might claim to the dominions of Spain.

Spain being at peace with most of the powers of Europe, invaded Portugal, and at first met with some success; but notwithstanding PHILIP had now no other enemy to contend with, he was not able to reduce that petty kingdom under his dominion, so very low were the Spaniards sunk at this time; nor do I meet with any other transactions in the remainder of this reign, that deserve to be commemorated. PHILIP IV died on the seventh of September 1665, leaving his son CHARLES, an infant of four years of age, to succeed him.

Philip IV dies.

1665. CHARLES II being an infant, and under the tuition of his mother, the French King took advantage of his minority, and of the declining state of that kingdom. He invaded the Spanish Low-Countries, notwithstanding he had with his Queen renounced all pretensions to them, and made himself master of Tournay, Lisle, Douay, Oudenard, and Charleroy, threatening an entire conquest of that country; which so alarm'd the English and Dutch, who were then at war, that they concluded a peace, and enter'd into a confederacy with Sweden, called the Triple League, for the preservation of the Spanish Low-Countries; which induced the French to make peace with Spain, anno 1668, a treaty having been set on foot at Aix la Chapelle for that end. By this peace the French restored Franche Comte to the Spaniard, but retain'd all the towns they had taken in the Netherlands.

Charles II's accession.

The French King's success in Flanders.

1668. Peace of Aix la Chapelle.

While the Spaniards were thus distressed by France, they found themselves under a necessity of concluding a peace with Portugal, and renounced all their pretensions of sovereignty to that kingdom.

1672. I meet with little remarkable in the history of Spain afterwards, till the year 1672, when the French invading the United Provinces, the Spaniards enter'd into a confederacy with that Re-

publick and the Emperor, to prevent the loss of them, in which war the Spaniards were the greatest sufferers: for notwithstanding the French possessed themselves of three of the United Provinces, they were obliged to relinquish them all again within the space of two or three years; whereas the Spaniards lost their best towns in Flanders, together with Franche Comte, or the county of Burgundy: and by the peace of Nimeguen, which ensued anno 1678, were obliged to yield up and relinquish to the French all their right in the county of Burgundy, and the towns of Conde, Valenciennes, Cambray, Ypres, St. Omer, Bouchain, Aire, Warwick, Warneton, Poperingen, Bailleul, Cassel, Bavay, and Maubeuge.

The Spaniards remaining in that wretched defenceless condition already hinted at, LEWIS XIV, under pretence that their Commissioners did not do him justice in settling the limits of his late conquests in Flanders, and because his Catholick Majesty still retained the title of Duke of Burgundy, notwithstanding he had yielded that province to France, invaded the province of Luxemburg, making himself master of the greatest part of it, and afterwards block'd up the capital city; whereupon the Spaniards, in hopes of being assisted by the Germans and Dutch, declared war against France in the year 1683; but as their Allies made no great haste to their assistance, and they were themselves unprovided of forces, and every thing else necessary to oppose so potent an enemy, the French took from them Courtray and Dixmude the first campaign, and Luxemburg the next, when the Dutch marching to their assistance, the Grand Monarch, in his haughty stile, was pleased to grant them a truce; which, say the French writers, was entirely owing to his moderation, for nothing could have prevented his making himself master of the Spanish Netherlands, if he had not voluntarily withdrawn his troops.

The French again attack'd the Spanish Netherlands in the year 1688, on the King of Spain's entering into a confederacy with the Imperialists and the Dutch, to advance the Prince of Orange to the throne of England: and while the Prince was engaged in that expedition, the French fell upon the confederate forces in the plains of Fleurus or Fleury, in the year 1690, and gain'd a compleat victory, taking six thousand of the Dutch and Flemings prisoners, and all their cannon. But King WILLIAM having successfully deposed his father King JAMES, and procured himself to be recognized King of Great Britain, prevail'd with the British Parliament to come into the alliance with Spain, and the other confederated powers against France; the principal articles whereof were, That none of the Allies should make peace with LEWIS XIV, till he had restor'd all

CHAP. XVIII.

1678. Peace of Nimeguen.

1683. War with France a gain.

Battle of Fleury. 1690.

H A P. all places to the Allies, which he had taken from XVIII. them since the peace of Munster, and recogniz'd King WILLIAM's title to Great Britain.

The French, notwithstanding this formidable confederacy against them, remain'd superiour in the field. They took the city of Mons in the year 1691, and Namur in the year 1692, and obtain'd a signal victory over the Allies at Steinkirk.

Battle of
Steinkirk.
1692.

O' Landen.
1693.

The following year 1693, the French defeated the confederates in a general battle near Landen, and took Huy and Charleroy, as they did Palamos and Gironne in Catalonia, anno 1694.

Namur taken by the
Allies.
1695.

The Allies being superiour to the French in Flanders in the year 1695, retook the city of Namur, but lost fourteen or fifteen thousand men before the place. The French in the mean time made themselves masters of Deynse and Dixmude, and bombarded Brussels, making that capital a heap of ruins.

Peace of
Ryswick.
1697.

A treaty was set on foot between the Allies and France in the year 1697 at Ryswick, near the Hague. The French however, in order to influence their negotiations, made their utmost efforts on all sides this campaign. They laid siege to the city of Aeth in Flanders, and took it. They march'd a powerful army into Catalonia, and oblig'd Barcelona, the capital city of Catalonia, to surrender to them. And in the Spanish West Indies, POINT I, the French Admiral, took Carthagena by storm, plundering the town, from whence he brought home twelve millions of crowns, as is reported. But at length a peace was concluded on the tenth of September, N.S. 1697, by which the French were oblig'd to restore Barcelona, Gironne, Roses, and the rest of the towns they had taken in Catalonia, to the Spaniards, as well as Luxemburg, Mons, Charleroy, Courtray, and all other places they had taken during this war in the Low Countries. As to the terms made with the rest of the Allies, I refer the reader to the history of the United Provinces, in the former part of this volume.

As CHARLES the Second, King of Spain, was now in an ill state of health, and had no issue by either of his wives, it was generally expected that upon his death the war would be renew'd: for the French gave out, that notwithstanding ANNE of Austria, and LEWIS the Thirteenth, King of France, on their marriage had renounc'd all claim and pretensions to the Spanish succession, as MARIA-THERESA of Austria, and LEWIS the Fourteenth, had done also on their marriage; yet as the Princesses married into France were elder than their sisters married into Germany, and the laws of Spain limited the succession to the eldest branch, no renunciations, how solemn soever, could extinguish their right. But the Grand Monarch however, foreseeing that the other powers of Europe would never suffer the kingdoms of France and Spain to be uni-

ted under one head, propos'd to WILLIAM the Third, King of England, and the States-General, to make a partition of the Spanish monarchy, between his son the Dauphin, who was descended from the Infanta MARIA-THERESA, and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, and the Archduke CHARLES of Austria, who were descended from other female branches; and accordingly a treaty was concluded on the nineteenth of August 1698, between France, Great Britain and the States-General, whereby it was agreed,

1698.
Treaty of
partition.

1. That the peace of Ryswick should be confirm'd.

2. That in consideration of the ill state of the King of Spain's health, and for preserving the publick peace in case the said Prince should die without issue, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with the places then depending upon the Spanish monarchy, situated on the coasts of Tuscany, or the adjacent islands, comprehended under the name of Santo Stephano, Porto Hercule, Orbitello, Telamone, Portolongo, Piombino, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, particularly the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, and especially the Port Passage, and likewise all places on the French side of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alava or Biscay, on the side of the province of Guipuscoa, with all the ships and galleys, and other appurtenances belonging to the said galleys, should be given to the Dauphin in consideration of his right.

3. That the crown of Spain, and the other kingdoms and places, both within and without Europe, should descend to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, of whom his father the Elector was to be guardian and administrator till he came of age. And,

4. That the duchy of Milan should be reserv'd and allotted to Archduke CHARLES, the Emperor's second son.

This treaty was to be communicated to the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria by the King of Great Britain and the States-General; and if they did not agree to it, then the proportion of the party not agreeing should remain in sequestration till things could be brought to an accommodation.

The Electoral Prince of Bavaria happening to die on the eighth of February 1699, France, Britain, and the States enter'd into another treaty, dated the fifteenth of March following, and call'd the Second Partition Treaty, whereby the kingdom of Spain, and the dominions allotted to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria by the former treaty, were limited to the Archduke; both which treaties were enter'd into without the consent of the Emperor or Spain.

Second
treaty of
partition.
1699.

The King of Spain resent'd the dismembring his dominions so heinously, that he made his will, and dispos'd of his crown to PHILIP Duke of Anjou,

CHAP. XVIII. Anjou, second son to the Dauphin of France, and his heirs; and in default of issue of the Duke of Anjou, to the Duke of Berry, &c. remainder to the Archduke CHARLES, &c. And on the first of November, N. S. anno 1700, the King of Spain died after a lingering illness, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his reign; whereupon the Court of France immediately de-

Charles II dies.

1700.

Philip Duke of Anjou declared King of Spain.

clared PHILIP Duke of Anjou King of Spain, by virtue of the late King's will, and he was proclaimed King accordingly at Madrid on the twenty-fourth of the same month of November, against which the Emperor and Pope protested; which LEWIS XIV having very little regard to, took possession of all the Spanish territories, and amongst the rest, of Milan, Naples, and the Netherlands; into the last of which the Elector of Bavaria gave him admission, being then Viceroy of the Low Countries. The English and Dutch indeed presented their memorials, requiring the French King to withdraw his troops out of the Netherlands, and allow them a sufficient barrier, but at the same time acknowledged the Duke of Anjou's title to the crown of Spain; and both King WILLIAM and the States wrote letters to King PHILIP to congratulate his accession, which were purely by way of amusement; for they were at that very time entering into an alliance with the Emperor, and making preparations to dispute his title.

1701.

The Imperialists march into Italy.

Their manifesto.

In the mean time Prince EUGENE, the Imperial General, march'd into Italy at the head of thirty thousand men, to dislodge the French from such part of the Spanish territories as the French had possessed themselves of on that side; on which occasion the Emperor publish'd a manifesto, wherein he endeavours to shew, that the French King and his posterity were excluded from succeeding to the crown of Spain, by those memorable renunciations of the Princesses ANNE and MARIA-THERESA, the first the daughter of PHILIP III, married to LEWIS XIII, and the other the daughter of PHILIP IV, married to LEWIS XIV; and that the pretended will of CHARLES II had been obtain'd by unfair practices, when he was not in his senses; and if he was, that the King of Spain had no power to dispose of his territories by the laws of that kingdom. That the present Emperor was lineally descended from the Emperor CHARLES V, and was the son of FERDINAND and the Infanta MARIA, who was next in blood to the crown of Spain, after the Princesses who had renounc'd their claim, and by consequence had an indisputable title to the whole Spanish monarchy.

But I find the Confederates by the treaty of alliance engaged no farther in his quarrel, than that they would endeavour to conquer the Spanish Netherlands for a barrier to the States-Generals, and the duchy of Milan, the kingdoms of Naples

and Sicily, and the Spanish towns on the coast of Tuscany for the Emperor; there was not at that time any thoughts of wresting the whole Spanish monarchy from the Duke of Anjou.

And the King of England, WILLIAM the Third, is censur'd for engaging thus far after he had acknowledged King PHILIP's right to the Spanish monarchy, and congratulated him on his accession. To which it is answer'd, that King WILLIAM was provok'd to take this step by the French King's proclaiming the Pretender to his throne (JAMES the Third) on the death of King JAMES the Second, which happen'd about the same time. But whether King WILLIAM was not treating with the Emperor before the French King proclaim'd the Chevalier, I find is made a question.

To return to the Imperial army in Italy: They march'd through the Venetian territories and penetrated into the duchy of Mantua the first campaign, notwithstanding they were oppos'd by a very numerous army of French and Spaniards; and the winter following possessed themselves of all the towns in the Mantuan except the capital.

King WILLIAM dying on the eighth of March 1701-2, the Confederates were under apprehensions that the English would not declare war against France and Spain; but Queen ANNE who succeeded him assuring them she would make no alteration in the measures concerted, their hopes revived, and war was formally declar'd against France at London on the fourth of May 1702, in pursuance whereof a great body of forces were sent to the Low Countries under the command of the Earl of Marlborough to join the Allies, who oblig'd the French to quit Guelderland the first campaign. A fleet of men of war and transports, with ten thousand land-forces on board, under the command of the Duke of Ormond, were about the same time sent to make a descent in Spain, and endeavour to reduce the city of Cadiz; in which expedition though they did not succeed, they destroy'd the Spanish galleons, and a squadron of French men of war that guarded them on their return home, in the port of Vigo.

1702.
England declares war against France and Spain.

Spanish galleons destroy'd at Vigo.

The Imperialists the same campaign took Landau from the French, and the Confederate army in the Low Countries made themselves masters of Venlo, Ruremond, Stevenswaert and Liege.

The Duke of Bavaria declaring for France in the year 1703, join'd the French army commanded by Marshal VILLARS, and made himself master of the city of Ratisbon, where the Diet of the Empire was assembled, and afterwards of the city of Augsbourg. The French army under the command of Marshal TALLARD also besieged Old Brisac upon the Rhine, and took it. He afterwards made himself master of Landau, defeating;

1703.

CHAP. XVIII. seating the Prince of Hesse, who was detach'd from the Confederate army in the Netherlands to the relief of it. The same campaign General OPDAM was surpriz'd by Marshal BOUFFLERS near Eckeren in Flanders, and OPDAM being cut off from his army, the rest of the Dutch Generals made their retreat with difficulty, there being a great slaughter on both sides. On the other hand the Confederates, under the Earl of Marlborough, took Bonn, Huy and Limburg from the French.

Archduke Charles declar'd King of Spain.

The Emperor and the King of the Romans about this time made a resignation of the kingdom of Spain and the dominions thereto belonging to the Emperor's second son the Archduke CHARLES, who was thereupon acknowledged King of Spain by the Confederates, by the stile and title of CHARLES the Third. And the King of Portugal coming into the grand alliance, it was thought proper the new-made King should reside in Portugal, whither he was convoy'd by a squadron of English men of war, after he had paid his compliments to the Queen of England at Windsor.

The same year the Duke of Savoy declaring for the Allies, Prince EUGENE detach'd part of the Imperial army to join him. These forces were commanded by Count STAREMBERG, who after a long march of about two hundred miles in the face of the enemy, with infinite difficulty effected his design.

1704.

The Empire being in the utmost danger from the French and Bavarians on one side, and the Hungarian malecontents on the other, the Duke of Marlborough, with the flower of the Confederate army, was detach'd from the Netherlands to join the Imperialists on the Danube, and with their united forces they obtain'd that memorable victory over the French and Bavarians at Hochstet on the thirteenth of August, N. S. which preserv'd the Empire from destruction. The cities of Augsburg and Ulm thereupon immediately surrender'd to the Imperialists, and Landau was retaken the same campaign.

Hochstet battle.

The war on the side of Portugal.

In the mean time an army of twelve thousand English and Dutch forces having been sent to Portugal under the command of Duke SCHOMBERG, the war with Spain commenc'd on that side. King CHARLES publish'd his declaration, inviting the Spaniards to join with him against PHILIP the Usurper, as he stiled him; and the King of Portugal declared war in form against France and PHILIP. But the Spaniards were superiour to the Confederates on the side of Portugal this campaign, and took several places from the Portuguese. Duke SCHOMBERG complain'd to the English Court that he found neither horses for mounting his cavalry, nor any warlike stores or provisions which his Portuguese Majesty had agreed to furnish. He observ'd also that their Generals

insisted on taking place and having the command of the confederate troops, which occasion'd their ill success, and therefore desired to be recall'd from thence. Whereupon the Earl of Galway, a French refugee, was ordered to command the English forces in Portugal.

The Confederates receiving intelligence that the city of Barcelona was disaffected to King PHILIP, the confederate fleet sail'd thither with some land-forces on board, and the Prince of Hesse, with 2500 men, landed near that town; but no body appearing or making any attempt to join them, the troops were re-imbark'd, and the fleet sail'd for Gibraltar, which place was taken by the English on the 24th of July. On the 24th of August the confederate fleet, under the command of Sir GEORGE ROOK, engaged the French fleet, commanded by the Count DE TOULOUSE, near Malaga, and obliged them to retire; but wanting ammunition, the victory was not so compleat as might otherwise have been expected. The Admiral had spent a great deal of ammunition in the attack of Gibraltar, and left some there for its defence, which occasion'd this deficiency.

Gibraltar taken.

Sea-fight near Malaga.

In Italy the Duke of Savoy lost Verceil and Susa this campaign, and the beginning of the next Nice and Villa Franca. A battle was fought near Casano in Italy on the 16th of August, in which abundance of men were killed on both sides, and both sung Te Deum for the victory.

1705.

The Emperor LEOPOLD died on the fifth of May 1705, and was succeeded in the Empire by his son JOSEPH King of the Romans. About the same time the confederate fleet with a body of land-forces sail'd from England, and having taken King CHARLES on board at Lisbon, appear'd before Barcelona on the twenty-second of August; which city surrender'd to his Majesty on the fourth of October, the whole province of Catalonia following their example, except Roses. And the winter following the Earl of Peterborough, who commanded the confederate forces in this expedition, reduced the whole province of Valencia, tho' 'tis credibly reported his army never exceeded six thousand men, besides the undisciplin'd natives who declar'd for King CHARLES.

The Emperor Leopold dies.

Barcelona taken.

Catalonia and Valencia declare for King Charles III.

The French and Spaniards uniting their forces on the side of Catalonia, laid siege to Barcelona on the third of April 1706; King CHARLES defending that city in person, while the Earl of Peterborough commanded a flying army in Catalonia and Valencia, and harra's'd the Besiegers, tho' he was not in a condition to give them battle. The town of Barcelona held out till the eighth of May following, when the Earl of Peterborough with the confederate fleet came to its relief. Whereupon King PHILIP precipitately rais'd the siege, without waiting to be attack'd, and leaving all his cannon, ammunition, and wounded men behind him,

1706.

CHAP. him, retir'd into France by the way of Roussillon.
XVIII.

The confederate Generals in Portugal receiving advice of King PHILIP's retreat, advanc'd into Spain, and made themselves masters of the capital, of Madrid. Whereupon Toledo and several other places in Castile declared for King CHARLES, as did the kingdom of Arragon at the same time. King CHARLES thought fit to march first to Saragossa, the capital of Arragon, where he is reflected on for having trifled away too much time; for King PHILIP in the mean while re-enter'd Spain again with his army, and being superiour to the Portuguese and English, obliged them to abandon Madrid, and to retire out of Castile into Valencia.

In the Low Countries the Allies obtain'd a signal victory over the French and Bavarians at Ramillies. Whereupon Brussels, Louvain, Mechlin, Ghent, Bruges, Oudenard, Antwerp, and most of the cities of Flanders and Brabant, desir'd the protection of the Duke of Marlborough, and declar'd for King CHARLES III. In Italy also the Duke of Savoy and Prince EUGENE gain'd a compleat victory over the French, who were besieging Turin, oblig'd them to abandon Milan and the territories of the Duke of Savoy, and retire into France over the Alps. Thus far the Allies carried on the war with much conduct and bravery; and had they re-inforc'd their troops in Spain, which was now upon the point of submitting to King CHARLES the Third, they had infallibly put an end to the war the next summer. But tho' we had so vast a superiority of troops both in Flanders and Italy, none could be spared for that service; of which the Duke of Berwick, who commanded the French and Spaniards, taking an advantage, decoy'd our army to an engagement on the twenty-fifth of April near Almanza, and routed them so entirely, that not one single company of foot made their retreat, being either cut in pieces or made prisoners; tho' the Portuguese horse, abandoning the English foot, run away in time with the Earl of Galway at their head, and made a shift to reach Catalonia. The conquerors thereupon satiated their revenge on the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, and the rest of Spain that had declar'd for the Allies, and made them curse the hour that ever they were so credulous to confide in a people that had so little regard for them: for at this very time did the confederate fleet assist the Duke of Savoy and Prince EUGENE in that romantick project of besieging Toulon; and at the same time fifteen or twenty thousand men were detach'd from the confederate army in Italy for the reduction of Naples. Whereas if the same fleet and one third of the forces which were employ'd in those expeditions had been made use of in supporting our friends in Spain, that kingdom had been secur'd beyond a possibility of losing it, and Naples would

afterwards have submitted, or been a very easy conquest. CHAP. XVIII.

The English so lost their credit by thus abandoning the honest Spaniards to the rage of their enemies, that notwithstanding their future victories in Spain, that people could never be brought to put any confidence in them, or to take their part against King PHILIP again.

Naples submitted to the Imperialists commanded by Count THAUN without making any resistance, except the city of Gajeta, which ventur'd to stand upon its defence, and was taken by storm on the 29th of September 1707, and in it the Duke of Escalona the Spanish Viceroy, and most of the nobility in King PHILIP's interest. But after an immense treasure thrown away in forming the siege of Toulon, the Allies were oblig'd to rise from before it without making one single breach in the walls, and shamefully retire over the Alps again. The Duke of Savoy indeed gratify'd his revenge in destroying the vines and olives in his march, but the Allies in general were very great sufferers by this expedition.

Admiral SHOVEL, in his return from Toulon with the confederate fleet under his command, was cast away near the land's-end of England on the twenty-second of October, with three or four other men of war, the Admiral and most of the men being lost.

The Confederates having discover'd their error when it was too late, sent a re-inforcement of seven or eight thousand men from Italy to Spain by sea in the beginning of the year 1708, and gave the command of their troops in Catalonia to that experienc'd General Count STAREMBERG, in conjunction with Major-General STANHOPE. However, the Court of King CHARLES being taken up with solemnizing his marriage with the Princess of Wolfembutte, there was little action on that side this campaign; but the confederate fleet in the Mediterranean reduced the islands of Sardinia and Minorca to the obedience of King CHARLES.

In Flanders the French surpriz'd Ghent and Bruges, but were beaten by the Allies near Oudenard, who afterwards laid siege to Lisle. This city was defended with great obstinacy by the French, and drawn out to a very great length. The most remarkable action which happen'd during the siege was between Lieutenant-General WEBB, who commanded a great convoy going to Lisle, and the French General DE LA MOTHE, near Wynendale, in which the French were defeated, tho' they were three times the number of the Allies. The city of Lisle surrender'd on the twenty-third of October, and the castle the ninth of December following.

The confederate Generals afterwards laid siege to Ghent, which surrender'd on the thirtieth of December.

Battle of Ramillies.

Battle of Turin.

1707.

Battle of Almanza.

Toulon besieged.

Naples reduced.

Admiral Shovel cast away.

1708.

Sardinia and Minorca surrendered to the Allies.

Battle of Wynendale. Lisle taken.

Ghent and Bruges retaken by the Allies.

CHAP. XVIII. December. Whereupon Bruges, and the other towns the French had made themselves masters of at the beginning of the campaign in Flanders, submitted to King CHARLES again.

Tournay taken.
1709. The French made some offers of peace the following winter, but the negotiations being broken off, the Confederates laid siege to Tournay on the twenty-seventh of June, which surrender'd on the thirtieth of July, and the castle the third of September following. And on the eleventh of the same month was fought that memorable battle of Malplaquet or Blagnies, the armies being upwards of an hundred thousand men of a side, all veteran troops. The Allies were commanded by Prince EUGENE and the Duke of Marlborough, and obtain'd the victory, but with infinite slaughter of their troops; the French, who were commanded by the Marshals VILLARS and BOUFFLERS, being intrench'd up to the teeth in the woods of Sart and Janfart. Mons was afterwards besieg'd and taken by the Allies.

Battle of Malplaquet or Blagnies.
On the side of Portugal King PHILIP's forces obtained a victory over the Allies, and took one entire brigade of the English prisoners. But in Catalonia the Confederates being superiour in the field, besieged and took the city of Balaguer. And the Imperialists in Italy entering the Ecclesiastical State, and seizing Comachio, oblig'd the Pope to acknowledge King CHARLES Sovereign of the Spanish dominions.

The Allies in Portugal defeated.
Offers of peace by France.
The following winter the French being distress'd by famine, as well as the arms of the Allies, offer'd to recognize CHARLES the Third for King of Spain, and withdraw their forces out of that kingdom and the territories thereto belonging, to yield up Strasburg, Brisac, &c. to the Emperor, to demolish Dunkirk, relinquish Lisle, and all other places the Allies had taken in the Netherlands, and in short to do every thing the Confederates demanded of them but assist with their own forces in driving King PHILIP out of Spain; and towards this they offer'd to contribute a sum of money. These were the best terms that ever were offer'd the Allies by France during the war, and had never been rejected if some people had not occasion'd the negotiations to be broke off upon private views.

1710. Towns taken in Flanders.
Battle of Saragossa.
The campaign of 1710 was favourable to the Allies in Flanders, where they took the towns of Mortagne, Douay, Bethune, Aire and St. Venant: And in Catalonia King PHILIP's horse received a defeat on the twenty-seventh of July near Almenara. On the 20th of August a general battle was fought between King CHARLES and King PHILIP near Saragossa, in which the victory fell to King CHARLES, who enter'd Saragossa in triumph the same evening; and having staid there a few days to refresh his troops, march'd to Madrid, of which he took possession again the twenty-

first of September. From hence he dispatch'd a CHAP. XVIII. Courier to the confederate Generals in Portugal to join him, but the Portuguese would not be persuaded to march thither a second time. Whereupon King PHILIP being reinforced by the troops of France, and returning towards Madrid, King CHARLES march'd back with a thousand horse into Catalonia, leaving the confederate army to follow him: but General STANHOPE unhappily separating from Count STAREMBERG in their return to Arragon, was surprized in the town of Brihuega by King PHILIP's army, and made prisoner, with most of the British troops. King PHILIP afterwards attack'd Count STAREMBERG at Villa Viciosa, but was repuls'd, and that General continued his march to Catalonia, tho' he was forced to abandon all the places in Arragon to the enemy, not having forces sufficient to garrison them. The French also took the town of Gironne in Catalonia soon after; and this put an end to the unfortunate campaign of 1710, which the Allies begun with all the glory and success imaginable.

The English surpriz'd at Brihuega.
Battle of Villa Viciosa.
The French finding all proposals of peace that had been made by them rejected by the Dutch and the Duke of Marlborough in Holland, applied themselves directly to the Queen of England this winter; who observing nothing unreasonable in their demands, began to listen to them, especially when she saw that the whole weight of the war lay upon her own subjects. Both the Imperialists and the Dutch had long refus'd to furnish their quota's of men or money towards the war, which they had been often put in mind of to no purpose. They had found out the way of making some leading men in the British ministry easy, who took care that the deficiencies of the Allies should be made good at the expence of their own nation; and as long as Britain was thus made the dupe, and conquer'd countries for the Allies at her own cost, it was not to be expected they should ever be weary of the war. It is no wonder therefore when the Queen was made sensible how much her people had been abused by their impositions, and began to entertain pacifick thoughts, that these people, with such of the British ministry as were in their pay, or gainers by the continuance of the war, should raise that mighty clamour we find they did, and prevail'd with her, contrary to her own judgment, to continue the war till another campaign, in which the Duke of Marlborough only enter'd the French lines and took the little town of Bouchain.

1711.
In the mean time the Emperor JOSEPH died on the 20th of April 1711, and CHARLES III King of Spain, having some assurance of being elected in his brother's room, was convoy'd by the British fleet from Barcelona to Italy, and while he was at Milan receiv'd advice of his being chosen Emperor.

CHAP. on the 12th of October. Whereupon he apply'd
XVIII. himself to all the Confederates to prevent their en-
tring into negotiations of peace with the French.

Cessation
of Arms
between
Britain and
France.

1712.

The Allies
defeated at
Denain.

The Queen of Great Britain, however, proceeded to appoint Utrecht for the place of treaty, whither she invited all the powers in the confederacy to send their Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries; and the conferences were accordingly open'd on the 29th of January 1711-12; but the ministers of the Allies laid so many obstacles in the way, that very little progress was made that winter. The Queen of Great Britain was so indulgent to them, that she consented her General, the Duke of Ormond, should take the field the next campaign, and assist in the siege of Quesnoy; but finding at length they were not to be mov'd from their determination of continuing the war, she order'd her Plenipotentiaries to let them know that she had agreed to a cessation of arms with the French, and order'd the Duke of Ormond, with the British troops, to separate himself from the confederate army. The Generals of the Allies hereupon, imagining themselves still a match for the French, proceeded to besiege Landrecy; but while they lay before this place, the Earl of Albemarle being encamp'd with thirteen battalions and thirty squadrons at Denain, to secure the communication of their grand army (which had invested Landrecy) with Marchiennes, where their principal magazine was, Marshal VILLARS fell upon him, and having entirely routed that body, took the Earl prisoner, with vast quantities of ammunition and provisions; and about a week after he made himself master of Marchiennes, with all their stores of war. The French afterwards retook Douay, Quesnoy, Bouchain, &c. Whereupon the Dutch, finding the Confederates were in no condition to resist the French after the English forces were withdrawn, thought fit to come into the plan of peace that had been agreed to by the Queen of Great Britain. But before the conclusion of the general peace, a treaty of barrier was sign'd on the 30th of January 1712-13, by which it was agreed that the Dutch should garrison the following towns and forts in the Netherlands; viz. Furnes, Fort Knock, Ypres, Menin, Tournay, Mons, Charleroy, Namur, the castle of Ghent, the forts Le Perle, Philip and Damme, and fort St. Donat; the fortifications of which places, with the garrisons therein, to be maintain'd by the revenues arising from such places and the countries about them. A treaty for the evacuation of Catalonia, Majorca and Ivica by the Imperialists was concluded also on the 13th of March following, and another for the neutrality of Italy.

1713.
Treaty of
peace
between the
Allies and
France.

On the 31st of March, O. S. and the 11th of April, N. S. 1713, the respective treaties of peace between Great Britain, Prussia, Portugal, the States-General and Savoy on the one part, and the French King on the other, were executed at Utrecht. And on the 6th of March, N. S. 1713-14, a treaty of

peace was concluded between the Emperor and France at Rastadt. For the particulars of all which treaties, I refer the reader to the beginning of this volume. CHAP. XVIII.

The Catalans refusing the terms of peace which the Queen of Great Britain had procur'd for them, form'd an independent state, and took possession of Barcelona on the Germans evacuating that province (viz. on the ninth of July 1713) and held it till the latter end of the year 1714; when the Duke of Berwick investing it with an army of French and Spanish troops, they surrender'd on condition of having their lives spar'd and the city sav'd from plunder, after they had held out a siege of two months, and seen their town almost demolish'd by the bombs.

By the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Spain, King PHILIP for himself, his heirs and successors, yielded to the crown of Great Britain the full and entire property of the town and castle of Gibraltar, together with the port, fortifications and forts thereto belonging, without any communication by land with the country round about; saving the liberty to purchase, for ready money, in the neighbouring territories of Spain, provisions and other necessaries for the use of the garrison, and for the inhabitants and ships that might lie in the harbour. And in like manner his Catholick Majesty yielded and confirm'd to the crown of Great Britain the island of Minorca, with Port Mahon and all other places upon it; the Roman Catholicks to have the free exercise of their religion in both. Treaty between Britain and Spain.

By the treaty between Spain and Savoy, the island of Sicily was yielded and confirm'd to the King of Sicily. As to the island of Sardinia, the kingdom of Naples, Milan, and the rest of the Spanish territories in Italy and the Netherlands, these were left in the possession of the Emperor, as Spain and the Spanish dominions in America were in the hands of King PHILIP, without stipulating any thing concerning them; each party seeming determin'd to revive his pretensions to such of the Spanish territories as were in the possession of the other, whenever a favourable opportunity should offer.

The Queen of Spain died on the fourteenth of February, N. S. 1714; by whom the King had four sons, viz. LEWIS-PHILIP, Prince of Spain, born the 25th of August 1707; Don PHILIP, infante of Spain, who died within a few days after his birth; the infante Don PHILIP, born the 7th of June 1712; and the infante Don FERDINAND, born the 23d of September 1713. The Queen their mother was the daughter of AMADEUS Duke of Savoy (now King of Sardinia) and ANNE-MARY of Valois, daughter to PHILIP Duke of Orleans and HENRIETTA, daughter of CHARLES I. King of England. Queen of Spain's death in 1714.

The

HAP. XVIII. The Queen of Spain had not been dead many weeks before the King made proposals of marriage to the Lady ELIZABETH, heiress to the Duke of Parma, to whom he was married by proxy on the 16th of September, 1714. This Lady, in default of male issue of the present Duke, will not only inherit Parma, but the duchies of Placentia, Busseto, and the Val de Toro, bounded by the duchy of Milan on the north, by the duchy of Modena on the south, and by the Apennine mountains, which separate it from the territories of Genoa, towards the west. And in default of male issue of the present Grand Duke of Tuscany, she also lays claim to that duchy. All which territories will form a noble state, and if the Spaniards were possess'd of it, might give them an opportunity of recovering Naples, and the rest of the Italian territories, which were dismember'd from Spain by the treaty of Utrecht. And with this view, 'tis said, the King of Spain married the Princess of Parma; and the Italian Princes also are suppos'd to have promoted it, because thereby they might introduce another power to balance that of the Emperor, who would otherwise have them all at his command, and perhaps in time make Italy a province of the Empire.

1715. To return to Spain: The Imperialists not having evacuated Majorca, on pretence that the Spaniards had broke the treaty made for the evacuation of Catalonia, particularly in imprisoning and oppressing the Catalans, contrary to their engagements, the French and Spaniards embarked fourteen or fifteen thousand men on the tenth of June at Barcelona, and making a descent on the island of Majorca four or five days afterwards, they summoned the Imperial Governour, the Marquis de Rubi, to surrender; who agreed, according to his orders from the Imperial Court, to evacuate the island, on condition the natives should be well used, and the Imperial troops transported to Naples; whereby King PHILIP became possess'd of all the Spanish provinces and islands, except Minorca and Gibraltar, which had been yielded to Britain by the peace of Utrecht.

1716. The Turks this year invaded the Morea, which was so ill defended by the Venetians, that they made an entire conquest of it in one campaign.

This unexpected success of the Turks induced the Imperialists to enter into an alliance with the Venetians for their mutual defence; and a war soon after commencing between the Imperialists and the Porte, this encourag'd the King of Spain, 'tis said, to make preparations for recovering the provinces belonging to Spain in Italy, which the Emperor was possess'd of. There are some that go so far as to say, that his Catholick Majesty and the Grand Signior were engaged in a confederacy to attack the Emperor at the same time; but no such treaty appearing, every one is at liberty to

judge as he pleases. Certain it is, that the Emperor and Great Britain entered into an alliance this year for the defence of their respective territories, as apprehensive that some of them would suddenly be attack'd. The Emperor seem'd to be in pain for his Italian dominions in case of a rupture with the Turks; and the Court of England suspected, that the King of Spain might be in the interest of the Pretender.

In the mean time the Queen of Spain was deliver'd of a Prince on the twentieth of January, 1715-16, afterwards called DON CARLOS, which increas'd her Majesty's influence on the councils of Spain, that was thought too great already.

The Spaniards were taken up this year in increasing their navy, augmenting and disciplining their troops, and fortifying Barcelona, and other strong towns on the side of France. They confiscated also the estates of all such noblemen and gentlemen as were retir'd into the Emperor's territories: from whence it was easy to discern, that a rupture was not far off. Accordingly we find, that the summer following, the forces of King PHILIP, to the number of ten or twelve thousand men, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, made a descent on the island of Sardinia, which had been yielded to the Emperor by the peace of Utrecht; and having besieged and taken the capital city of Cagliari, the rest of the island submitted to them.

The King of Spain endeavour'd to justify this act of hostility by the Emperor's infractions of the treaties for the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca. He says, the Imperialists, instead of delivering up Barcelona to his Troops, put the rebel Catalans in possession of it, and did not withdraw their forces from Majorca till long after the time agreed on: that injurious declarations had been published against the King at Vienna, and that the Inquisitor-general of Spain had been seized in the territories of Milan.

To this the Imperialists answered, That it was not in their power to deliver up Barcelona, that being possess'd by the Catalans at the time of the treaty; and the evacuation of Majorca was only deferred in order to procure satisfaction to the Catalans, who had been treated in a barbarous manner, contrary to what had been stipulated on their behalf at the treaty of Utrecht; and that as to the seizing the Inquisitor of Spain in the Milanese, that was done after the war commenc'd, and he could expect nothing less on his coming into his Imperial Majesty's territories without a pass.

Which of the parties were most in the right, I shall not take upon me to determine; but the Spaniards, notwithstanding the repeated instances of the Ministers of France, Great Britain, and the States-General, to forbear any further act of hostility, invaded Sicily the year following, and

CHAP. XVIII. made himself master of the capital city of Palermo, and the best part of the island, which had been yielded to the Duke of Savoy by the treaty of Utrecht. Whereupon the Powers above-mentioned having enter'd into a treaty, commonly call'd the Quadruple Alliance, in order to compel the Spaniard to relinquish his late conquests, the Emperor sent a numerous army into Italy, and the King of Great Britain a squadron of men of war into the Mediterranean; whereby King PHILIP was obliged to quit both Sicily and Sardinia, and submit to the terms prescrib'd by the treaty last-mention'd; whereby Sicily was given to the Emperor, and Sardinia to the King of Sicily; King PHILIP was obliged to renounce all his right to the Spanish territories in the Emperor's possession; and the Emperor, on the contrary, acknowledg'd King PHILIP's Title to Spain and the Indies; and as to the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, it was agreed, that Don CARLOS, the Queen of Spain's eldest son, should inherit them on the death of the present possessors, provided that no forces should be admitted into those duchies for the security of the said succession but Swiss, or other neutral troops, to be paid by the contracting Powers. As to the particulars of this war, I refer the reader to the history of Germany, the history of Italy, and the history of France, in the former part of this volume. I shall only add a word or two in relation to Cardinal ALBERONI, then Prime Minister of Spain, who is charged with having been the author of all this mischief.

The Quadruple Alliance.

The Spaniards obliged to evacuate Sicily and Sardinia, and accede to the Quadruple Alliance.

Some account of Cardinal Alberoni's conduct, said to be the author of the war.

When the Princess of Parma was married to the King of Spain, she brought this Italian Priest, her favourite, to that kingdom with her, who soon found means to displace such Ministers as refused to be influenc'd by him, and introduc'd his own creatures in their room; and what render'd him exceeding popular among the Spaniards, was his representing to them how easy it would be for them to recover the Italian provinces, which had been dismember'd from that monarchy by the treaty of Utrecht. He seems to have laid this scheme soon after the death of LEWIS LE GRAND, which happened in the year 1715, when France was plung'd into such inextricable difficulties, on account of her immense debts contracted by the late war, that she could not be supposed in a condition to oppose the measures he had project'd; nay, he seems to have had a view of bringing the kingdom of France itself under the dominion of King PHILIP, if LEWIS the Fifteenth, who was then an infant, and in a very bad state of health, had happen'd to die; and was actually forming a party in France for that end, which became very numerous; and in the mean time he prevail'd with King PHILIP to take the title of Regent of France in opposition to the Duke of Orleans. He saw also the Emperor engaged with the Turk, and

consequently not in a condition to defend his Italian dominions; and as to Britain, he seems to depend pretty much upon the malecontents making such a diversion there, that they would not be at liberty to interpose in the quarrel. Whether he really expected that the British malecontents would be supported by Sweden and Muscovy, as that court affected to give out, is uncertain; I have not yet seen any foundation for those surmises: But as to the Dutch, as well as English, he might well suppose they would not be forward to enter into a war with Spain, on account of the advantages they had in point of trade while they remained in peace with that kingdom.

In this situation of affairs, ALBERONI, for whom the court of Spain procur'd a Cardinal's cap, apply'd himself to augment the royal navy, as well as their land-forces, and was so successful in that attempt, that, to the surprize of all Europe, we saw them on a sudden masters of a very formidable fleet and army, with which they invaded and conquered Sardinia, before any of the neighbouring Powers had an opportunity of interposing to prevent it. But contrary to the Cardinal's expectations, the Duke of Orleans having so modell'd the French army, as to secure that vast militia in his interest, and thereby prevented King PHILIP's party in that kingdom from shewing their heads; the English malecontents also being suppress'd and unsupported by any of the northern Powers, and the Imperialists having gained two signal victories over the Turks, and compell'd them to accept of peace, and at the same time all these formidable Powers enter'd into a confederacy against him; I say, the scene being thus alter'd, all the Cardinal's hopeful projects fell to the ground, and King PHILIP was compelled to sacrifice his Minister, in order to obtain a peace of the confederated Powers on terms by no means acceptable to that court. I should have remember'd, that Cardinal ALBERONI, as a last effort in order to distress the British Ministry, invited the Pretender into Spain, where he paid him the honours due to a Crown'd Head in the year 1719; but the Chevalier return'd to Italy again within a few months, in order to consummate his marriage with the Princess SOBIESKI, having done the court of Spain very little service by that voyage. The Cardinal also made a feeble attempt upon Scotland, whither he sent a detachment of three hundred Spaniards to join the malecontents there; but they were all taken prisoners soon after they landed. And thus the Cardinal's projects being defeated on every side, he was banished to Italy, where the court of Rome seem'd to frown on him for a time, no less than that of Spain, in complaisance to the victorious Emperor, whose displeasure they dreaded, having shewn some partiality to the Spaniards during the Sicilian war.

1719

Cardinal Alberoni banished.

On

CHAP. XVIII. On the 29th of December this year died Don PHILIP, the King of Spain's second son, aged seven years and six months: to balance which loss the Queen was deliver'd of another Prince on the 15th of March following, baptized also by the name of PHILIP.

K. Philip's
2d son dies.
Another
born.

1720.

Congress of
Cambray.

In the year 1720, the Powers engaged in the late war agreed to send their Plenipotentiaries to Cambray, to accommodate the differences that still remained undecided between the Spaniards and Imperialists, and between the Spaniards and the King of Sardinia; at which congress the British and French Ministers were to act the part of mediators.

The Spani-
ards expedi-
tion to A-
frica.

In the mean time the Spaniards made a descent on the coast of Africa near Ceuta, under pretence of driving the Moors from thence, and enlarging their territories on that side; but the principal design seems to be to keep up a body of troops, and induce the court of Rome to continue the grant of the tenths of the Clergy to K. PHILIP, which this war with the Infidels gave him a pretence to. For we find the Spaniards only intrenched themselves at a little distance from Ceuta, where they three times repulsed the Infidels; and these actions were magnify'd as mighty victories, tho' they never afterwards endeavour'd to penetrate into the country, but gave out, that their enemies were too well disciplin'd and too numerous, to attempt any thing more with so small a force; and thereupon returned to Spain in the year 1721, after they had made some additional fortifications to Ceuta.

1721.

Marriages
between
France and
Spain.

This year a contract of marriage was made between his most Christian Majesty LEWIS XV, and the Infanta of Spain, an infant of four years of age; and another between LEWIS Prince of the Asturias, and Mademoiselle DE MONTPENSIER, fourth daughter to the Duke of Orleans; the two Princesses being exchanged on the frontiers of both kingdoms by Commissioners nominated for that purpose. A third marriage was contracted the year following between Don CARLOS, eldest son of King PHILIP, by his present Queen, and Mademoiselle DE BEAUJOLLOIS, another of the Duke of Orleans's daughters; but the first and the last marriages were never consummated, and of the other between the Prince of the Asturias and Mademoiselle DE MONTPENSIER, there was no issue.

1722.

1723.
The Pope
protests a-
gainst the
disposing of
Parma, &c.
to Don Car-
los.

The court of Rome express'd great uneasiness at this time on the disposition that had been made of the reversion of the duchies of Parma and Placentia by the Quadruple Alliance, which they alledg'd were fiefs of the Holy See, and not of the Empire: and expecting that settlement would be confirm'd by the congress at Cambray, his Holiness ordered a protest to be made on that subject: wherein he says, "Can Christian Princes flatter themselves with the hopes of concluding a last-

ing peace, when the depriving the Holy See and the Vicar of Christ of their undeniable rights is made the foundation of it? Can they promise themselves long to enjoy what they violently seize, against all manner of justice, and invade the indisputable right of an uninterrupted possession, which has been acknowledged for several ages by all the nations of Europe?" Then his Minister protests, That no body hath or had a right to settle or dispose of the duchies of Parma or Placentia, to the prejudice of the sovereignty and rights of the Roman church; and consequently, that all treaties, conventions, agreements and dispositions, with their confirmations and ratifications, already made or to be made, either at Cambray or Ratisbon, or in any other congress whatever, concerning the investiture, infeoffment or concession of the said duchies, are and will be for ever null and void, and disowns and rejects the same in the most authentick manner.

As Spain is almost every where incumber'd with high mountains, and in spring and autumn there falls from them such deluges of water as are fatal to some great town or other every year, their cities being usually built on the banks of rivers at the foot of the mountains, the relation of a flood that swept away some of the principal Grandees of the Court of Spain, may not be impertinent in this place.

A deluge at
Madrid.

It seems the Duke and Duchess of Mirandola had an assembly every night at their house in Madrid, consisting of persons of the first quality, to which all the foreign Ministers at that court usually resorted. The house where the assembly was held stood low, having a large garden behind it upon a rising ground; beyond the garden there was an eminence still higher. The assembly being met on the fifth of September, (which as it happened was much thinner than usual) a violent storm of thunder and lightning began about nine in the evening, at which the Duchess of Mirandola being frightened, left the company, and went into the chapel to prayers, which was three rooms from the assembly, but upon the same ground-floor. About ten a-clock, a torrent of water came tumbling down from the rising grounds, which broke down the town-wall, and afterwards that of the garden which was near it, and in an instant burst open the window-shutters of the ground-apartment, overturn'd all the tables and lights, and filled the rooms with water. The Duchess of Mirandola and her maids were immediately drowned. The men ran out into the courtyard before the house, which they found covered with water: and Prince Pio endeavouring to save himself in the street, was carried away by the torrent, and his body found the day after two leagues from Madrid. Don TIBERIO CARAFFA got upon

CHAP. upon the top of a coach, which overturning by XVIII. the force of the stream, was thrown against another, by which he received a blow on his head, and was immediately drowned. The Prince of Cellamere placed himself upon another coach, which likewise overturn'd, but he had the good fortune to get upon the wheel, where he remained till assistance came; but he was grievously bruised, and had swallow'd a great quantity of water and sand. The Duke of Liria, son to the Duke of Berwick, was in great danger; but being very tall, and observing by a flash of lightning a window over his head, he jump'd up, and caught hold of the iron-bars before it, by which he held till the people in the upper apartment let down cords and drew him up. The Venetian Ambassador, not being able to get out of the assembly-room, where the water was ten foot high, supported himself two hours upon two chairs, which swam till the water abated, so that he could get out of the door. The Pope's Nuncio and the Duke of Atri had left the company two hours before the accident happened. Most of the rest of the Quality were saved, but in such a fright that they scarce knew how: and the relation does not inform us what became of the servants and inferiour people, who did not probably fare much better than their Lords.

Ostend Company established.

This year the King granted a patent for establishing an East-India company at Ostend; which the British, French and Dutch Ministers protested against to no purpose. Nor did this project seem acceptable to Spain at this time, though afterwards that court came into it, and made it still more beneficial to the Flemings.

On the second of December, N. S. died PHILIP Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, of an apoplectick fit at Versailles; which occasion'd great alterations in the courts both of France and Spain. About the same time the Imperial, French and Spanish Courts agreed upon the act of investiture of DON CARLOS into the duchies of Tuscany and Parma, the delay whereof had prevented the opening the congress of Cambray to this time. The King of Spain seems to have waited with some impatience for this event, which was no sooner accomplished, but he took a resolution of resigning his crown to his eldest son LEWIS Prince of Asturias; which he did by the following act of renunciation.

K. Philip abdicates the Spanish throne.

“ Having these four years considered maturely and with due reflection the miseries of this life, thro' the infirmities, wars and troubles, with which God has been pleased to visit me during the twenty-three years of my reign; and having likewise considered, that my eldest son Don LEWIS, sworn Prince of Spain, is of sufficient age, is married, and has capacity, judgment, and the qualities for ruling and governing justly and happily this monarchy, I have deter-

mined absolutely to quit the possession and administration of it, renouncing the same with all its dominions, kingdoms, and lordships, in favour of the said Prince Don LEWIS my eldest son, and to retire with the Queen, in whom I have found a ready disposition and voluntary inclination to accompany me to this palace and seat of St. Ildefonso, here to serve God disengaged from all other cares, to meditate on death, and to seek my salvation.

“ This I communicate to the Council for their information, to be notified to the proper persons, that my resolution may be made known to all.”

Dated at St. Ildefonso the 15th of January, 1724.

A circular letter was likewise sent by his Majesty's direction to the persons whom before his renunciation he thought fit to establish in the chief offices of the court and government. That letter is as follows:

“ The King having resolved to retire, and to withdraw himself absolutely from the government of this monarchy, by renouncing the crown, with all its dominions, kingdoms and lordships, in favour of his eldest son Don LEWIS, sworn Prince of Spain; his Majesty commands me to acquaint you, that his will is, you continue to serve the said Prince in the employment you now possess.”

GRIMALDO.

The Council of Castile hereupon declared, that King LEWIS might immediately take the government upon him without assembling the Cortes, having been already sworn and acknowledged Prince of Spain.

On the twenty-sixth of January, N. S. the congress at Cambray was opened, when the Ministers of Great Britain and France were admitted Mediators between the Emperor and Spain. But very little business was transacted at this congress; the Plenipotentiaries seem'd to employ their time in visiting one another, or other matters of ceremony.

1724. Congress of Cambray open'd.

In the mean time LEWIS King of Spain, who was advanced to the throne of that kingdom on the 16th of Jan last, by the resignation of his father, died of the small-pox on the 30th of August, N. S. 1724, being just entered into the 18th year of his age: whereupon the Council of Castile petitioned King PHILIP to re-assume the government, to which, after having consulted an assembly of Divines, he returned the following answer in writing:

K. Lewis dies, and K. Philip re-assumes the government.

“ I have seriously considered every thing that the Council does represent to me in this supplication, as well as in the former dated the fourth instant. Although I was firmly determined never to leave my retirement upon any account whatsoever, yet willing to condescend to the earnest instances

CHAP. XVIII. instances made to me by the Council in these two supplications, to resume and take upon me the charge of the government of this monarchy, as its natural Sovereign and proprietor, and yielding to their farther representing to me, that I am bound in justice and conscience to do it; I have resolved, out of the great value and esteem I have for the advice of the Council, and in consideration of the zeal and constant affection, which is so conspicuous in the members of it, to sacrifice myself to the general welfare of this monarchy, and the greater advantage of the subjects thereof; the more still, considering the obligation which the council finds I am under as their natural Prince and Sovereign: reserving however to myself, a power to leave the government of this monarchy to the Prince my eldest son, when he comes to due age and capacity, provided always there be not at that time too great inconveniencies that may hinder it. I agree likewise to the calling as soon as possible the Cortes, to recognize the infant Don FERDINAND as Prince.

1725.

King PHILIP having resumed the government, applied himself more than ever to affairs of state; made an estimate of the debts of the nation, which appeared to be much less than those of any of the other Powers engaged in the late war. Spain had suffered pretty much by the ravages of the soldiers, 'tis true, in that war, but had not mortgaged her revenues for ages to come, as some other States had done. This Prince proceeded to make an estimate of the charges of his government, in order to apply the several branches of the revenue to their respective expences in such a manner, that the money raised for one service, should not be diverted to another: and the troops, which were ordered to be paid monthly, at that time are said to consist of twelve battalions of guards, eighty-eight battalions of foot, four troops of life-guards, twenty regiments of horse, and ten of dragoons; and orders were given for building of ships in the several harbours of Spain, and re-establishing their navy. But they had the misfortune to lose that accomplish'd General the Marquis de Lede this year, who had establish'd his fame by those three expeditions to Sardinia, Sicily and Africa, in which he commanded in chief. But King PHILIP met with another misfortune this year, which was a much greater trial of his patience, as well as the Queen's; for the present administration in France, apprehending they should be all in confusion again, if their young King, whose health was very precarious, should happen to die without issue, they determined to send back the Infanta, to whom he had been contracted about three years, and find another Princess for him that was capable of having children, for the Infanta was not at this time above seven years of age; to excuse which proceeding, a letter was

Marquis de
Lede dies.

The French
send back
the Infanta.

sent to the court of Spain, in the name of LEW-CHAP. is XV, importing, that his most Christian Majesty was under the greatest concern upon his separation from the Infanta, but that a King being born for his subjects rather than himself, he could not refuse yielding to the strong solicitations of all his States, to marry some Princess by whom he might have issue, and thereby prevent the troubles and revolutions which might happen in the kingdom, if he should die before the Infanta was marriageable.

The King and Queen of Spain, notwithstanding these apologies, were provok'd to the last degree, and not only sent back Mademoiselle DE BEAUJOLIS, daughter to the late Duke of Orleans, who had been contracted to Don CARLOS, with the Dowager Queen of Spain her sister, but immediately broke off the treaty of Cambray, and entered into a confederacy with the Emperor, which was afterwards called the Vienna Alliance; whereby they confirm'd the Quadruple Alliance, and the reciprocal renunciations of each party to the Spanish territories in the possession of the other. The Emperor also confirm'd the eventual investiture of Tuscany and Parma to Don CARLOS. They guaranteed each other's dominions reciprocally; and the Spaniards engaged to allow greater advantages in trade to the Imperialists than to any other nation, particularly to their Ostend company. Whereupon the French insinuated, that there were still some further secret articles much more prejudicial to the trade of Britain than those that appear'd; whereby they prevail'd with the British Ministry to enter into an alliance with them, commonly call'd, the Hanover Alliance, in opposition to that of Vienna. This conduct of Britain in adhering to the French, after they had given so mortal an affront to the court of Spain, so provok'd the Spaniards, that they seem'd determin'd never to be reconcil'd to us; whether we are at war or peace, our merchants are equally sufferers.

The Vienna
Alliance.

The Hanover
Alliance.

By the Hanover treaty, the contracting parties guaranteed each other's dominions, and particularly their respective rights and privileges in relation to trade; which article strikes chiefly at the Ostend company. And it was further agreed, that if any of the parties should be attack'd or disturb'd in their trade, that then the other contracting power should furnish the following succours, viz. France eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse, Britain eight thousand foot and four thousand horse; as to Prussia, I do not mention that Prince's share, tho' he was a party, because he afterwards enter'd into a treaty with the Emperor in opposition to this. On the contrary, the Dutch were afterwards induced to accede to the treaty of Hanover, in order to put a stop to the trade of the Austrian Netherlands to the East-Indies.

The

CHAP. XVIII. The French King having separated or divorced himself from the Infanta of Spain, in the manner above related, immediately made his addressees to the Princess MARY LEZINSKI, daughter of King STANISLAUS, and was married to her by his proxy, the young Duke of Orleans, at Strasburg, on the 15th of August, 1725; and afterwards in person at Fontainebleau on the 5th of September following.

About this time the Allies of Hanover were alarm'd, or pretended to be so, at the intimate correspondence between the Courts of Spain and Russia; and some Russian ships sailing to Cadiz with the merchandize of their own country, the Dutch gave out they would put a stop to this commerce, as well as to that of Ostend with the East-Indies. These LORDS OF THE OCEAN, as they called themselves, pretended to monopolize the trade of the Baltick no less than that of the Indian Seas, and prohibit the nations of the north carrying abroad their own product and manufactures: in which piece of insolence they seem'd to expect that Britain should support them.

D. Riperda being disgraced, retires to Mr. Stanhope's house.

In the mean time the Duke de Riperda prime Minister of Spain, (a native of the United Provinces) who is supposed to have been the contriver of the Vienna Alliance, fell into disgrace for discovering the secrets of the Spanish Court (as was surmised) to the Ministers of Britain and Holland; and what gave a colour to this suggestion, was, Riperda's being carried by the Minister of the States-General at Madrid to the house of Mr. STANHOPE the British Minister there, where he endeavoured to take refuge, and thereby screen himself from the resentment of King PHILIP; though his pretence for retiring thither, was, to avoid the insolence of the mob. The Spanish Court however took the Duke de Riperda by force out of Mr. STANHOPE's house, and sent him prisoner to the castle of Segovia; which produced several memorials and representations to the Court of Spain, Mr. STANHOPE insisting that it was a violation of the privileges of Ambassadors. The Spanish Court maintain'd, on the other hand, that no Ambassador could protect a criminal against his Prince: and retorted upon Mr. STANHOPE, the hostilities (as they styled them) that were committed by the British squadrons, one of which, under the command of Sir JOHN JENNINGS had alarmed the coast of Spain, and the other blocked up their galleons in the harbour of Porto-Bello in America.

About the same time the Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Wharton, and the rest of the disaffected British nobility, resorted to the Spanish Court, expecting there would be a sudden rupture between the two kingdoms: and a messenger from the Court of England delivering a letter

from King GEORGE under the privy seal to the Duke of Wharton, as he was passing through the streets of Madrid in his coach, requiring that nobleman to return to England, on pain of forfeiture of his estate, the Duke threw the letter out of the coach into the street without opening it, in contempt of his British Majesty.

On the 11th of June this year, the Queen of Spain was deliver'd of another Princess, baptized by the name of MARIA-ANTONIA.

The Spaniards being determined to shew the utmost resentment against Britain for the many affronts they pretended to have received, order'd their troops to assemble in Andalusia, and block up Gibraltar, in December 1726. Their first design, 'tis said, was to raise forts and batteries at the bottom of the bay, whereby they proposed to prevent any shipping coming up to the town, and render the place useless to the English: but this being found impracticable, they invested Gibraltar, and began to besiege it in form, on the twenty-second of February following. It was expected that the French and Dutch should have furnished their quota of troops on this occasion, and have made some diversion in favour of Britain, as they had stipulated to do by the treaty of Hanover, when the territories of any of the contracting powers should happen to be attack'd. But our good Allies sent us no manner of assistance either by sea or land; they left us to defend Gibraltar with our own ships and forces: nor did they furnish one ship towards the expedition to Porto-Bello, where we lost almost an entire squadron without fighting.

Either the Allies of Hanover apprehended we had no title to Gibraltar, or they were glad to see us engaged alone in the Spanish war, that they might enjoy the trade to that kingdom by themselves in the mean time; for our merchants effects in Spain were immediately seized, while those of the French and Dutch remain'd untouched. The Spaniards however meeting with greater difficulties in the siege of Gibraltar than they expected, and not being able to bring home the treasure in the galleons while the British squadron remained at Porto-Bello, were induced to consent to a treaty of pacification, concluded at Paris on the last of May, 1727, between the Allies of Vienna, and those of Hanover, and thereupon the siege of Gibraltar was soon after raised.

By this treaty the Emperor consented that the privileges granted to the Ostend-Company, and all commerce from the Austrian Netherlands to the Indies should be suspended for seven years. That the treaties of Utrecht, the Quadruple Alliance, &c. should be in force; and if any difficulties arose concerning the interpretation of them, they should be determined by a future congress.

Particularly that the English, French, and Dutch

CHAP. XVIII. D. Wharton's contempt of the British Court.

1726. Queen of Spain deliver'd of a daughter.

Gibraltar block'd up by the Spaniards.

1727. The siege raised.

Treaty of pacification.

CHAP. XVIII. Dutch should be restored to their rights in trade, according to what was stipulated with each of them by treaties antecedent to the year 1725.

Endeavours were to be used to pacify the troubles in the north.

And immediately after the signing of these articles, all hostilities were to cease; and with respect to Spain, within eight days after his Catholick Majesty should have received these articles.

All ships sent from Ostend to India before this time, were to be at liberty to return home with their cargoes: as were the galleons on the other side, and the English to recall their squadrons from America and the coasts of Spain.

This cessation of hostilities to last as long as the suspension of the Ostend trade, viz. for seven years; in which time the respective rights of the parties were to be discuss'd.

Within the space of a month after the signing these articles, it was agreed, a congress should be formed at Aix la Chapelle, where the rights and pretensions of the respective powers were to be examined.

Soon after, viz. on the tenth of June, 1727, King GEORGE, one of the principal parties concerned, died in Germany on the road to Hano-
ver.

Still the blockade of Gibraltar was continued, the King of Spain pretending that this was no act of hostility. He also made a difficulty in restoring the ship Prince Frederick, and other effects of the South-Sea Company, so that we had scarce any trade with Spain the year following.

Treaty of
pacification
explain'd.

At length an act was signed for the explanation of the said preliminary articles, on the sixth of March, 1727-8, whereby his British Majesty agreed to send orders to his Admirals to withdraw from the seas of the Indies and Spain; and consents that the matter relating to the counterband goods taken in by the ship Prince Frederick, should be debated in the future congress; and that therein it should be decided, whether the prizes taken at sea by both parties should be restored, and that his British Majesty should be bound by what should be agreed on there.

His Catholick Majesty, on the other hand, agreed to raise the blockade of Gibraltar; to restore the ship Prince Frederick and her cargo, and to restore the commerce of the English in the Indies according to the Asiento treaty, and the second and third articles of the preliminaries: To cause the effects of the flotilla to be distributed forthwith among the proprietors; and the galleons, when returned, as in times of peace. And his Catholick Majesty also obliged himself to abide by the decisions of the future congress.

Queen of
Spain deli-
ver'd of a
son.

In the mean time the Queen of Spain was deliver'd of another Prince, born the twenty-fifth of July, 1727, and baptized by the name of

LEWIS-ANTHONY-JAMES; and on the twenty-fifth of December following, a contract of marriage was signed between Don JOSEPH Prince of Brazil, and the Infanta Donna MARIA-ANNA-VICTORIA, (who had before been contracted to LEWIS XV, King of France;) and within less than a month afterwards, another marriage was solemnized between Don FERDINAND Prince of the Asturias, and the Infanta MARIA of Portugal; whereby the alliances between the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal were cemented by the strongest ties imaginable.

Double mar-
riages be-
tween Spain
and Portugal.

The congress, which by the preliminary articles was first agreed to be held at Aix la Chapelle, was afterwards, at the instances of the French Court, appointed to be held at Cambray; and this being apprehended too far for Cardinal FLEURY, the Prime Minister of France, to travel, he prevailed with the Plenipotentiaries to assemble at Soissons, which was also complied with, and the congress was accordingly open'd there on the fourteenth of June, 1728; and that cunning Jesuit being determined to manage those negotiations in person, and yet not daring to trust his Prince in the hands of any other Ministers during his absence, prevailed with his master to come with the Court to Compiègne, within an hour or two's driving of Soissons, between which places he was perpetually going and coming; the fatigue whereof not being very agreeable to the old man, after he had heard them wrangle about a month, and gain'd a sufficient ascendant of them, he made the Ministers follow him from thence to Paris, and afterwards to Fontainebleau, and in short to every place whither the Court of France removed; so exceeding forward were they to refer their differences to the decision of a French Jesuit.

Congress of
Soissons.

1728.

But nothing of consequence being resolved on at these conferences, and the English merchants murmuring, that their trade with Spain had been in a precarious condition for so many years, it was found necessary to clap up a peace with that Court on any terms almost; and to allure the Queen of Spain, who govern'd the councils on that side, to enter into their measures, an offer was made her of introducing a body of Spanish troops immediately into Italy, to secure the eventual succession of her son Don CARLOS to the duchies of Tuscany and Parma; which that Princess approving of, a treaty of peace was concluded, to which the French and Dutch, as well as the English, were parties. And this obtain'd the name of the treaty of Seville, it having been concluded there by the Ministers of Great Britain and Spain. But the Emperor was highly incens'd at that part of it, which concern'd the introducing Spanish forces into Italy, and seem'd inclined to hazard every thing rather than suffer it. The year 1729, and part of 1730, having now passed in proposing ex-
pedients

Treaty of
Seville.

1729.

1730.

CHAP. XVIII. pedients to compromise this difference; and the last summer the Spaniards took up transports, in order to land a body of troops in Italy; but finding their Allies not in a readiness to support them, they thought fit to disembark their forces, dismiss their ships, and wait the success of the negotiations on this head. In the mean time, if we are rightly informed, the Spaniards in America continue to take the merchant-ships of Britain, as in a time of war, and in other respects have not behaved themselves as a nation in perfect friendship with us. I shall conclude the history of Spain with observing, that the Duke of Riperda, who was the subject of so many memorials between the Ministers of Spain and England, made his escape out of the castle of Segovia on the thirteenth of September, 1728, and has since visited most of the Courts of Europe. He was very lately in Great Britain, where it is not doubted but the ministry knew how to make a proper use of him.

CHAP. XIX.

Treats of the civil government, prerogatives and succession of the crown, the King's titles and arms, great officers of state, nobility and grandees.

The civil government.

IN the fifteenth century Spain was divided into five kingdoms, four of which were Christian, and the fifth Mahometan: 1. The kingdom of Castile, comprehending the two Castiles, and the provinces of Leon, Galicia, Asturia, and Andalusia. 2. The kingdom of Arragon, which comprehended Arragon, Biscay, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and the islands of Baleares. 3. The kingdom of Navarre, which contained the Upper and Lower Navarre. 4. The kingdom of Portugal. And, 5. That of Grenada.

In the same century these five monarchies were reduced to three by the marriage of FERDINAND King of Arragon, called the Catholick, with ISABELLA (ELIZABETH) heiress of Castile, and by the conquest they made of the kingdom of Grenada, anno 1492. These three kingdoms in the sixteenth century were reduced to one, and all Spain subject to one Sovereign: for first FERDINAND the Catholick took the kingdom of Navarre from JOHN D'ALBRET, anno 1512; and about seventy years afterwards the kingdom of Portugal was conquer'd by PHILIP II. In this state things remained for sixty years, during the reigns of three kings of the name of PHILIP; and then was Spain in the height of its glory; for the house of Austria, which possessed it, had besides Spain large dominions in Italy, Franche Comte, or the county of Burgundy in France, the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, besides vast territories in America, Asia, and Africa;

infomuch that PHILIP II used to say, the sun never set in his dominions. But this monarchy has been since dismember'd, and reduced within much narrower bounds; seven of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries threw off the Spanish yoke at once, and declared themselves a free people; which was occasion'd by the oppressions of the Spanish government, and the cruelties committed by the Duke of Alva, to which the alteration of religion in those countries very much contributed. The Catalans revolted in the year 1640, and put themselves under the protection of France, remaining for twelve years subject to that crown. The same year the Portuguese threw off the Spanish yoke, and placed JOHN Duke of Braganza on the throne, being of the race of their ancient Kings. In the last war the Emperor possessed himself of all the Spanish territories in Italy; and the residue of the Spanish provinces in the Low Countries were yielded to his Imperial Majesty by the peace of Utrecht; and at the same time Gibraltar and the island of Minorca were yielded to the English.

His Catholick Majesty however still remains Sovereign of all Spain (except Portugal, Roussillon, and part of Cerdagne;) of the empires of Mexico, Peru, &c. in America; of Ceuta and some other places on the coast of Africa, and of the Philippine islands in Asia: His dominions being still of the largest extent of any Prince's upon earth; and according to the calculations of some writers, four times larger than ever the Roman Empire was. In the continent of America alone he is possessed of a fine rich country, whose provinces lie contiguous, and extend six thousand miles and upwards in length from south to north.

And as the King of Spain's dominions are the largest, so his prerogatives are as great as any Prince's in the known world. He is an absolute monarch, his word is a law, and he can dispose of every thing according to his pleasure, without taking the advice of any man or body of men whatever. 'Tis true, every province almost in Spain had the privilege antiently of being govern'd by laws of their own framing, which could not be repeal'd or alter'd but by an assembly of the States of the respective provinces; nor could their Princes raise taxes without their consent. These States consisted of the Clergy, Nobility, and Commons; of whom the Commons seem to have been much the least number, particularly in that large kingdom of Castile, which comprehended Leon, Asturia, Galicia, Estremadura, and Andalusia; for there were not more than seventeen cities and one town that sent representatives to the assembly of the States, and those but two a-piece.

The Cortes are now only assembled upon some particular occasions; as when they take the oaths

The prerogatives of the crown.

CHAP. XIX. to the Prince of Asturias, or when the succession of the crown is limited according to treaties with foreign Princes, who look upon those compacts to be the less liable to alteration, when they have been confirm'd by an Assembly of the States. And this brings me to observe, that the crown of Spain is hereditary, and descends to the females according to their seniority, in default of males; though there are instances where their Princes have pass'd by the eldest, and given their dominions to a younger branch: and a multitude of examples there are of their dividing their territories among their issue. It is generally held, that the first Gothick Kings of Spain were elective, and that it was some centuries before their crowns became hereditary. But certain it is, that PELAGIUS, and the other petty Spanish Sovereigns, who first dislodg'd the Moors, and drove them from the northern parts of Spain, were elected by the people; and the first Sovereign of Arragon, GARCIA XIMENES, was not only elected, but was limited by certain laws and conditions in the exercise of his authority, which if he attempted to break through, the people were at liberty to depose him and advance another to the throne: and a magistrate accordingly was established, called the Justice of the kingdom, who was to observe the King's conduct, and empower'd to prosecute him before the States, whenever he violated the laws. This officer was only accountable to the States, and the King at his inauguration was obliged to swear to maintain their privileges on his bended knees before him.

The words used on electing their Sovereign were these, 'We, who are your equals, do make you our King and Lord, on condition you maintain our laws and liberties, but not otherwise.' Which custom continued to the eleventh century, and most of the provinces enjoyed great privileges till the reign of CHARLES V, and PHILIP II, who by purchasing votes in the Assemblies of the States, and by vast standing armies, particularly of foreigners, in a manner put an end to the liberties of Spain: though, 'tis true, the government, to prevent insurrections, or to reclaim revolting provinces, have sometimes indulg'd the people with some share of their antient privileges, which they have resumed again as soon as their turns were serv'd; and the King of Spain is at this day one of the most absolute Princes on the face of the earth, as has been intimated already.

However, he takes an oath at his inauguration to maintain their rights and privileges; and on the other hand, the Cortes or Assembly of the States, who are convened on this occasion, acknowledge him for their Sovereign; but the Kings of Spain are not crown'd, as most Monarchs of Europe are.

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But notwithstanding the Kings of Spain are absolute Princes, says my author, their moderation can never be sufficiently applauded, having for many ages taken the advice of those who are versed in the laws of their country, in every thing that regards their civil government, their forces or revenues; and for that end have appointed several Councils or Tribunals for the dispatch of the respective branches of business, of which some are sovereign Courts, and others subaltern.

1. The Cabinet-Council, or Junta of general dispatches. 2. The Council of state. 3. The Council of war. 4. The Council of Castile. 5. The Chamber of Castile. 6. The Council of the Indies. 7. The Council of finances, or royal revenues. 8. The Council of Navarre. 9. The Councils of buildings and forests. 10. The Chanceries of Valladolid and Grenada.

The subaltern Tribunals are, 1. The Junta, or Council for lodging or quartering all persons belonging to the Court. 2. That of the Alcaldes of the palace. 3. The Audiencias of Galicia, Seville, Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Majorca, and the Canaries. 4. The Jurisdiction of the Corrigidors, Rigidors, Viguers, and Alcaldes.

The viceroyalties are those of Navarre, Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Majorca, Peru, and Mexico.

The captainships general are those of Andalusia, Guipuscoa, Estremadura, and the Canaries, with those of the Indies.

It is the Cabinet-Council, which consists of the principal Secretary of State, and five or six more of the King's nomination, which determines all affairs of government both at home and abroad.

In the Privy-Council, which consists of a greater number, indeed things of the same nature are debated, but the resolutions are taken in the Cabinet; and sometimes, 'tis said, after things have undergone the deliberations of both Councils, the King, with the Secretary alone, takes such measures as he sees proper in relation to publick affairs; so that the principal Secretary may well be esteem'd the greatest Minister in the Spanish Court, and is frequently the Prime Minister.

The business of the Council of war is the same as in other nations, only it takes in the admiralty and naval affairs, as well as those relating to the land-service; for the Admiral of Castile is now but a title of honour, he has nothing to do in maritime affairs.

The Court or Council of Castile is the highest Court of judicature in the kingdom, and determines appeals from inferiour Courts within its jurisdiction: they are also a kind of Council of state for that particular province.

The Council of the Chamber of Castile are consulted by his Majesty in all his grants of honours;

CHAP. XIX. nours, offices, and preferments, ecclesiastical or temporal; and all pardons and other graces pass this Court.

The supreme Council of the Indies, the Islands, and Terra Firma was established in the reign of FERDINAND the Catholick and ISABELLA, when those countries were first discover'd; but the Emperor CHARLES V brought it to perfection. This Council have the supreme jurisdiction of all affairs, civil and military, by sea and land in the New World, (as their American dominions are frequently called;) where 'tis said the Spaniards within the space of an hundred and fifty years have built seven thousand churches and six hundred monasteries.

The Council of Finances may be resembled to the Treasury and Court of Exchequer in England, where every thing is transacted and determined relating to the royal revenues.

The Council of Navarre determine all matters relating to that kingdom, having laws and customs peculiar to themselves; and when they submitted to FERDINAND the Catholick, 'twas stipulated, that they should not be subject to the laws of Castile: but this has of late years been broken through in many instances, and the Court of Spain are as absolute here as in other places.

The Court of the royal buildings and forests have the supreme jurisdiction in all the woods and forests of the kingdom, and the direction of the King's buildings in his palaces and elsewhere.

The Chanceries of Valladolid and Grenada were established to ease the royal Council of Castile, which had too much business; and that the subjects in those parts of Spain might not be obliged to travel so far as Madrid for justice, when they found themselves under a necessity of appealing from the inferiour Courts.

The Junta, or Council for providing lodgings for the Court, have a power of agreeing with such persons as desire to be excused from taking in these guests; by which compositions the Court raises a considerable annual revenue.

The Court of Alcaldes of the palace has the jurisdiction of all causes, civil and criminal, within the verge of the Court, which extends five leagues round about the palace where the King resides, and is exercised over such persons as follow the Court, when his Majesty visits any part of the kingdom.

The Courts of royal audiences, before the late revolutions in Arragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, were but four, viz. those of Galicia, Seville, Majorca, and the Canaries: but since those provinces have been deprived of their privileges, and subjected to the laws of Castile, they have established Courts of audience at Saragossa, Valencia, and Barcelona; so that there are seven of them at pre-

sent, without taking in those of the Indies, which are twelve in number. CHAP. XIX.

These Courts, of which the Viceroy, or Captain-General is President, and the Alcaldes-Majors, Fiscals, &c. are Members, take cognizance of all causes criminal and civil within five leagues round about the city, where the respective Courts are held in the first instance, and by way of appeal of all causes which are removed from the Courts of the ordinary Judges within their several jurisdictions, as Alcaldes, Bailiffs, Corrigidors, Rigidors, &c.

There lies no appeal from these audiences in civil causes, where the matter in dispute does not exceed ten thousand maravedies; where it does, the parties may appeal to the Sovereign Tribunal; and in criminal cases there lies an appeal in sentences of death, mutilation, or ten years banishment.

The Governour, or his Lieutenant, with certain Members of the Court of audience, have power to visit the several Alcaldes and inferiour Judges in their province, examine their conduct, displace, and punish them for male-administration: but this is now almost disused, to the great prejudice of the people, who are exposed to the extortions of the ordinary Alcaldes. These gentlemen having a commission but for three years, think of nothing else but making the most of their places during the short time their authority lasts, out of the suitors who have any causes depending in their Courts.

As to the jurisdiction of their inferiour Judges and Magistrates, viz. Corrigidors, Rigidors, Alcaldes, Bayliffs, and Viguers, they seem to differ little in the nature of their office, but receive different appellations, according to the dignity or extent of the city or place, wherein they exercise their several jurisdictions. Formerly the Bishops Sees only were honoured with the titles of cities in Spain; but their Princes have long since extended that privilege to a great many other towns, and most of these are not only allowed to send Representatives to the Cortes, or assembly of the States, but have a Corrigidor for their chief Magistrate, to whom the lesser towns and places within the district of his city are subject. Those cities which have not a Corrigidor for their chief Magistrate have a Rigidor, or Alcaide-Major, who has certain Rigidors, or inferiour Judges, for his assessors or assistants; from which Courts there lies an appeal to the Courts of Audience, Chancery, Council royal, or other superiour tribunal. The towns which are not cities have their Alcaldes, Bailiffs, or Viguers, from whose sentences they may appeal to the Courts establish'd in the cities to which they belong, where they are confirmed or reversed.

There seems to be no other difference between their

CHAP. XIX. their Viceroy and Captain-Generals, than that the one commands in a province which has the title of a kingdom, and the other in a province which has no such title, except that of Barcelona, where the Governour has the title of Viceroy, tho' Catalonia be but a county.

Both the Viceroy and Captain-General have the command of all the forces of the province of which they are respectively Governours, and preside in all tribunals within their several jurisdictions. They have the nomination of many officers civil and military, and recommend the rest to his Majesty's favour; and all officers and magistrates, both civil and military, are responsible to him for their conduct; as are also the Governours of towns and places within their respective provinces, exercising almost royal power. Before the reduction of Arragon, Valencia, and Catalonia, indeed, says my author, the people of those provinces would insist on their respective privileges and immunities, in opposition to the authority of their Viceroys, who were obliged to act with the utmost circumspection and lenity for fear of insurrections, which frequently happen'd whenever the people apprehended their rights to be invaded; but since the King has deprived them of their privileges, their Viceroys act with an almost unlimited power; at which the people may murmur in private, but dare not express their resentments in publick for fear of incurring the severest punishments.

King of Spain's titles. The titles of their former Kings were very pompous, as King of Kings: ALONSO VI assumed the title of Emperor; and ALONSO VII, besides that of Emperor, took the titles of Glorious, Pious, Happy, Conqueror, &c. but at present all these are reduced to that of Catholick, granted to King FERDINAND by Pope ALEXANDER VI, in consideration of his conquering the Infidel Moors in Spain, and the services he had done the Holy See. To this title the King added that of Don, as the most noble and emphatick term in the Spanish language, being derived from the word *Dominus* (Lord.) And the Kings of Spain, notwithstanding the loss of their Italian and Flemish territories, still stile themselves Kings of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Valencia, Murcia, Grenada, Cordoua, Seville, Algarva, Jaen, Majorca, Minorca, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Jerusalem, the East and West-Indies, Prince of Asturia, Duke of Milan and Burgundy, Archduke of Austria, Earl of Flanders, Burgundy, and Catalonia, Lord of Biscay and Molina, &c.

Arm. They retain also the arms of almost every province, bearing quarterly: the first quarter counter-quarter'd; in the first and fourth *Gules*, a Castle triple tower'd *Azure*, each with three Battlements *Or*, purfl'd *Sable*, for Castile. In the

second and third *Argent*, a Lion passant *Gules*, crowned, langued, and armed *Or*, for Leon. In the second great quarter *Or*, four Pallets *Gules*, for Arragon. Party *Or*, four Pallets also *Gules*, betwixt two Flanches *Argent*, charged with as many Eagles *Sable*, member'd, beak'd, and crown'd *Azure*, for Sicily. These two great quarters grafted in base *Argent*, a Pomegranate *Vert*, stalk'd and leaved of the same, open'd and seeded *Gules*, for Grenada. Over all *Argent*, five Escutcheons *Azure*, placed cross-wise, each charged with as many Bezants in saltier of the first, for Portugal. The Shield border'd *Gules*, with seven Towers *Or*, for Algarva. In the third quarter *Gules*, a Fess *Argent*, for Austria. Coupie, and supported by antient Burgundy, which is Bendy of six pieces *Or* and *Azure*, border'd *Gules*. In the fourth great quarter *Azure*, Seme of Flower de Luces *Or*, with a border Compony *Argent* and *Gules*, for modern Burgundy. Coupie *Or*, supported *Sable*, a Lion *Or*, for Brabant. These two great quarters charged with an Escutcheon *Or*, a Lion *Sable*, and langued *Gules*, for Flanders. Partly *Or*, an Eagle *Sable*, for Antwerp, the capital city of the marquise of the holy Empire.

For Crest, a Crown *Or*, raised with eight Diadems or Semicircles, terminating in a Mond *Or*. The collar of the order of the Golden Fleece encompasses the shield, on the sides of which stand the two pillars of HERCULES, on each side one, with this Motto, PLUS ULTRA.

The King nominates to all archbishopricks and bishopricks in this kingdom, and most of the abbeyes, and to many other ecclesiastical dignities and preferments in the cathedral and collegiate churches, and in the several military orders of St. JAMES, Calatrava, and Alcantara or Montesa. The King nominates to bishopricks, &c.

The great officers of the crown are, 1. The Grand Almoner, who has the precedence of all others. 2. The Grand Master of the household. 3. The Sumelier, or Great Chamberlain. 4. The Master of the Horse. 5. The Gentlemen of the bed-chamber, whose number is not fixed. 6. The Grand Falconer and Huntsman. 7. The Great Chancellor, which is now only a title of honour. 8. The Admiral of Castile, which is also a title of honour at present: as is that of, 8. The Great Constable of Castile.

The eldest son of Spain is called Prince of the Asturias, the people of this province having given the first blow to the empire of the Moors, and on that account esteem'd the most honourable in Spain. When he is proclaimed, the Clergy, Nobility, and third Estate are assembled, and take an oath of fidelity to him, promising to obey him as their King, after the death of the reigning Prince. The younger sons of Spain are called

CHAP. XIX. Infants, and the Princesses Infanta's; and where there is only one daughter, and no son, she is called Infant, as a male.

Nobility.

The nobility of Spain are generally called Hidalgo's, by which we are to understand that they are descended from the antient Goths; they are either Dukes, Marquises, or Counts. But those stiled Grandees are the most honourable, whether they are Dukes, Marquesses, or Counts; for there are many of every degree that are not Grandees.

Grandees.

There are also three kinds of Grandees, 1. Those who have that honour only for life. 2. Those where the grant is to them and their issue, whether male or female; and in that case if it descends to the female, the husband is a Grandee in his wife's right. And, 3. Others are Grandees by inheritance from their ancestors for time immemorial. They are also distinguished on other accounts; one class of them are cover'd before they speak to the King, a second do not put on their hats till after they have spoke, and a third not till they have received their answer. But it must be remember'd, that notwithstanding their right to be cover'd before the King, if one should put on his hat before his Majesty bids him, he would make him sensible of his error. The King treats them as Princes in his letters, stiles them Prince or Cousin-German, and gives them the title of Illustrious, and the Queen addresses their wives in the same manner. They have the privilege of being drawn by four horses or mules in Madrid, and their long harnesses are of silk: whereas all other persons have but a pair of horses in their coaches, except when they go into the country, and then every one travels with as many as he pleases. The King and Ambassadors have six horses in their coaches in town. The title given a Grandee in speaking to him, or of him, is that of Eminence.

The great Lords entertain a vast number of domesticks in Spain, but keep them all at board-wages, allowing to each nine pence or ten pence a day, or thereabouts. They dress no more meat in the kitchen than will serve the Lord and Lady of the family and their children, and seldom make entertainments for their friends. The nobility are very numerous, and have large revenues, but they have the worst œconomy in the world, which is the reason that most of them are miserably poor. They spend prodigious sums indeed in the furniture of their houses, and in the purchase of diamonds and precious stones; which has however a great appearance of wealth, and jewels no doubt appear very well on black, their usual habit. But gold-lace and embroidery are forbidden in Spain, on which account they do not make so splendid an appearance in their shews and cavalcades abroad as the French.

No gold or silver lace worn in Spain.

The Knights of the several military orders are reckon'd also among their nobility. They were established in the long wars between the Spaniards and the Moors, as an encouragement to the brave, and had several commanderies annexed to their respective orders, consisting chiefly of towns and territories taken from the Infidels; and formerly these Knights took vows of chastity, &c. as the Knights of Malta do at this day, but the former have a dispensation from the Pope to marry at present. The three orders are, 1. That of St. JAMES, called the Rich. 2. That of Alcantara, called the Noble. And, 3. That of Calatrava, the Gallant. That of St. JAMES being the richest, obtain'd its name from thence, and is the most antient, having been instituted in the twelfth century, and confirmed by Pope ALEXANDER III, anno 1175. The Knights of this order are known by a red cross on the shoulder in the fashion of a sword. There are eighty-seven commanderies belonging to it in Castile and Leon, valued at two hundred and seventy-two thousand ducats per annum.

CHAP. XIX. Knights of the military orders.

The order of Alcantara is called the Noble, because those who are admitted into it must prove their nobility for four generations, whereas in the others it is sufficient to prove it for two. The order of Alcantara also wear a red cross, and are possess'd of thirty-three commanderies, four priories, and as many alcaides, amounting to fourscore thousand ducats per annum.

The order of Calatrava took the name of the Gallant, from the numbers of young Cavaliers who were admitted into it: they are distinguish'd by a green cross, and have thirty-four commanderies and eight priories, worth an hundred and twenty thousand ducats per annum.

The Masters of these several orders were at one time so rich and powerful, that they would dispute the commands of their Prince; whereupon the masterships, by the consent of the Pope, were confer'd on the King, who still enjoys this privilege, and by that means keeps the Knights within the bounds of their duty. As to the order of the Golden Fleece, this is seldom confer'd on any but Princes; and however honourable it may be, yet having no commanderies or revenues belonging to it, is not much coveted. See the State of Germany.

Before I leave this head of the Nobility and Grandees, I must observe that it is not universally true, that no subjects but the Grandees are cover'd before the King; for the Cardinals, the Pope's Nuncio's, the Archbishops, the Grand Prior of Castile, of the order of Malta; the Generals of the orders of St. DOMINICK and St. FRANCIS, the Ambassadors of Crowned Heads, and the Knights of the Golden Fleece on collar days; the Knights of the three military orders of St.

CHAP. St. James, Calatrava and Alcantara, when the
 XIX. King assists at their chapters in quality of their
 Grand Master; the members of the Council-royal of the chamber of Castile, when they go in a body to advise with his Majesty on affairs of state, are all suffer'd to be cover'd, though they never pretended to the privileges of Grandees, which my author enumerates as follows: they have the precedence of all the other temporal Lords in all assemblies of the states, are allow'd to have a sword carried before them, and to sit at chapel on benches on each side of the King; in the palace they have a right of coming into the gallery next to the King's apartment; no Grandee can be apprehended for any crime but by the express order of the King, which he scarce ever gives but where the offence is against the state, so that they are in a manner independent of the courts of justice. The eldest son of a Grandee has the title of Eminence as well as his father, and the Grandees of Spain pretend, that they are equal to the Electors of the Empire, and the Princes of Italy; inso-much that when the Duke d'Escalona serv'd under the Elector of Bavaria in Hungary, he never came into any place where the Elector was, because he would not give his Highness any other title but that of Eminence, which belongs to the Grandees: nor would the late Duke of Alva, when he was Ambassador at the court of France, see the Duke of Mantua otherwise than incognito, because he would not give him the title of Highness. As to the Cardinals and Grandees, they give each other the title of Eminence reciprocally.

C H A P. XX.

Treats of the strength, forces and revenues of the kingdom of Spain; and of their coins, foreign trade and navigation.

Strength and
 forces of
 Spain.

THERE is no kingdom on the continent better defended by nature than that of Spain, surrounded on three sides by the sea; and on the fourth, towards France, the Pyrenean mountains, accessible but in very few places, and those very strait and difficult, separate it from the rest of Europe; and yet no country has lain more expos'd to the insults of its neighbours than this for many years, through the ill conduct of its Princes and Ministers. Since the Peace of Utrecht indeed, the present King having rescu'd the revenues of the crown out of the hands of a multitude of useless officers and pensioners, restor'd their military discipline, and augmented his fleet and army, Spain begins to make a figure again in Europe. They have now usually an army of thirty or forty thousand men, regular well-disciplined troops, and thirty men of war of the line, with frigates and galleys to defend their coasts; some make their land-forces a great many more. In the year 1713,

the Abbé VEYRAC, a French writer, gave us the following account of their standing troops, viz. four troops of life-guards, as numerous as those of France; twelve battalions of Spanish and Walloon guards; an hundred and twenty battalions more of foot, and an hundred and thirty squadrons of horse, which, if compleat, must amount to seventy thousand: and many are of opinion they are not less at this day, which is a force sufficient to repulse any enemy that shall attempt to invade them, even France itself, if unassisted by the maritime powers, provided none of their provinces revolt. But what I look upon to be the greatest security they can have on that side, is the treaty of Utrecht, whereby France has renounc'd all future right she may ever acquire to the territories of Spain, and which all the powers of Europe are engaged, as well in point of interest as by compact, to see strictly performed. To what purpose therefore should France ever be at the expence of carrying a war over the Pyrenees into Spain, when she knows she shall be obliged to relinquish all her conquests again? And as to any invasion by sea, by any other power in Europe, it is highly probable it will never be attempted again: England suffer'd too much in the last war, to undertake such another enterprize; and I know no other nation that could do it with the same advantage. We undertook it when we had Portugal for our allie, and one half of the kingdom in our interest, and tho' we met with the most surprising success for several years, were not able to fix King CHARLES upon the throne, or maintain our ground there; and if it could not be effected when that crown was so extremely weak, and there were so many concurring circumstances in our favour, it must be in vain to attempt it now they have put their militia upon so good a foot, and have so formidable a body of veteran troops: nor can we or any other people be supposed to have the same inducements to attempt the conquest of Spain again for many ages. They may be distressed at sea indeed by the English, French or Dutch; but on the other hand, whenever these powers disturb the Spanish trade, they do but wound their own; so that it seems the interest of every Prince and State in Europe, to let them enjoy a long uninterrupted peace. And if their Princes of the house of Bourbon can revive their manufactures and foreign commerce, and banish that spirit of pride and indolence, which brought them so very low, they may be as flourishing a people as any in Europe; for no country is better situated for trade, or is capable of producing more valuable fruits or manufactures, than Spain and the Spanish settlements in America. But I defer saying more on this subject till I come to the article of commerce, and proceed to enquire into the publick revenues of the kingdom.

The

CHAP. XX. The King's revenues arise from the customs and duties laid on all goods imported and exported; from the further duties laid on all goods brought into Madrid, or carried from one province to another; from the rents of all the houses in Madrid, the first floors of which belong to the King; from a tax laid on the peasants and other people under the degree of nobility, proportionable to their substance, (for the Nobility are not taxed but in extraordinary cases); by a duty on all eatables, being a kind of general excise; from a duty the King raises on the owners of cattle, which are driven annually in winter-time from Leon, Old-Castile, Asturia, and other northern provinces, into Estramadura and New Castile, when the snow covers the mountains; from the croifade, which is a duty the Pope allows the King of Spain to raise upon those who eat butter, cheese, milk, or eggs in Lent; from a subsidy paid by the clergy, first instituted to maintain the war against the Infidels; from a duty the Clergy pay to be excus'd from carrying arms against the Infidels; by a revenue that arises to the King as master of the three military orders, and from several taxes which the Knights of those orders pay to be excus'd from raising such forces as their tenures oblige them to; from a duty paid by those who cut timber in the forests of Leon, and other places; by the fifth which the King hath of all gold and silver dug out of the mines, and also of copper, lead, iron, quicksilver, pearls, musk, amber, emeralds, and other precious stones; from the indulto, or duty paid to the crown for all treasure and merchandize imported from America, &c. all which, I perceive, does not amount to more than five millions sterling; at least there does not come more into the King's treasury, after all charges deducted, notwithstanding the late regulations of their finances; and great part of this is taken up in the payment of their civil list, and other necessary expences of the court; which seems to be but a very slender revenue, considering the extent and riches of the country, and the treasures imported from the West-Indies. But there are two or three very good reasons why it is no greater, one of which is the small proportion of land that is cultivated, and the neglect of their manufactures; another is, that the Clergy and Nobility, who are possessed of most of the lands, are taxed very low; and a third may be, that the King's revenues still pass thro' such a multitude of hands, who have salaries and perquisites out of them, that though there be a great deal rais'd, there does not much come into his Exchequer: but still I find the government of Spain, though they were miserably plunder'd and harra's'd by the contending parties in the last long war, are not so much in debt as their neighbours; they have not anticipated their revenues for ages to come, as the English have, who so much despise the Spanish oeconomy.

Of the Spanish coins.

I shall observe in the first place, that in Castile, Navarre, Arragon, Valencia and Catalonia, there are coins peculiar to each province; but there are others that are common to the whole kingdom and the dominions thereto belonging.

There are also in every province real and imaginary coins: the imaginary in Castile are, the Maravedi, the Rial Vellon, the new plate Rial, and the Ducat.

The real are the Ochavo of copper, the Quarto of copper single and double. The silver coins are, the Half Rial of plate, the Whole Rial, and the Double Rial; the Half Piastre, the Whole Piastre, and another coin, call'd the Maria, from the name impress'd upon it with a cross over it.

The imaginary money of Arragon is the Livre, or pound, which makes sixteen Rials of plate; their real copper coin peculiar to them, is of the value of a silver Denier: and all the gold coins which are current in Castile, are current here also; except the Maria. There is also another silver coin, call'd an Eighteen, because so many of them go to a Rial of Plate.

All the gold and silver coin in Arragon is current in Valencia; but no copper, they have a different Denier.

In Catalonia, they have a silver coin that is neither an Eighteenth nor a Rial of plate. They have also a Denier and Sol peculiar to them; and the coins of Arragon are current in Catalonia.

The imaginary coins in Navarre are the Ochavo, the Cornado, and the Targo. The Ochavo is worth two Maravedis or Mites, the Cornado four, and the Targo eight. They have also a real coin call'd a Maravedis, which is the only coin peculiar to them; but all the gold and silver coins of Arragon are current here.

In Castile, two Maravedis or Mites make an Ochavo, or farthing; two Ochavos a Quarto, or halfpenny; eight Quartos and a half make a Rial of Vellon, and sixteen Quartos a Rial of plate; fifteen Rials of Vellon and one Ochavo make a Piastre, and eight Rials of plate make a Piastre; sixty Rials of Vellon make a Pistole.

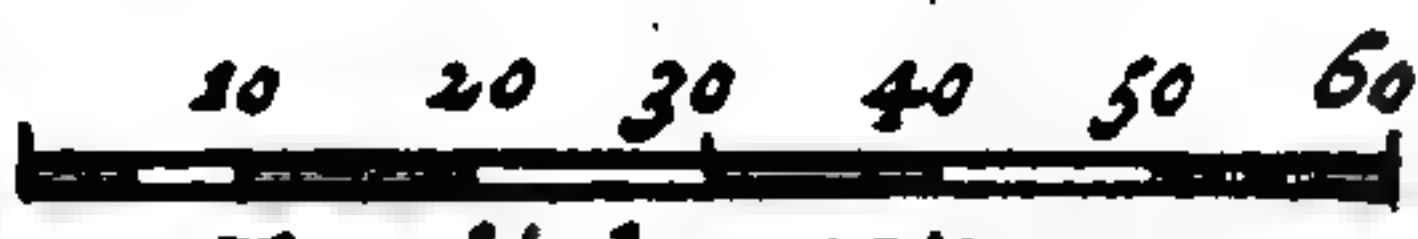
In Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia and Navarre, twenty-four Deniers make a Rial of plate, and one hundred ninety-two a Piafter.

The Ducat of Vellon is worth eleven Rials of Vellon, and a Ducat of plate worth eleven Rials of plate.

The Maria is valued at twelve Rials of Vellon, and is current only in Castile and the provinces depending upon it.

The Half Pistole is worth two Piasters; the Whole Pistole four; the Double Pistole eight, and the Quadruple sixteen. The species of gold and silver, from the Half Rial of plate to the Quadruple, are current in all the kingdoms and provinces

CHAP. XX.
Coins.



- Arch Bishopricks
- Bishopricks
- Universities

The Superficial Contents of Portugal is 47,831 Square miles. Its greatest Length is 304, and Breadth 133 miles. Its Inhabitants are computed at one Million. Lisbon the Metropolis is a fair, large, rich, and noble City, being also an Archbishopsrick and University. Its Situation is North of the Tago or Tagus, in lat. 38.42: and lat. 38.50. Distances of Lisbon from Cadiz.....25 miles Madrid.....275 Porco.....245 Compostella.....265

ATLANTIC OCEAN

PART OF SPAIN

PORTUGAL.
Agreeable to Modern History.
By
H. Moll Geographer.



CHAP. XX. in Spain, except the Eighteen, which passes only in Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia and Navarre.

The antient way of accounting in Castile, was by Maravedis and Quinto's, the Quinto making a million of Maravedis; but this is disus'd, except in paying the King's household, the civil-list, and the crown-rents.

Among private people they reckon now by Rials and Ducats of Vellon in Castile; and in Arragon, Valencia, Navarre and Catalonia, by Rials and Ducats of plate.

Both the gold and silver species are miserably clipt in Spain, insomuch that it is not safe taking them without weighing.

Foreign
trade.

Of all the Powers of Europe, it is observ'd, none are possessed of such vast territories, and so well situated for foreign trade as the Spaniards. They have abundance of fine ports upon the Ocean and Mediterranean; and the produce of their soil is as rich and fruitful as that of any other nation if it was cultivated. Their wine and oil are in great reputation, their wool and silk admirably fine, and the Pyrenean mountains furnish wood and iron sufficient to cover the sea with ships; their fruits are large, and of an exquisite taste, and they abound in precious minerals. Their settlements in America furnish them with prodigious quantities of gold and silver, silk, wool, sugar, cochineal, cotton, ambergris, crystal, emeralds, turquoises, balm, amber, bezoar-stones, pearls, saphirs, jasper, Brazil-wood, ostrich-feathers, ebony, and a vast variety of other rich merchandizes. But notwithstanding their soil produces such admirable wine and oil, very little of it is cultivated, as has been frequently hinted on other heads. Their fine wool and silk is unwrought, and they import

the manufactures made of it from England, France, Italy, or Holland, except it be that at Segovia they make some black cloth, and at Toledo and Grenada they weave taffeta's, damasks and velvets, but none of the best; and the flota's and galeons they send to America are loaden with the merchandizes of England, France, Holland, and Genoa, the Spaniards being generally no more than their factors and agents; and accordingly, most of the plate that is brought from thence in return, is exported again and distributed to foreigners. And except the fleets which sail to the New World, and do not amount to more than forty or fifty in any one year, and the Biscayners, who carry on a little trade to the coast of France in their own bottoms, all the wines, fruits, and other produce of Spain, is carried abroad in foreign ships, which occasions their navigation to be so inconsiderable, that 'tis impossible they should ever be able compleatly to man twenty men of war of the line with native Spaniards that are sailors: therefore if they have never so much wood and materials proper for setting out large fleets, and could cover the ocean with ships, as my author has it, they can never be very powerful at sea, unless they improve their former commerce, and export their own merchandize; an English or Dutch squadron well-mann'd, will still be a match for their grand fleet.

Navigation.

As to the religion and ecclesiastical government of this kingdom, these will be consider'd in the State of Portugal, which has a very near resemblance to that of Spain, having been a Spanish province in the last century, and almost inclosed in it.

T H E P R E S E N T S T A T E O F P O R T U G A L.

C H A P. I.

Treats of the situation and extent of the kingdom of Portugal; of its names, original inhabitants, air, mountains, rivers, and produce of the country.

Situation
and extent.

THE kingdom of Portugal is bounded by the Spanish province of Galicia on the north; by the provinces of Leon, Estramadura and Andalusia, on the east; and by the

Atlantick Ocean on the south and west: extending from the thirty-seventh to the forty-second degree of north-latitude, and lying between the seventh and tenth degrees of longitude, reckoning from

CHAP. from the meridian of London to the westward ;
 I. being about three hundred miles in length from north to south, and generally about an hundred miles in breadth from east to west. Both the longitude and latitude may something exceed the bounds I have prescribed, tho' but a very few minutes.

The ancient and modern name.

The ancient name of Portugal was Lusitania, which BOCHART is of opinion came from the Phœnician word *Lus*, an almond, with which this country abounds, and *Tania*, the Greek word for a country. Others derive it from *Lysus*, the son of *BACCHUS*, and will have Lusitania to signify *The Country of Wine*, which the sons of *BACCHUS* in this island, that annually drink several hogsheds of the wine of this country, will probably come into. The modern name of Portugal it is suppos'd to have receiv'd from the town of Porto, situated at the mouth of the river Duero ; which place was formerly call'd *Portus Calis* : others hold, that this town being the port which the Gauls frequented anciently, was from thence call'd *Portus Gallorum*, and communicated its name to the whole country. But I shall not detain the reader any longer with the'e surmises ; only observe, that the bounds of ancient Lusitania were very different from those of modern Portugal ; for Lusitania was bounded by the river Duero on the north, and the Guadiana divided it from Bætica and Hispania Tarraconensis on the east and south ; so that Lusitania wanted all the province of Entreminho Duero on the north ; and on the other hand it included most part of the province of Estramadura in Spain, and part of Castile and Leon on the south and east.

The ancient bounds.

The ancient inhabitants.

The ancient inhabitants of this country were the Turdetani, whose seats were between the river Guadiana and Cape St. Vincent, *olim Promontorium Sacrum*. To the northward of these, on the banks of the Tagus, dwelt the Barbarini and the Celtæ ; and to the northward of the Tagus, as far as the Duero, dwelt the Turduli. The Pæsures lay along the mountain call'd Sierra d'Estrella, and the Bracari and Graii between the rivers Duero and Minho. The Carthaginians and Romans successively possess'd this country, the latter being expell'd by the Suevi, a northern people, who enjoy'd it not long, being driven from thence by the Goths, who possessed this with the rest of Spain till the Moors made a conquest of the whole country ; from whom it was recover'd again by the Christians of Gothick extraction, as will appear hereafter in the History of this country.

The air.

Portugal lying along the western or Atlantick Ocean, is refresh'd with cool breezes from the sea almost every afternoon, which render the heats of summer more tolerable here than in the inland provinces of Spain.

Mountains.

The country is full of mountains, the principal

whereof are, 1. The Sierra d'Estrella, anciently *Mons Herminius*, which lies between the provinces of Beira and Tralos Montes, extending itself north and south : on the top whereof are two large lakes, one of them said to be unfathomable, and supposed to have a communication with the sea, because wrecks of ships have been found in it, and that it is always rough and stormy when the neighbouring ocean is so. 2. Sierra de Marvao, or Herminius Minor, in the province of Alentejo, stretching as far as the town of Marvao, from whence it receives its name. 3. The rocky mountain of Sintra, which the English mariners call the Rock of Lisbon, being on a point of land about five leagues to the westward of that city, and antiently call'd *Promontorium Lunæ* ; upon which is a monastery hewn out of the solid rock. 4. Sierra de Arabida, *olim Promontorium Barbaricum*, situated on another point of land to the southward of the mouth of the Taio ; on the top of which also stands a monastery. 5. Monte Junto, or *Mons Tagrus*, contiguous to the rock of Lisbon. 6. Sierra de Algarva, *olim Cicus*, which separates that province from the rest of Portugal. And, 7. Mount Gerve, which separates Portugal from Galicia.

This country does not only consist, great part of it, of mountains, but some of the barrenest mountains on that continent. Towards the bottom of them indeed they are pretty well planted with vines, which afford abundance of good wine. The soil produces also great plenty of olives ; but the oil is not so good as in Spain. Of oranges and lemons also nature is very bountiful here ; and their sweet oranges, which were brought from China hither, are some of the best in Europe ; but their sour oranges are not comparable to those of Seville. Their plantations of mulberries feed abundance of silk-worms. Of wheat and barley they have not enough in the best years for the subsistence of the natives ; and when they are not supply'd from the neighbouring Spanish provinces, the English and Dutch import great quantities of grain from the north. As to the peasants and country people, they live miserably upon maize, or Indian corn, a very coarse kind of food. Nor have they much good pasture ; the best is towards the north, and the flesh of their cattle is generally lean and dry. However, as bad as it is, there is such a scarcity of it, that the common people eat little flesh. As to almonds, raisins, figs, chesnuts, and some other fruits, we meet with great plenty here, but they are not reckoned so good as the fruits in the southern provinces of Spain. Among the products of their soil we may also reckon salt, for this is extracted from the sea-water let into pans on the coast, especially in a bay near Setival, or Saint Ubes, as the English sailors call it, from whence vast quantities of salt are exported to the north, and

Produce of the soil.

CHAP. and to the American plantations. Of sea and river fish also the Portuguese have good store, which brings me to give some description of their rivers, which are, 1. The Minho. 2. The Duero. 3. The Tagus. 4. The Guadiana. 5. The Mondego. 6. The Lima. 7. The Sadao. 8. The Vouga. 9. The Leza. 10. The Ave. 11. The Cavado. 12. The Zezere. 13. The Alba. 14. The Coa. 15. The Laura. 16. The Canha. And, 17. The Caya.

I.
Rivers.

As to the four first, they have been described among the Spanish rivers; and therefore I shall take no notice of them till their entrance into this kingdom.

The Minho, the northermost river of them, comes from Galicia, and taking its course south-west, divides Galicia from Portugal, falling into the ocean near Caminha.

The Duero comes from the province of Leon, and runs almost directly west, till it falls into the ocean a little below Porto.

The Tagus, or Taio, comes from the Spanish province of Estremadura, and running almost south-west, washes the walls of Lisbon, falling into the ocean ten or twelve miles below that city.

The river Guadiana also comes from Estremadura, and entering Portugal between Badajos and Elvas, takes its course almost full south, discharging itself into the ocean a little below Syamonte.

The Lima has its source in Galicia, and taking its course south-west, falls into the sea near Viana.

The Cavado runs parallel to the Lima, and is but a little distance from it.

The Vouga rises in the province of Beira, and running almost full west, discharges itself into the ocean below Aveira.

The Mondego rises also in the province of Beira, and taking its course south-west, visits the city of Coimbra, and about ten leagues beyond falls into the ocean.

The Cadoa, or Sadao, rises on the confines of Algarva, and running first due north, afterwards turns about to the west, and falls into a great bay of the western ocean near Setival or St. Ubes.

The Cancha, or Chanca, runs to the southward on the confines of Spain and Portugal, being a boundary between those kingdoms for several leagues, and afterwards falls into the Guadiana.

The river Caya also runs from north to south for some leagues on the confines of both kingdoms, and falls into the Guadiana near Badajos.

The Zezere rises in the province of Beira, and running to the south-west, falls into the Tagus near Tancos. The rest of their rivers will be taken notice of in the description of their several provinces.

The principal hot baths in this country are those call'd Calda's, fifteen leagues north of Lisbon;

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and those of Alvor in Algarva: but though these waters are in some esteem, the accommodations for people of condition are very mean.

CHAP.
I.

As to minerals, their mountains, 'tis said, afford mines of gold and silver; but I don't find there have been any opened of the former for many years. They import gold from their settlements on the coasts of Africa and Brazil: but travellers relate that there is a silver mine at Guacaldane, which produces annually a good quantity of that metal. There are also mines of lead, iron, and allum; quarries of jasper and other fine marble; with crystal, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones.

Minerals.

Either their wool, or those that manufacture it, are in fault; for they make only some coarse cloth, worn by the meanest of the people; others wear English cloth or stuffs; but black bays more than any other kind: nor is their manufacture the best.

Manufac-
tures.

The horses in Portugal are brisk lively animals, as they are also in Spain, but of a slight make; and mules being much surer footed, are more used both for carriage and draught. Some black cattle and flocks of sheep are seen here, but they do not abound, and their flesh is generally lean and dry. Their hogs and kids are much the best food. There is scarce any country where they make more marmalade, both white and red, with abundance of other sweetmeats; and they deal very much in perfum'd waters.

Cattle.

CHAP. II.

Treats of the persons and habits of the Portuguese; their genius and temper, diet, diversions and way of travelling.

THERE is so great a resemblance between the natives of Spain and Portugal, the latter having been long a province of the former, that I was once determin'd to have omitted this chapter entirely: but as some things may have escaped me in the description of Spain, and there are writers who insist, that a Spaniard would look upon himself to be disgrac'd by the comparison, I shall enquire farther into their respective characters.

Persons and
habits, ge-
nius and
temper.

And first, it must be admitted, that there are men in some provinces of Spain more robust, of a larger size, and who would make much better soldiers, than those of Portugal; I shall instance only the natives of Catalonia, a regiment of whose troops would certainly be preferred to one of Portuguese: and 'tis become almost a proverb, That a Spaniard stripp'd of all his good qualities makes a perfect Portuguese. But this surely was never said seriously. EMANUEL DE FARCA, one of their own writers, in describing his countrymen, says, "The Nobility think themselves Gods, and require a sort of adoration; the Gentry

5 Q

"aspire

Baths.

CHAP. II. “aspire to equal them, and the common people
II. “disdain to be thought inferior to either.” But he might have said much the same possibly of the Spaniards of quality, who, as well as the Portuguese, scarce ever suffer their servants to approach them but on the knee.

As to the Portuguese ladies, one who has lately visited that country assures us, That their complexions are pretty much upon the olive; their features delicate, but the visage thin; their hair is black and shining, and their eyes sparkling; nor do they want a good share of wit. That they are for the most part generous, charitable and modest; and that their ceasing to bear children sooner than the women of other nations is a vulgar error, as well as the story of their wearing spectacles universally; that weak eyes indeed is a pretty common infirmity there, which is the true reason that some young people wear them.

Having omitted the account we meet with in the Lady's Travels of the dress of a person of quality, I shall insert it here: She says, she went to see a lady of distinction, and found her in her bed-chamber, with her head bare, without any coif or other head-dress; her hair was parted in the middle of the forehead, and ty'd with a ribbon; that her shift was of very fine linnen, and as wide as a surplice, the sleeves large in proportion, button'd at the wrists with diamond buttons, the neck and wristbands flower'd with silk: That several small pillows trimm'd with ribbons and broad lace lay upon the bed; that the bedstead was brass gilt, and the head adorn'd with four rows of balusters of the same metal. That the first thing she did after she was up, was to have recourse to the red pot, laying on the paint very thick, not only on her cheeks, chin, nose, forehead, and the edges of her ears, but on the inside of her hands and shoulders; and this she did every night and morning constantly; afterwards her woman smok'd her with perfumes, and then sprinkled orange-flower-water upon her: and this was agreeable to the custom of Portugal, to which kingdom the lady belong'd.

The Portuguese, as well as the Spanish ladies, are generally little meagre creatures, and yet wear hoops and a multitude of gowns one over another, of rich stuffs trimm'd with gold and silver lace; but the uppermost is of coarse black stuff, and so long that it trails upon the ground. Their shoes are of black Spanish leather, strait as a glove, and without heels, and they seem to slide along rather than walk within doors. When they go abroad they have pattens, being a kind of silk sandals, fastned to gold rings or plates, which raise them half a foot from the ground, and make them walk very awkwardly; but in the house they neither wear hoops nor pattens. Their stays, in which they have but little bone, are high before, but

scarce reach half way up their backs behind, and consequently would expose their tawny skins, if their shoulders were not cover'd with paint. Their hands as well as their feet are small and well proportion'd, and their wide sleeves with broad ruffles to them button'd at the wrists, make their hands appear the less. People of quality wear very fine linnen, and as it is scarce and dear, the meaner sort wear none; they will rather go without than wear coarse linnen. The ladies about their necks wear a broad laced tucker, and instead of a girdle tie a string of medals or reliques, or perhaps the cord of some religious order, about their waists, the ends whereof reach down to the ground, with several knots in them, and to each knot a diamond or other precious stone is fastned; and the Spanish and Portuguese ladies have generally several sets of jewels. Cross the top of their stays they have a kind of breast-plate of diamonds, from whence there hangs a chain of pearl, or ten or twelve little knots of diamonds. They have also bracelets, rings and pendants in abundance, but no necklaces. Their bodies are almost cover'd with *Agnus Dei's*, and other little images; and in their hair they have a variety of precious stones, with which they form artificial butterflies, or other insects. Sometimes they adorn their hair with ribbons and feathers of various colours, but never have any head-dress. When they go abroad indeed they throw a veil over all; and women who are advanc'd in years wear a fine caul or coif over their hair; but the young ladies wear neither cap nor coif, night or day.

The greatest difference I observe in the dress of the Spanish and Portuguese gentlemen, is, that the Spaniards wear their breeches very strait, while the Portuguese have them large and full like trowsers. The Portuguese also upon solemn occasions, as at the marriage of their Princes and Festivals, are permitted to wear lace and embroidery, which are prohibited to the Spaniards. And this was taken great notice of at the solemnization of the late double marriages between Spain and Portugal; the Portuguese made a most glittering shew, while the Spaniards, who were cloath'd in plain black, appear'd a little upon the dismal; the fine horses and jewels of the latter were the only things taken notice of by the spectators. Generally both Spaniards and Portuguese wear black, and the Portuguese courtiers frequently follow the French fashions of late.

As to their houses and furniture, they have usually a great many rooms on a floor, rather long than broad; the floors and ceilings are a plain white plaister, that looks like polish'd marble. They change both their furniture and apartments according to the season of the year; upon the lower floors of their summer-rooms they throw several pails of water every morning, which will dry up in

CHAP. in half an hour, and leave a refreshing coolness afterwards. Upon these floors they spread fine mats, and cover the walls with the same chair-high; above these are hung pictures and looking-glasses, and all round the rooms of the ladies apartments are cushions laid upon the mats, of silk or velvet, frequently brocaded, which they sit cross-legg'd upon, (but the gentlemen in theirs have chairs). Between these are fine tables and cabinets, and at certain distances silver pots or boxes with orange or jessamine-trees in them, and they have frames of straw-work in the windows to keep out the scorching sun. In the upper apartments, their hangings, cabinets, paintings, looking-glasses and plate are exceeding rich; and the floors are cover'd frequently with Turkey carpets. In winter their beds and hangings are velvet, trimm'd with gold or silver lace: In summer they use no curtains, or only such as are made of colour'd gauze, to keep out the gnats. In winter they use the upper floors of the house, even to the fourth story, and in summer the ground or first floors.

Copper, tin, or pewter dishes or vessels are never seen in the houses of the quality; they use only silver or earthen ware: some of the Spanish Grandees have a thousand or twelve hundred dozen of silver plates, and three or four hundred dishes of the same metal in their houses, and other utensils proportionable; among which are reckon'd a great number of silver ladders or steps, with which they mount up to their rich cabinets and cupboards. Most of these vessels and utensils are brought ready made from their American settlements, and pay no duties on importation. They are generally ill-shaped clumsy things, such as an English or French silver-smith would be asham'd of.

Amidst all this wealth the bad œconomy of the Spanish and Portuguese Grandees and Nobility is scarce credible, and reduces them to a necessitous condition, even while they make this glittering appearance. Most of them pass away their lives in or near the capital city of each kingdom, without so much as ever viewing their estates, unless they happen to be disgrac'd at court; they leave every thing to their steward, and think it beneath them to inspect his accounts. Their tradesmen, drapers, mercers, bakers, butchers, pastry-cooks, poulterers, deliver in their goods upon trust, and let down their own prices, being pretty well assured their bills will not undergo a very strict examination; and all the overplus of the eatables is carried off by the servants (who are at board-wages) every night.

It is much beneath a lady or gentleman of quality to endeavour to beat down the price of a piece of silk or goods, or even to take change of a shop-keeper out of a piece of gold. And as the tradesman frequently gives seven or eight years credit, he sets down double the price the goods might be

bought for with ready money. They seldom lose their debts however, for the Spanish and Portuguese quality are men of such honour, that they make no difficulty in assigning part of their rents for the payment of their debts, when they are pressed for money by their tradesmen.

The houses of persons of quality are crowded with domesticks, and they are frequently oblig'd to hire other houses on purpose to lodge them. Their servants wages are very low, eight pence or ten pence a day for diet, clothes, and every thing; and a gentleman belonging to a person of quality has not above fifteen crowns a month, tho' he is oblig'd to dress in velvet in winter and silk in summer. And indeed they lay out most part of their salaries in clothes, living upon onions, peas, beans, and other pulse, which makes them so sharp set that they are ready to snatch the meat out of the dishes as it goes from table; and both gentlemen and ladies women, as well as the inferior servants, eat at cooks shops upon such sort of food chiefly as has been mentioned already.

One reason of their having such numbers of servants, besides the small wages they give, is a custom among the nobility and gentry of keeping all such in their pay as have serv'd their ancestors; infomuch that some of the Grandees shall have four or five hundred in their houses of both sexes, the greatest part whereof are purely for shew, and being lodg'd in adjacent houses, only appear on days of ceremony.

But notwithstanding they retain so many, they are limited to a very small number when they appear abroad; three or four footmen and a groom, perhaps, besides the gentlemen and pages, with the lady's women, who have coaches to themselves. The gentlemen wear black velvet in winter, with long black cloth cloaks that trail upon the ground, and in summer black damask, or other silk, and cloaks of a light black stuff; and the women endeavour to imitate their ladies.

Besides ordinary servants, the quality retain a bundance of dwarfs of both sexes, strange mishapen creatures, their heads as big as their bodies, but dress'd up as fine as possible. They have also a pretty many slaves, both Turks and Moors, which are valued at four or five hundred crowns a-piece. Over these they had formerly the power of life and death, but the government will not suffer them to kill their slaves at present: They use them however very cruelly still upon some occasions; I have known a woman order a pretty she-slave to be ty'd up by the hands by the other slaves and whip'd almost to death, because her master has look'd kindly at her.

Where two slaves marry, their children are slaves; but if a freeman marries a slave, the children are free. These slaves are the best servants they have; for the other will stand upon terms,

CHAP. insisting that they have as good blood in their veins as their masters. The very beggars rather demand than ask an alms, alledging they are descended from Old Christians or the antient Gothick nobility, and must be dismissed with a compliment if you give them no money, and then they go away contentedly.

Food. The food of the Portuguese is much the same with that of the Spaniards, and they are no less sober and abstemious.

Diversions. The bull-feasts, night-rambles, serenades, plays, visits, and other diversions common to Spain and Portugal, have been taken notice of already. I shall here therefore only mention their pompous processions on *Corpus Christi* day, and other great holidays, design'd equally for devotion and diversion, for they frequently conclude with some pious tragedy or comedy; wretched performances, that can give but little entertainment to any but an ignorant bigotted Spaniard or Portuguese. The lady in her travels tells us, she was at one of them, where they represented an assembly of the Knights of St. Iago, or St. James, where our Saviour was introduc'd petitioning them to be admitted into their order: Some of the Knights agreed to it; while others alledged, that our Saviour being born of ignoble parents, cou'd not be of that order, without breaking into the fundamental rules of their institution. And it was at length carried in the negative, to refuse him: but to compromise matters, and do honour to Christ, they hit upon this expedient, namely, to make Christ the founder of another order of Knights: And there is actually such an order, call'd *De Christo*, in Portugal at this day.

Travelling. The way of travelling here is much the same as in Spain, except it be that they have not so many coaches, and travel more by water than the Spaniards do; their country lying along the sea-coasts, and the mouths of the great rivers which rise in Spain running thro' it. The mule or the litter are generally made use of on a journey; their horses, which are sprightly and well made, may serve on short visits, to prance at a procession, a cavalcade, or before their mistresses windows, but the mules are stronger and surer footed, and consequently fittest to climb their mountains. Their pace indeed is but slow; and as to strangers, who are forc'd to have a guide with them that travels on foot, they cannot go far in a day.

CHAP. III.

Shews the several provinces Portugal is divided into; containing a particular description of that of Estremadura, of Lisbon the capital, and other great towns in it; and of their palaces, churches, publick buildings, &c.

Provinces. PORTUGAL is usually divided into six provinces, viz. Estremadura, Beira, Entre-Min-

ho-Duero, Tralos Montes, Alentejo, and Al-CHAP. garva. III.

The province of Estremadura (in Portugal) is bounded by the river Mondego on the north, which separates it from Beira; by the same province of Beira and that of Alentejo towards the east; by another part of Alentejo on the south; and by the Ocean on the west: extending about an hundred English miles in length from north to south, and five and forty in breadth from east to west.

Besides the river Tagus, which runs from the north-east to the south-west thro' this province, it is water'd also by the river Zezere, already describ'd; by the Naboon, which rising to the northward, takes its course southerly, and having passed by Tomar, afterwards falls into the Zezere; by the Soro, the Cadoan, and abundance of other rivers of less note.

This province being so advantageously situated on the ocean and the river Tagus, and having the capital city, which is not only the seat of the government, but one of the finest ports in Europe, within its limits, is better peopled, and consequently better cultivated, than any other part of Portugal. The chief towns and places whereof are, 1. Lisbon, the metropolis; in the neighbourhood whereof are Alcantara, Bellem, St. Julian, and Cascais, which require a description from the relation they have to that capital. 2. Cintra. 3. Almada. 4. Setubal. 5. Salvaterra. 6. Mugen. 7. Tomar. 8. Pedragan. 9. Leiria. 10. Alcobaca. 11. Peniches. 12. The Isles of Borlings, or Berlinges. And, 13. Santeren. Chief towns.

Lisbon the capital, an Archbishoprick and University, is situated on the north shore of the Tagus, from whence it rises with an easy ascent, comprehending in it seven little hills, and stretching itself along the banks of the river; is of a very irregular figure, broadest in the middle, and growing narrower towards the one and the other extreme. It lies in thirty-eight degrees forty-five minutes north latitude, nine degrees and a half to the westward of London, nine or ten miles to the eastward of the ocean, and near an hundred miles west of the frontiers of Spain.

Olyssippo, the antient name of this city, is supposed by some, who are fond of making the Greeks or Trojans the founders of all the great towns in Europe, to be deriv'd from ULYSSES, whom they have assign'd for its founder. But it does not appear however to have been a place of any great fame or consequence till these later ages. While the Romans were sovereigns of Lusitania, Emerita, now Merida, in Spain, was the capital of this country: The Suevian Kings made Oporto the seat of their government; and the Gothick Monarchs never resided in Portugal while they had the dominion of Spain. There were several other towns in this province, which was then a part of Spain, The antient name of it.

CHAP. III. Spain, of much greater note. It was indeed made a Roman colony, and had then the name of *Felicitas Julia* conferred upon it, as appears by the following inscription found here, (viz.) IMP. CAES. M. IVLIO PHILIPPO FEL. AVG. PONTIF. MAX. TRIB. POT. II. P. P. CONS. III. FEL. IVL. OLISIPO. But at that time it comprehended but one of the hills it now stands upon.

They reckon it about two leagues from the hill of St. Vincent, which is at the east end of the city, to the hill of St. Katherine on the west; but the breadth is very unequal, the town forming a kind of crescent on the river. Upon the hill of St. George, which is the highest, and commands all the town, stands the citadel, separated from the city by a wall, and looks like a town itself. The city is surrounded only by a single wall, and seventy-seven antique towers after the Gothick model, of no great strength at present: There are twenty-six gates on that side next the river, and seventeen on the land side. It is computed there are in Lisbon thirty thousand houses, and about two hundred thousand inhabitants; and consequently 'tis larger than any city in England or France, except London and Paris.

Streets.

The streets are very narrow and steep; people are perpetually ascending or descending some of the seven hills, which makes it inconvenient to walk in, as well as for coaches, and occasions litters to be used pretty much. Those streets which have a descent, and are wash'd clean by the rain, are much the sweetest; for the rest are so full of all manner of filth thrown out of the houses, that it is not easy to pass them. The citizens houses are generally old ill-contrived buildings, and the lattice-windows are no great ornament to them. Those of the nobility indeed are fair handsome structures, built of hewn stone, and with their yards and gardens belonging to them, take up a great deal of ground, but few of them have courts before them.

Squares.

There are in it, besides the cathedral, forty parish-churches, and about as many monasteries of both sexes, which make a tolerable appearance. The finest square in the town is that before the royal palace, which forms one side of it; another side of it runs along the river, and is supported by a wall, and on the opposite side is a range of fine buildings. This place, in the phrase of the French, is altogether charming; for here are the most elegant buildings in town, and here you continually see large fleets at anchor in the river, besides great numbers of ships perpetually under sail, either coming in or going out of the harbour: here they celebrate their bull-feasts, and here they more barbarously bait such unfortunate Protestants as fall into their hands; the people are taught to shout and huzza at the roasting and torturing an

innocent defenceless man, as if some signal victory were gain'd. Near to this is another great square on the bank of the river, where the principal market of the city is held; but the largest in the town is that called the Rucio, where the several hills about it form a kind of amphitheatre, and it is adorn'd with several magnificent houses of the nobility. Here a fair is held every week.

CHAP. III.

Among their buildings that of the King's palace is the most remarkable, which lies upon the river, and is one of the first things that presents itself to a foreigner on his arrival; it makes a splendid appearance, and was design'd for a square, but only one side of it is built; some other buildings have been added by different Princes, so that it is not very regular. There is a fine prospect however from it of the port, the ocean, and the country on the opposite side of the river.

The palace.

The apartments are grand, very commodious, and richly furnished in winter; but in summer they take down the hangings and curtains, and there appears nothing but bare walls, or pictures on them. There are two galleries in it about an hundred paces in length, in the first and second stories, and balconies in the windows. In the third story is the royal library, containing a great number of valuable books in presses. Adjoining to the palace is a square court surrounded with a piazza, where the merchants meet and expose their goods to sale. Within the palace are several large rooms, where the Cortes or States assemble, the Council of War, and the sovereign Courts of Justice. The King's chapel is an elegant building, richly adorn'd, and shining with gold and azure.

The churches in Lisbon, as in other Roman Catholic cities, are generally noble edifices, and richly adorn'd; but the cathedral, dedicated to St. VINCENT, that stands upon one of the seven hills, to which it communicates its name, is an old Gothick structure, which has very little to recommend it but the richness of some of its chapels, with its sacristy or treasury, where the vessels and ornaments belonging to the church are kept. The finest and most magnificent of their churches is that of the Dominicans, in which are three chapels, shining with gold from the pavement to the roof. In one is the genealogy of our Saviour in bass-relief, and in another that of St. DOMINICK; in the third is a fine crucifix, with the wound in the side open, and here the holy sacrament is continually exposed. This chapel is illuminated with wax-tapers, and a vast number of silver lamps; and over the portal we see the names of all those who have been burnt by the Inquisition. The convent is suitable to the magnificence of the church, and near it is the palace of the Inquisition, to which the Portuguese give the name of *Santa Casa*, or the Holy House; before

Churches.

CHAP. before which there is a fine fountain adorn'd with large river, a league in breadth just beneath us, CHAP.
III. marble statues throwing out water on every side. in which we see a forest of ships of all sizes; be- III.

In the church of the Augustins, called our Lady of Grace, is a cross of gold adorn'd with precious stones, valued at an hundred thousand crowns, which is carried in procession at their grand festivals.

The Merciful Society, as it is called, have also a magnificent church, but it is much more celebrated for the humanity and benevolence of its members. It is composed of persons of the highest rank in the kingdom, the King and Princes of the blood are frequently members of it; and he who happens to be Steward, which is esteem'd a post of great honour, cannot spend less than a hundred thousand livres the year he serves, if he would come off with applause. They apply themselves to relieve all people in distress, particularly those who are asham'd to beg, widows and orphans, whom they protect against their injurious neighbours. They maintain a great number of poor virgins, give them portions, and marry them as they have opportunity; and in short, says my author, suffer none to want but such as have abandon'd themselves to vice. They relieve prisoners, and assist them in compounding for their liberty; and when any are condemn'd to death, they attend and comfort them in their last moments.

In the church dedicated to the Mother of God, every Holy Thursday they shew the holy handkerchief used by our Saviour at his crucifixion; which the reader has met with in several other Roman Catholick churches, in the course of this history.

Another church is much admired, founded by the Queen of JOHN V, which is wainscotted with ebony from the pavement to the roof, and supported by pillars of the same wood; and here that Queen was interr'd, as she desired.

The hospital of All Saints is one of the largest and best endowed in Europe, where they entertain people of every nation and religion without exception; the sick, the lame, madmen, and foundling children; and when they are fit to go out, give them a small sum to subsist on till they are otherwise provided for.

The Jesuits have four fine convents here, being in great esteem in Portugal, where they are stiled Apostles.

If we take a view of Lisbon from the river, or from the southern shore, it affords an admirable prospect; for as the town is built in the form of a crescent, and the churches, palaces, convents, and other buildings rise gradually from the river one above another, we command the whole city at once. On the other hand, if we behold the neighbouring country from the town, we have the most charming landscape imaginable; a fine

large river, a league in breadth just beneath us, in which we see a forest of ships of all sizes; beyond it a beautiful country, interspersed with towns and villages, and a little farther the ocean.

The harbour of Lisbon, if we extend it from St. Benito above it, to the bay of Cascais at the mouth of the river, is four or five leagues long; but if we only take in that part of it about the town, where ships ride in the greatest security from storms and enemies, in eighteen fathom water, it will contain several thousand sail: the entry of it indeed is hazardous without a pilot; but on the other hand, ships ride securely when they are in it, being cover'd by the hills on which the city stands on one side, and by the opposite banks, which are very high, on the other. When ships arrive they are obliged to salute the fort of Bellem, or Bethlehem, two leagues below Lisbon; but they are prohibited to fire a gun when they come up as high as the town, on any pretence whatever.

It is almost impertinent to observe, what every one knows, that Lisbon is one of the greatest towns of trade in Europe, though not the greatest, as a French writer insinuates; for I believe it will be admitted, that London and Amsterdam have either of them a more extensive commerce. We see indeed merchants of all nations and complexions in this city; and I question whether the English don't send as many ships hither as to any one port in Europe, where they exchange their woollen manufactures, lead, and tin, for wine and fruit, and receive good returns in treasure. The King, with the Grandees, Nobility, and Courts of Justice residing at Lisbon, contribute to its flourishing condition, as well as its foreign trade. And as this province is pretty well cultivated, and has frequent opportunities of importing corn and cattle by sea and land, and the rivers and sea-coasts afford them plenty of fish and fowl, provisions are not often scarce, at least they are much more plentiful here than in the more inland provinces. The air is more temperate than in the Spanish provinces under the same parallel; and their water is excellent, insomuch that their people live to a great age, and not so subject to infirmities as in some other countries. And another great happiness is, that it is much safer walking the streets in the night-time, than in many other great towns in Europe: a man is in much greater danger of having his clothes spoil'd by a shower of close-stools, than of being robb'd or murder'd.

The palace and village of Alcantara lies on the river Tagus, about a mile to the westward of Lisbon. The palace is a magnificent structure, but chiefly admir'd for its beautiful gardens, and the delicious country in which it stands; the grotto's, fountains, and cascades, the brooks and canals,

CHAP. III. canals, whose banks are cover'd with flowers, orange and citron-trees, perfume the very air, and make it a most agreeable retirement in the summer.

Bellem. Bellem, or Bethlehem, is the name of a town, a monastery, and a fort. The monastery was first built, and communicated its name to the rest. King EMANUEL founded it in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin, styling it, *The Birth of our Lord*, in memory whereof it was called Bethlehem, which the Portuguese write and pronounce Bellem or Belin. Both the cloister and the church are noble piles of building, and plainly shew they are of royal foundation: the church is lined with jasper and the finest marbles from top to bottom; and here are the tombs of several of their Kings and Princes, being exquisite pieces of workmanship. The church and cloyster are delightfully situated on the bank of the river, and over-against them in the middle of the channel is a great square fort built upon piles, called, The Fort of Bellem, which all ships are obliged to salute, and shew their bills of discharge from the custom-house, &c. and to give an account of themselves on their arrival from abroad. This is not only a garrison for soldiers, but the upper stories of it serve to confine prisoners of state.

Cascais. Two leagues below Bellem lies the village of Cascais, on the northern shore, before which is a road that ships frequently come to an anchor in; but it is not very secure riding here, on account of the sands about it. There is a small fort in the place, and it is the capital of a marquisate.

A little above Cascais the Tagus discharges itself into the ocean by a very wide opening, encumber'd pretty much with rocks and sands, called the Cackopper, three quarters of a league in length, and half a league in breadth, that divide the mouth of the river into two channels, through which all ships enter that are bound for Lisbon; by the assistance of pilots that come off from the shore. Each of these channels is defended by a fort, without whose leave no ship can pass. The northern channel is the narrowest and most difficult, which is defended by Fort St. Julien, or Giaom, built upon a rock, and furnished with forty pieces of cannon, and a garrison of three hundred men.

Fort Bougio. The great channel lies to the southward, being defended by Fort St. Laurence, or the Tower of Bougio, as the Portuguese call it, and is erected on piles on a shoal of sand in the middle of the sea, being of a round form, and the works faced with free stone.

The town and mountain of Cintra, or the Moon, with the rock of Lisbon. Beyond Cascais, on the ocean, near the mouth of the Tagus, is a promontory or cape which the ancients call *Promontorium Lunæ*, or *Olyssipponense*, and the modern Portuguese, *Cabo da Roca*,

which is the same the English mariners call the Rock of Lisbon. This promontory is the spur or branch of an high mountain, which sailors make at a great distance, formerly called the mountain of the Moon, and at this day Mount Cintra. On the side of this mountain, behind Cascais, is a little town of the same name, about seven leagues from Lisbon. On the top of the mountain is a fine monastery, the friars whereof are of the order of St. JEROM, dedicated *a nostra Senhora da Rocca*, or to our Lady of the Rock, with a church, to which people resort and pay a nine days devotion. Both the church and cloister, with an inn that stands near it for the accommodation of the devout, are hewn out of the solid rock. From hence there is one of the finest prospects in the world; on one side is the ocean, and on a second the river Tagus, and on the other two a fine country well planted and manur'd. At the foot of the mountain on the promontory, are the ruins of an antient temple, dedicated to the sun and moon; on one of the pillars whereof the following inscription is still visible, viz. SOLI AETERNO LVNAE PRO AETERNITATE IMPERII ET SALUTE IMP. CAL. SEPTIMI SEVERI ET IMP. AVG. CAES. M. AVRELI ANTONINI AVG. PII

CAES. ET IVLIAE AVG. MARTIS. CAES. DRVSI VALERIVS CAELIANVS VIATI VSI AVGVSTORVM, &c.

On the side of the mountain which looks towards the ocean is the little village of Collares, where there is an antient grotto or cave even with the water, inhabited, as was given out of old, by Tritons and Mermaids. Between the village of Collares and the mountain is one of the most delicious vales in the world, about a league in length, which furnishes the markets of Lisbon with corn, wine, fruits, and flowers.

On the south side of the river, over-against Almada. Lisbon stands the castle of Almada, situated on a high rock in the little bay of Couna, taking its name from a town adjoining to it. Here is a medicinal spring, whose waters are good for the gravel. A little further at the bottom of the bay lies the little village of Couna; and beyond, towards the east, the town of Aldea Gallega, on the banks of the Tagus, through which lies the common road from Seville to Lisbon.

Setubal, or St. Ubes. Setubal, vulgarly called St. Ubes, is a modern town, built out of the ruins of the antient *Crobriga*, which stood a little to the westward, and had in it a temple dedicated to JUPITER AMMON, in the times of paganism, of which there are still some remains. Setubal is situated two and twenty miles to the southward of Lisbon, near the mouth of the river Cudoan, at the bottom of a fine bay, which forms one of the best harbours in

CHAP. in the kingdom; and on the land-side lies a fine plain, abounding in corn, wine, and fruits, two leagues in length; at the end whereof is a mountain, cover'd with a forest of pine-trees and other timber. At this town they make vast quantities of white salt, which is transported to the northern kingdoms of Europe, and to America; and the fish with which their rivers and seas abound are vended to great advantage in the neighbouring provinces; so that St. Ubes is at this day one of the most flourishing towns on the coast of Portugal. It is encompass'd with a wall and other modern fortifications, and the entrance of the harbour defended by two forts.

Cape d'Espichel.

To the west of Setubal the land runs out into the sea, and forms a cape called by the antients *Promontorium Barbarium*, and by the moderns Cape d'Espichel. It is a branch of the mountain last mention'd, and the rocks of which it consists, afford quarries of the finest marble, such as white, green, carnation, and other colours, of which they form pillars that take an admirable polish; in my author's phrase, you may see your face in them as in a looking-glass.

Benevento.

At the confluence of the rivers Soro and Tagus lies the little town of Benevento: and further eastward Salvaterra, in a fruitful country, where is one of the King's palaces, to which he frequently resorts. Mugen stands at the confluence of the rivers Colo and Tagus, about eight leagues north-east of Lisbon.

Tomar.

Tomar is situated in a fine plain at the foot of the mountains on the river Naboa, twenty leagues north-east of Lisbon, the country about it being a perfect forest of olives. Above the town stands a castle on a mountain, which once belong'd to the Templars, but at present to the Knights of the order of Christ, of which the King is Grand Master, and the Prior of Tomar Sub-master. This is one of the richest and most magnificent houses belonging to the order. The town consists of two parishes, and has three or four monasteries in it.

To the northward of Tomar, in the mountains, are the vineyards of Figueiro, which produce excellent wine.

Pendragon.

Farther to the northward lies the town of Pendragon, or Pedragoa, at the confluence of the rivers Pera and Zezere, in a good air and fruitful soil, and adorn'd with near two hundred fountains. Here the Kings of Portugal had a pleasure-house when they resided at Coimbra.

Leiria.

Leiria is situated west of Tomar, twenty leagues to the northward of Lisbon, between the two little rivers Lis and Lena, in a fruitful soil. It is defended by a citadel, and is a bishoprick, the only one in the province besides Lisbon, whose revenue is computed to be eighteen thousand ducats per annum.

To the westward lies Alcobaca, situated between the two little rivers Alcoa and Baca, from whence it takes its name. The town is moderately large, but is most considerable on account of a rich monastery of Bernardines. It has a mitred Abbot, who is spiritual and temporal Lord of the place, and frequently held by persons of the first rank; and in the church are the tombs of several Kings of Portugal.

To the southward of Alcobaca are the hot baths call'd *As Caldas*, which heal many diseases.

Thirteen or fourteen leagues north of Lisbon lies the port of Peniche, in a peninsula on the ocean, surrounded with rocks, and defended by a citadel and other fortifications.

Two or three leagues to the westward of this coast lie four little islands, call'd the Berlinges, or Borlings, well known to our mariners. The largest of them, which communicated its name to the rest, was call'd by the antients Loudobris and Erythia, and has at present a fort in it and a garrison.

Santaren is situated on an eminence in the middle of a large plain that lies on the banks of the Tagus, twelve or thirteen leagues north-east of Lisbon. The country about it abounds in corn, wine and olives, but particularly corn.

Seven leagues north-east of Lisbon lies the town of Alanguer, in a plain planted chiefly with vines that produce excellent wine.

CHAP. IV.

Contains a description of the province of Beira.

THE province of Beira is bounded by the river Duero, which separates it from the provinces of Entreminho-Duero and Tralos-Montes on the north; by the Spanish provinces of Leon and Estremadura on the east; by the Portuguese Estremadura on the south; and by the ocean on the west: extending in length from the north-west to the south-east, that is from Feyra on the ocean to Salvaterra upon the river Elia, about four and thirty leagues; and in breadth thirty leagues: containing six *camarcas*, or subdivisions, viz. one along the river Duero, call'd Lamego; a second along the ocean, call'd Aveiro; two in the middle of the country, viz. Coimbra and Visea; a fifth to the south, on the Tagus, call'd Castel Branco; and the sixth to the eastward, viz. that of Guarda.

This province is water'd by several considerable rivers, which render it very fruitful, viz. the Duero, which bounds it on the north; the Vouga and Mondego, which run quite cross the middle of it from east to west, and fall into the western ocean; the Zezere, the Ponsul, the Aravil and Elia, which run from north to south, discharging them-

CHAP. themselves into the Tagus; and the Pavia, which
IV. runs from south to north, and falls into the Duero.

Lamago. Lamago is an antient episcopal city, heretofore
call'd Lama, situated on the little river Balsamao,
near its confluence with the Duero, and is about
forty leagues north of Lisbon. It contains two
parishes, and two or three monasteries, and about
two thousand inhabitants. It is famous for an
assembly of the States held here in the year 1143,
under ALONSO I, King of Portugal, in which
their fundamental laws were first establish'd. The
soil about it produces abundance of excellent
wine.

Aveiro. Aveiro, *olim Lavara*, is situated in a fine fruit-
ful plain, on a little bay of the sea near the mouth
of the Vouga, seven leagues to the southward of
Oporto, and nine to the northward of Coimbra.
The bay divides it into two parts, that have a
communication by a stately bridge, and it is sur-
rounded by an antique wall and towers. The port
will admit only of small vessels. There are in it
four parishes, three or four monasteries and nun-
neries, an hospital, and about two thousand inha-
bitants. They make here great quantities of salt,
which foreigners take off their hands.

Sierra de Alcob. From Oporto to Coimbra there runs a long
chain of mountains, call'd by the antients Mount
Alcob, which name they retain at this day. Be-
tween these mountains and the sea is a pleasant
fruitful valley, interspersed with villages, but
scarce a league in breadth in any place. The
mountains are full of springs, which form little
rivulets that fall into the Duero, the Vouga, or
Mondega.

Coimbra. Coimbra, or Conimbra, is situated on an emi-
nence at the end of a fine plain on the north side
of the river Mondego, thirty leagues to the north-
ward of Lisbon, and six to the eastward of the
ocean. It is a Bishop's See, suffragan of Fraga,
and the most celebrated university in Portugal;
and here is one of the tribunals of the Inquisition.
The city comprehends seven parishes, five con-
vents of men and four of nuns, sixteen colleges,
a house of mercy, (of the same institution with
that mention'd in the description of Lisbon) and
an hospital; and there are about five thousand fa-
milies in the place. The bridge is a fine stone fa-
brick, of twenty-nine arches, and indeed consists
of two rows of arches one above another, and
forms a cover'd way, through which people pass
without being exposed to the weather. The uni-
versity was founded in the year 1290, by King
DENNIS I, and remov'd from thence to Lisbon;
but King JOHN III, fix'd the university here a-
gain in the year 1553, and is thereupon regarded
as its founder. The Jesuits college is deem'd the
finest edifice in the place, and is prodigiously large.
The aqueduct, which brings water to the town,
also is admir'd. The cathedral and the rest of the

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CHAF churches and monasteries are handsome buildings, CHAF
V. well adorn'd and beautify'd; but the streets and
private houses have no great elegancy in them.
As the town stands on the side of a hill, the streets
are generally uneven; that call'd the Calzada,
where the Jesuits college stands, is much the fairest.
There are fifty professors in the university, and
near three thousand students. The revenues are
computed to be about four thousand pounds per
annum. The country about Coimbra is ex-
tremely pleasant, and well planted with vines and
olives.

CHAP. V.

*Contains a description of the province of Entre-
minho Douro.*

THE province of Entreminho Douro, or Douro, Entreminho
derives its name from its situation between Douro pro-
those rivers; being bounded by the Minho, which vince.
separates it from the Spanish province of Galicia
on the north; by the province of Tralos Montes
on the east; by the river Douro, which divides
it from the province of Beira on the south; and
by the Ocean on the west.

The principal rivers, besides the Minho and the Rivers.
Douro already describ'd, are the Lima, the Ta-
maga, the Cavado, and the Rio d' Aves.

The Lima rises in Galicia, and taking its course
to the south-west through this province, falls into
the ocean near Viana.

The Tamaga also hath its source in Galicia,
and running almost due north before it falls into
the Douro, divides part of this province from that
of Tralos Montes.

The river Cavado (*Cadavus*) rises in the moun-
tains on the confines of Galicia, and running
south-west by Braga, discharges itself into the sea
a little to the southward of the Lima.

The Rio d' Aves, *olim Avus*, runs parallel to
that of the Cavado, and falls into the western
ocean to the southward of it.

The province is subdivided into four Camarca's,
or districts.

It is naturally well defended, being separated
from Spain on the north and east by rivers and al-
most inaccessible mountains, and on the west it
has the ocean. They enjoy almost a perpetual Air, &c.
spring, and a sweet serene air. They have little
grain, and that is chiefly rye and millet: how-
ever, they abound in wine. Here are also great
flocks of sheep, the wool and flesh of which are in
good esteem; and in their mountains and forests
is plenty of game.

The chief towns are Viana, Caminha, Mon- Chief towns.
caon, Ponte de Lima, Espofendo, Porto, Braga,
Amarante, and Guimaraes.

5. R

Viana

- CHAP. V.** **Viana.** Viana de Foz de Lima, so named from its lying at the mouth of the Lima, and to distinguish it from another town of the same name in the south of Portugal, is pleasantly situated on the sea-coast, five or six leagues to the westward of Braga. The town consists but of one parish, moderately large, and adorn'd with some handsome buildings, both publick and private, and particularly two convents of Benedictines, that make a good appearance. The streets are well pav'd and even, and the harbour commodious, but of difficult entrance, which renders it the securer from enemies, all ships being oblig'd to have a pilot from the coast to carry them in. At the entrance of the port is a good citadel, regularly fortified, and surrounded by a ditch cut out of the solid rock. It is become a place of brisk trade since the English have taken off so much Portugal wine, tho' the vines of this province are much smaller than those that come from the more southern parts of the kingdom. The Governour of the province and the Treasurer-General have their residence here.
- Caminha.** Caminha is a frontier town, situated at the mouth of the Minho, over-against Guardia in Galicia, three leagues to the northward of Viana. The place is strong both by art and nature, being encompassed by the Minho on one side, and the little river Coiro on the other, and defended by walls and bastions of the modern way. At the entrance of the river Minho also, in a little island, is built a regular fort, which commands the avenues to the town and harbour. It is the capital of a duchy which belongs to the Marquis of Villa Real.
- Moncaon.** Moncaon is another little frontier town, situate on the Minho, over-against Salvaterra in Galicia. It is defended by a castle, and surrounded by walls and fortifications after the modern way, but not considerable upon any other account.
- Ponte de Lima.** Ponte de Lima is so named from a fine bridge over the river Lima at this place. It is a pretty wall'd town, about twenty miles to the northward of Braga, consisting of one parish, and about five hundred inhabitants, and has in it a monastery, an hospital, and a house of mercy.
- Porto.** Porto, formerly call'd Portucale, and at this day sometimes Port-a-Port, is situated on the side of a rugged mountain, the foot whereof is wash'd by the Douro, and is about a league distant from the mouth of that river, which here forms a good harbour when the shipping are got into it, but it is of very difficult entrance on account of the rocks and sands, which form a bar that can only be got over at high water with the assistance of a coasting pilot. The streets are well pav'd and commodious enough, only the inequality of the ground the town stands upon makes it not very pleasant walking in them. There is a fine key runs along the banks of the river, close to which the shipping lies; so that a merchant may see his vessels unloaded from his own windows. It is computed the natives of this place may amount to four or five thousand people, besides foreigners that resort hither on account of trade. It is esteem'd the second town of the province, and is honour'd with a Bishop's See of great antiquity. Here is also one of the sovereign Councils or Courts of the kingdom held, and an academy for young gentlemen to learn their exercises. They have also an arsenal, docks and yards for building and fitting out men of war. Tho' the situation of this place be naturally strong and inaccessible from the sea, it has only an antique wall with some ruinous towers on the land-side, and a little fort with four bastions. The most elegant building in the place is a convent of the Augustins, in which there is a beautiful gallery of a vast extent: The church belonging to it is of a round form, and very richly adorn'd.
- CHAP. V.** Braga is a very antient archiepiscopal city, known to the Romans by the name of Bracara Augusta, as appears by the following inscription found there, viz.
- ISIDI AVG. SACRVM. LVCRETIA, FIDA, SACERDOS. PERP. ROMAE ET AVG. CONVENTVS. BRACARAVG. V. D.
- It was one of the four principal towns of Spain, and capital of a government, said to be built by the Bracares, who antiently inhabited this country, and communicated their name to it. When the Suevi came from Germany, and made a conquest of Galicia and Portugal, this was the seat of their kingdom for an hundred and seventy years; and the Goths, who succeeded them, also made it the capital of a kingdom.
- The city stands on the south bank of the river Cavado, about five leagues to the eastward of the ocean, and sixty north of Lisbon. It consists of five parishes, three monasteries, and as many nunneries, and contains about three thousand families. The houses are generally old substantial stone buildings, but have no great elegancy in them, any more than the Archbishop's palace and the cathedral, which are more admir'd for their antiquity and extent than for their beauty. The Archbishop is both spiritual and temporal lord of the place, for which reason he has a sword as well as a cross carried before him. His revenue is forty thousand ducats per annum, and he disputes the primacy with the Archbishop of Toledo in Spain. Toledo it seems lost the title of Primate of Spain when that city was in the hands of the Moors; and when ALPHONSO I, King of Leon and Castile, retook Braga from the Moors in the year 740, he transferr'd that dignity to this city, and all the Bishops of Spain acknowledg'd the Archbishop of Braga for their Primate: But the Christians having reduced Toledo under their power again, the Archbishops of that city insisted on having

CHAP. V. having the primacy restor'd to them : but the dispute is not yet determin'd. However, the Bishops of Spain acknowledge Toledo for their Primate, as those of Portugal do Braga. The country about Braga produces corn, wine and fruit, and here is a great deal of pasture, on which they feed large flocks of sheep.

Guimaraez. Guimaraez, or Guimaranes, the capital of a district, is situated on the river Aves, about three leagues south-east of Braga, and consists of four parishes, two monasteries, a house of mercy and an hospital, containing about a thousand inhabitants. Here is a palace of the antient Kings of Portugal, and some other handsome buildings ; their chief manufactures are linnen and fine thread. The country about it is as fruitful as any in Portugal, producing corn, wine and fruits, and abounding in sheep, game and wild fowl.

Amarante. A little to the southward of Guimaraez lies Amarante, a pretty little town, situated on the river Tamaga.

CHAP. VI.

Describes the province of Tralos Montes.

Tralos Montes. THE province of Tralos Montes, or Beyond the Mountains, so call'd from its situation with regard to the rest of Spain, is bounded by Galicia on the north ; by Leon on the east ; by Beira on the south ; and by a chain of mountains which divide it from Entreminho Douro on the west ; being thirty leagues in length from north to south, and twenty in breadth.

Rivers. The chief rivers are the Douro, the Tamaga, the Pinhaon, the Tuelo, the Sabor, and the Coa. The Douro divides the north-east part of this province from Leon, and then turning about to the westward, divides Tralos Montes into almost two equal parts. The river Tamaga enters this province from the mountains of Galicia ; and running southward, divides part of this province from Entreminho Douro. The rivers Pinhaon, Tuelo and Sabor, also having their sources in Galicia, run to the southward and fall into the Douro. The river Coa, *olim Cuda*, rises in the mountains on the confines of Portugal and the Spanish Estremadura, and taking its course almost directly north, discharges itself into the Douro over-against Torre de Mon Corvo.

This is a barren mountainous country, yielding scarce any corn, tho' it produces a good quantity of wine and oil. The natives are look'd upon to be as clownish and unpolish'd as any part of Portugal, and but few gentry among them. The chief towns are Miranda de Douro, Braganza, Montforte, Chaves, Villa Real, Almeida, and Castel Rodrigo.

Miranda de Douro, so call'd from its standing on that river, to distinguish it from Miranda on the Ebro in Castile, is strongly situated on a rock, at the confluence of the Douro and the little river Fresce, on the frontiers of Spain, and is a place of importance, as it opens a passage into the province of Leon, which lies exposed to incursions on this side, not being defended by mountains, woods or rivers. It is a city and Bishop's See, tho' it consists but of one parish, a house of mercy, an hospital, and about four hundred families.

Braganza, *olim Brigantium*, is situated in a plain, on a little rivulet near the river Sabor, about two leagues from the confines of Leon, and ten to the northward of Miranda. It is divided into the new and old town, the old standing on an eminence, and defended with antique double walls. The new city stands in the plain at the foot of a mountain, and has a fort with four bastions adjoining to it. The whole consists of two parishes, two monasteries, and as many nunneries, a college, a house of mercy, and an hospital, with about six hundred families. Braganza is the capital of a celebrated duchy, belonging to the present King of Portugal, whose ancestors were Dukes of Braganza, the most illustrious house among the nobility, being descended from their antient Kings.

Chaves. Chaves, or Chiaves, *olim Aqua Flavia*, is situated on the river Tamaga, two leagues from the frontiers of Galicia ; a fortified town, defended by a double wall, a castle and other works, and is the principal town of the province, the residence of the Governour and Treasurer-General. Here are found abundance of ancient monuments, and among the rest a pillar with the names of the ten cities of the province, viz.

CIVITATES DECEM, AQUIFLAVIENSIS, AOBIGENS, BIBALI, COELERINI, ERVAESIL, INTERAMICI, LIMICI, AEBISOC, QVARQVERN, TAMACANI.

To the westward of Chaves stands the castle of Montalegre ; and to the southward, not far from the Douro, between the little rivers Corgo and Ribera, the town of Villa Real, consisting of two parishes, two monasteries, a nunnery, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and about eight thousand inhabitants.

Almeida. Almeida is a little fortified town, situated on a hill on the frontiers of Spain, consisting of about three hundred inhabitants.

Castel Rodrigo. Castel Rodrigo is a fortified town, situated among the mountains, a little to the southward of the Douro, and to the eastward of the frontiers of Spain, remarkable chiefly for a fine palace. The rest of the towns of this province do not deserve a particular description.

*Describes the province of Alentejo.*Alentejo
province.

ALENTEJO, *Provincia trans Tagana*, so call'd in regard of its situation to Lisbon, and sometimes *Entre Tejo Guadiana*, from its lying between those two rivers, is bounded on the north by the Portuguese Estremadura; and by Andalusia and the Spanish Estremadura on the east; by the kingdom of Algarva on the south, and the Portuguese Estremadura and the ocean on the west; extending about thirty-six leagues in length, and near as much in breadth.

Rivers.

The chief rivers are the Tagus and Guadiana already described, the Zadoan, the Exarama, the Campilhas, the Canha, the Odior, the Avis and the Cava. The Zadoan, *Sadanus, olim Calippus*, has its source in the mountains of Algarva, and running from south to north, falls into the sea near Setubal, as has been intimated already. The rest of them are so inconsiderable, that they are dried up in the heat of the summer, and do not deserve a particular description.

This province is divided into five Camarca's, or districts, viz. those of Portalegre, Elvas, Estremos, Eborá and Beja; and is esteem'd one of the richest and most fruitful in Portugal, especially in corn: they have also excellent wines, admirable fruit, the best sweet, or China oranges, come from hence, and they have abundance of dates: their mutton and beef are good, and they make better cheese than in any other province; and here are some silver mines, with quarries of marble and jasper.

The chief towns are Eborá, Estremos, Elvas, Campo Mayor, Aronches, Portalegre, Olivenza, Villa Viciosa, Moura, Serpa, Mertola, Beja, Portel, Viana, Alcazar de Sal, St. Iago de Cacem, Sines and Ourique.

Eborá.

Eborá is situated on a hill encompass'd with mountains, about the middle of the province, twenty leagues south-east of Lisbon. It is about a league in circumference, and encompass'd with an antique wall and towers, and reckon'd a very strong place before the modern way of fortification came in vogue. It consists of five parishes, nine monasteries, seven nunneries, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and contains about four thousand inhabitants. Prince HENRY establish'd a university here about the year 1559, but it does not flourish. According to tradition, this city was built by the Phenicians, who gave it the name of Eborá, alluding to the fruitfulness of the soil. JULIUS CÆSAR changed its name to *Liberaltas Julia*, as appears by an ancient inscription discover'd here, viz.

DIVO IVLIO LIB. IVLLA EBORA OB.

IVLIVS IN MVN. ET MVNIC. LIBERA-
LITATEM EX D. D. D. QVOIVS DEDICA-
TIONE VENERI GENETRICI CAESTVM
MATRONAE DONVM TVLERVNT.

CHAI
VII.

It was a considerable town in the time of the Gothick Kings, and had the privilege of coining money, as appears by a medal of King SISEBUT, on the reverse whereof we find the words *Civitas Eborá*. It remain'd under the dominion of the Moors till the year 1166, when King ALPHONSO I. retook it from them, with the rest of the towns of Alentejo. Twenty years after he erected it into a bishoprick; and in the sixteenth century, Pope PAUL III. at the instance of King JOHN, created it an archbishoprick; Cardinal HENRY, the brother of JOHN, who succeeded to the crown on the death of his nephew the unfortunate Don SEBASTIAN, being the first Archbishop of this See. The country about Eborá, as well mountains as valleys, are exceeding fruitful, and in the former are mines of silver.

Estremos is situated six or seven leagues north-east of Eborá, on a hill which it covers entirely, and is divided into the higher and lower town, the higher serving as a castle to the lower. It was strongly fortified at the time that Portugal revolted from Spain, being not far from the frontiers of Andalusia. The houses of people of condition make a grand appearance, being built with white marble, which they find upon the spot. The town consists of three parishes, three monasteries, a nunnery, a house of mercy, and an hospital, containing about two thousand inhabitants. They make a very fine red earthen-ware at this place, which was not long since in great esteem in England and other countries of Europe, and served to adorn their tea-tables. Without the town is a fountain, so large that it turns several mills near its source, but it dries up in winter. It has the quality also of petrifying any thing almost that is thrown into it.

Estremos.

Elvas stands about twenty-four miles to the eastward of Estremos, and six from the frontiers of the Spanish Estremadura. It is situated on a hill which it covers entirely; it is defended by a castle, and strongly fortified, the works being of hewn stone. It contains several fair streets and handsome houses, and has a cistern so large, that it will hold water enough for the inhabitants for six months. The water was convey'd thither by a magnificent aqueduct three leagues in length, and supported in some places by five high arches one over another, which was broken by Don JOHN of Austria when he besieged the place in 659. It consists of four parishes, three monasteries, two nunneries, a house of mercy, and three hospitals, and contains about two thousand five hundred inhabitants. It is a very antient town, and was formerly call'd Helvis, from a people of Gaul

Elvas.

CHAP. VII. Gaul who built it, according to tradition. On that side of the town where the aqueduct is, they have a large forest of olives, three quarters of a league in length, and cut into walks, with fountains in the middle of them. Near this place Don JOHN of Austria was defeated by the Portuguese, and forced to raise the siege above-mentioned. Besides oil, the neighbouring country affords some of the best wine in Portugal. King EMANUEL honour'd Elvas with the title of a city anno 1513, and King SEBASTIAN procured it to be made a bishoprick in the year 1570. I find it is esteem'd at this day one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom.

Campo Mayor. Two leagues to the northward of Elvas lies Campo Mayor, a frontier town against Spain, situated on the flat top of a hill, and pretty well fortified. It consists of only one parish, a monastery, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and contains about twelve hundred inhabitants.

Arronches. Arronches is another little frontier town, to the northward of Campo Mayor, and contains about five hundred inhabitants.

Portalegre. Portalegre is a fine town, honour'd with the title of a city and a bishoprick, situated at the foot of a very high mountain, in an agreeable country, thirty leagues to the eastward of Lisbon, and near the frontiers of Spain. It is defended by a good wall, with some old towers upon it, a castle, and other fortifications; but I do not look upon it to be a place of great strength. It consists of five parishes, three monasteries, two nunneries, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and contains about three thousand inhabitants. They have here a very indifferent woollen manufacture.

Castello de Vide. Two leagues to the northward of Portalegre stands Castello de Vide, and to the eastward of it another strong castle call'd Marvan, with several other castles erected on a chain of mountains near the frontiers of Spain, which formerly went by the name of *Mons Herminius*.

Olivenza. Olivenza is situated in a large plain on the east-side of the river Guadiana, and as the Spanish Estremadura lies open to it on this side, is deem'd a town of consequence, for which reason it is fortified after the modern way. It contains two parishes, a monastery, two nunneries, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and about two thousand inhabitants.

Villa Viciosa. Villa Viciosa is a fortified town, situated between Elvas and Estremos, and is defended also by a castle, which commands the place, and has in it a palace which belongs to the house of Braganza, with an adjoining park three leagues in circumference. The town consists of two parishes, six monasteries, three nunneries, a house of mercy and an hospital, containing about two thousand inhabitants. In the suburbs is an old temple, now consecrated to St. JAMES, but for-

merly to PROSERPINE; and great numbers of CHAP. VII. inscriptions are found in honour of that Pagan deity, among which one is as follows:

PROSERPINAЕ, SERVATRICI C. VET-
TIVS SILVINVS PRO EVNOIDE PLAN-
TILLA CONIVGE SIBI RESTITVTA V.
S. A. L. P. These last letters signify, *Votum Sol-
vens Animo Libens Posuit*.

Moura is an ancient town, formerly known by Moura. the name of *Arucci Nova*, situated in a plain, about a mile to the eastward of the Guadiana, at the confluence of two little brooks that fall into the Adita, and eight or nine leagues to the southward of Eborā. It consists of two parishes, two monasteries, as many nunneries, a house of mercy, an hospital, and a fort; but being taken by the Spaniards in the late war, the fortifications were demolish'd on their quitting it in the year 1708.

Serpa is situated on an eminence, very rocky and uneven, a league to the eastward of the Guadiana, ten leagues to the southward of Moura, and about half a day's journey from the frontiers of Andalusia. The Spaniards demolish'd the fortifications of this place in the year 1708. It consists of two parishes, a monastery, a house of mercy, and an hospital; and contains about eighteen hundred inhabitants. Serpa is a very ancient town, and retains the same name it had in the time of the Romans, as appears by the following inscription found near the wall, viz.

D. M. S. FABIA PRISCA SERPENSIS C.
R. ANN. 20. H. S. E. S. T. T. L. C. GEMI-
NICVS PRISCVS PATER ET FABIA CA-
DILLA MATER POSVERVNT.

The adjacent fields are extremely agreeable, being planted with groves of figs and olives: but in the great road from Cadiz and Andalusia to Lisbon, which lies through this town, for the space of fifty miles, viz. from Cubas to Aldea Galega, it is very bad travelling, the country being one sandy desert, with some poor inns upon it at fifteen or twenty miles distance from each other, that afford very little entertainment.

Mertola, *olim Myrtilis*, is an ancient town, Mertola. situated on an eminence on the east side of the Guadiana, near the place where that river begins to be navigable, about twelve leagues to the southward of Serpa. It was a flourishing town in the time of the Romans, as appears by the pillars, statues, and other antiquities that are daily dug up here, as well as by the many pieces of sculpture placed confusedly in the walls by the Goths and Moors, who did not understand them.

Beja, or Bexa, *olim Pax Julia*, stands on an eminence in the middle of a fruitful plain, three leagues to the westward of the Guadiana; and thirty south-east of Lisbon. It is of a round form, and defended by an antique wall and towers, with.

CHAP. VII. with a castle built by King DENIS. It consists of four parishes, three monasteries, as many nunneries, a house of mercy and an hospital, and was honoured with the title of a city by King E-MANUEL. Antiently it was a Roman colony, and three of the present gates are said to be of Roman architecture. On the steps of the cathedral church is found the following broken inscription, viz.

—PAX IVLI—Q. PETRON.—

And lower more entire L. AELIO AVRELIO COMMODO IMP. CAES. AELI HADRIANI ANTONINI AVG. PII P. P. FILIO COL. PAX. IVLIA D. D. Q. PETRONIO MATERNO C. IVLIO IVLIANO II. VIR.

Portel. Eight or nine leagues to the northward of Beja, stands the little wall'd town of Portel on a hill, with a castle on the top of it, consisting of two parishes, two monasteries, and seven hundred inhabitants.

Viana. Four or five leagues to the southward of Eboralies Viana, on the river Exarama, being defended by a castle, and contains one parish, a nunnery, and about six hundred inhabitants.

Alcazar de Sal. Alcazar de Sal, *olim Salacia Imperatoria*, is situated on the Sadoan, in the district of Setubal, and ten or twelve miles south-east of that town, famous for its salt-pits. Above Alcazar, on a high steep mountain, stands the castle, strong by art and nature. This town is not only considerable for its salt, but the fine mats which are made of the rushes in the neighbouring meadows, and vended in all parts of the kingdom.

St. Iago de Cacem. St. Iago de Cacem is situated on a pleasant hill, about a league and a half to the eastward of the sea-coast, from whence there is a fine prospect of the ocean. It receiv'd its modern name partly from a Moorish lord, who was possess'd of it when the Christians retook it from the Infidels, and partly from a miraculous image of St. JAMES, which, according to tradition, was found here when the town was taken. It was built out of the ruins of the antient Merobriga, which stood about two hundred paces from it, and of which there are still some ruinous remains, as an aqueduct, a bridge in the middle of a valley, and a fountain, with a fine reservoir of hewn stone.

Sines. Sines, or Odifines, is a port-town, south-west of St. Iago de Cacem, inhabited by fishermen, who make great advantages of the shoals of good fish which they take on their coast. To the southward of Sines lies the fine plain of Ourique, in which are twelve or thirteen villages, the chief whereof gives name to this plain, memorable for a victory the Christians obtain'd here anno 1139, over five Kings of the infidels, under the conduct of ALPHONSO their General, who was thereupon proclaim'd King of Portugal in the field of battle. In the 16th century King Se-

BASTIAN built a magnificent church upon the CHA place, adorn'd with trophies, to perpetuate the VIII memory of this signal victory.

CHAP. VIII.

Describes the province, or kingdom of Algarva.

ALGARVE, or Algarb, is the most souther-^{Algarva}ly province of Portugal, being bounded by^{Province.} the mountains call'd Sierra de Algarve, or Calde-raon, which separate it from Alentejo, on the north; by the Guadiana and a ridge of mountains which divide it from Andalusia on the east; and by the ocean on the south and west; being about twenty-seven leagues in length from east to west, and eight in breadth. It is water'd by a great many little rivers, but none of any length or consequence except the Guadiana already described. The Celtæ and Turditani possess'd this country in the time of the Romans. The Moors held it upwards of five centuries, and gave it the modern name of Algarva, an Arabick word, which many writers inform us, signifies a fruitful country; but a French author before me, who pretends to be better versed in Arabick, assures us that the word *Algarbe* signifies a western country situated at the ends of the earth, which agrees very well with the situation of this province. The face of the country is generally mountainous, but affords however plenty of wine, figs, raisins, oil and almonds, inferiour however to those of Spain, and it abounds in dates; but they have not always corn sufficient for their own use, and then they import it from the plains of Ourique, or from Africk chiefly.

The chief towns are Castro Marin, Tavila, Faro, Silves, Villa Nova de Portimao, Albor, Lagos, and Sagrez.

Castro Marin is a little frontier town and port, ^{Castro Mar-}on the west side of the mouth of the Guadiana,^{rin.} over against Aymonte in Andalusia. The rocks and mountains on the side of Spain render it of difficult access.

Tavira, or Tavila, is situated on the sea-coast, ^{Tavila}at the mouth of the little river Gilaon, five or six leagues to the westward of the Guadiana, and is supposed to be the Balsa of the antients. It is the capital of the province, but neither large or populous. It consists of two parishes, four monasteries, a nunnery, a house of mercy, and an hospital, and contains about two thousand inhabitants. The town is wall'd, and defended by a castle, and in the middle of it is a stately bridge over the little river above mentioned.

Faro is a considerable port, strongly situated on ^{Faro}the Ocean, which here forms a bay, in the mid-way between Cape St. Vincent, and the mouth of the Guadiana, and is defended by a good castle

CHAP. VIII. castle and other works. It consists of two parishes, three monasteries, a nunnery, a house of mercy, and an hospital, containing about two thousand inhabitants, and is now an episcopal See, removed hither from Silves anno 1590. It was built out of the ruins of the antient Ossonoba, which lay a little to the eastward, and is now reduc'd to a small village call'd Estoi, where was found the following inscription, viz.

IMP. CAES. P. LICINIO VALERIANO
P. F. AVG. PONT. MAX. P. P. TR. POT.
III. COS. RESP. OSSON. EX DECRETO.
ORD. DEVOT.——NVMINI MAIESTATIS EIVS D. D.

The sea produces abundance of good fish near Faro, and accordingly most of the inhabitants are employ'd in the fishery.

Silves is situated in a pleasant country, four or five leagues north-west of Faro, formerly a Bishop's See, but now reduced to an inconsiderable town of forty houses.

Lagos is situated on a fine bay of the ocean, about five leagues to the eastward of Cape St. Vincent, where the British fleet frequently took in water and other refreshments in the late war. It consists of two parishes, two monasteries, a nunnery, a house of mercy, and an old castle, and contains about two thousand inhabitants. The fishery seems here also to be the principal business of the inhabitants.

Cape St. Vincent, anciently call'd *Promontorium Sacrum*, is the south-west point of the Continent of Europe, near which is a little town that still retains some likeness of the ancient name, being call'd Sagrez, to which there belongs a tolerable road for shipping, but has little else in it that deserves a description.

As to the islands of Portugal, which are situated in the Atlantick Ocean between Europe, Africa and America, they will be treated of in another place: I shall only observe here, that the chief of them are the islands of Cape Verd, which lie near that point of land on the coast of Africa, and those of the Azores, or Terceras, which lie in much the same latitude with Portugal, but rather nearer the continent of America than that of Europe; and the island of Medena, which lies to the north of the Canaries.

CHAP. IX.

Contains an abstract of the history of Portugal.

PORTUGAL remaining a province of Spain till the Moors made a conquest of it in the eighth century, the history of Portugal till that time, and until the Moors were driven out of it by the Christians, has been already considered. The Generals of the Moors, as has been observ'd

already, divided Portugal, as they did the rest of Spain, into abundance of little principalities, every Captain almost stiling himself King or Sovereign of what he had possess'd himself of by force of arms.

In the year 1093 ALPHONSO, or ALONSO VI, King of Leon, and the first of Castile, demanding the assistance of all Christian powers against the Infidels, amongst other noble adventurers came HENRY, a younger son of ROBERT Duke of Burgundy, whose father was ROBERT King of France, the son of HUGH CAPET, according to some writers; tho' others derive his pedigree from the house of Lorrain. But however that be, all agree that HENRY with the troops he brought with him did signal service against the Infidels: Whereupon King ALPHONSUS gave him his natural daughter THERESIA in marriage, and so much of Portugal as was then in possession of the Christians, which consisted then chiefly in the provinces of Entreminho Douro and Tralos Montes, together with the rest of that country as far as the river Guadiana, if he could complete the conquest of it, conferring on him at the same time the title of Count or Earl of Portugal; upon condition nevertheless, that he should acknowledge the Sovereignty of the Kings of Castile, and attend them in their wars with three hundred horse whenever he was requir'd. HENRY died in the year 1112, leaving a son named ALONSO or ALPHONSO, then an infant; during whose minority FERDINAND PACIZ, Count of Trestamara, who married his mother, had the administration of the government. But ALPHONSO coming of age, drove his father-in-law out of the kingdom, imprison'd his mother, and took the government into his own hands. She calling in ALPHONSUS VII, King of Castile, to her assistance, a battle was fought between the Count and the King of Spain, wherein the Count obtaining the victory, he look'd upon it that he had thereby freed himself from the subjection of the King of Castile. ALPHONSO afterwards invaded the territories of ISMAR the Moor, whose territories lay to the southward of the Tagus, and defeated him, with four other petty Moorish Kings his confederates, in that memorable battle fought in the plains of Ourique above-mention'd, which was follow'd with the reduction of most of the southern part of Portugal as far as the mountains of Algarva. Whereupon he was proclaim'd King of Portugal by his army; and having taken the standards of the five Moorish Kings in that engagement, he order'd five shields to be quarter'd in the arms of Portugal, which are retain'd to this day. ALPHONSO, after a glorious reign, died in the eightieth year of his age, anno 1185.

SANCHO, or SANCTIUS, his son, succeeded him, who 1185.

Henry Earl.
of Portugal.

Sancho I.
who 1185.

CHAP. IX. who was all his reign like his father, engaged with the Moors, but found time however to build and people a great many considerable towns. He died in the year 1212, and was succeeded by his son ALPHONSUS, surnamed CRASSUS, of whom we meet with nothing more recorded in history than that he made a voyage to the Holy Land and took the city of Alcañar from the Moors. He died in the year 1223, and was succeeded by his son SANCHE II, an indolent Prince, whom his subjects having depos'd, he fled to Toledo, and his brother ALPHONSO III was thereupon declar'd Regent. Upon SANCHE's death ALPHONSO took upon him the title of King; and marrying BEATRICE the natural daughter of ALPHONSO X, King of Castile, receiv'd with her in dower the kingdom of Algarves, then lately recover'd from the Moors. Whereupon the Kings of Portugal took for their arms a Border, Gules, interspers'd with castles Or without number; but now reduc'd to seven round their escutcheon. He was an active Prince, and having added several considerable cities to his kingdom, died anno 1279, when he was succeeded by his son DIONYSIUS, a Prince celebrated for his justice, liberality and constancy, and adorning the kingdom with a great many publick buildings; among others, the academy of Coimbra was founded by this Prince. He died in the year 1325, and was succeeded by his son ALPHONSO IV, surnam'd *the Brave*. His reign was disturb'd in the beginning of it by his natural brother ALPHONSO, who was in great esteem with the people; but he defeated him at length, and compell'd him to fly the kingdom. He obtain'd a great deal of honour also in that general battle fought between the Christian Princes of Spain and Portugal on the one side, and a confederacy of the Moorish Kings on the other, call'd the battle of Sellado, where the Christians obtain'd a signal victory over the Infidels, and killed two hundred thousand Moors upon the spot, if we may credit their historians; but nothing is so common as to find them enlarge and magnify things in their relation of these wars much beyond the truth. The greatest blemish in the reign of this Prince was the putting to death Donna AGNES DE CASTRO, whom his son PETER had married against his consent, which occasion'd the young Prince to foment an insurrection against his father, which was not suppress'd without a great deal of bloodshed; but at length matters were compromis'd between the father and son, and ALPHONSO dying in the year 1357, was succeeded by PETER, to whom some have given the name of *the Cruel*, which 'tis said was occasion'd only by his strict execution of offenders, never sparing any that were convicted; but chiefly from his putting all those to death who had been any ways concern'd in the murder of his beloved

wife AGNES. He died in the year 1368, and was succeeded by his son FERDINAND, who laid claim also to the kingdom of Castile, to which HENRY *the Bastard*, who had murder'd his brother PETER, surnam'd *the Cruel*, had no legal title. But HENRY on the contrary invaded Portugal, and ravaged the country in a very dreadful manner, obliging FERDINAND to desist from his pretensions: But after the death of HENRY, the Portuguese being assisted by JOHN Duke of Lancaster, who had married CONSTANTIA the daughter and heiress of PETER King of Castile, renew'd the war with JOHN the son of HENRY *the Bastard*, which was for some time carried on with great vigour. At length a treaty was concluded between the parties, wherein it was agreed, that JOHN King of Castile should marry the Princess BEATRICE the daughter of King FERDINAND, the children of which marriage were to succeed to the crown of Portugal. FERDINAND died in the year 1383, being the last of the antient race of the Kings of Portugal.

Upon the death of FERDINAND, the kingdom being in great distraction, there was an interregnum of two years; for ELEONORA, Queen-dowager of Portugal, being to have the administration of the government till the King of Castile's son (who by the late treaty between the two crowns was to succeed to Portugal) was of age, having married the Duke of Andeira, her quondam favourite, and thereby drew upon herself the hatred of the Portuguese, JOHN, the natural son of PETER late King of Portugal, murder'd Count Andeira, and set up for himself: Whereupon the opposite party invited the King of Castile to assume the crown; but he coming into Portugal without an army, the Portuguese, out of their natural aversion to the Castilians, soon expell'd him. The King of Castile thereupon rais'd a great army, and penetrated as far as the capital city of Lisbon, which he besieg'd; but his army being destroy'd by the plague, he was oblig'd to retire out of the kingdom a second time, and the Portuguese thereupon proclaim'd JOHN the Bastard their King, who reduced those places that declar'd for the Castilians. There was afterwards a general battle fought between the Portuguese and Castilians at Aliubarotta, where King JOHN obtain'd a decisive victory that establish'd him upon the throne, and which is annually commemorated in Portugal to this day. Afterwards the Portuguese assisted by the Duke of Lancaster with a gallant army from England, carried the war into the heart of Castile: But the English suffering very much by the heat of the country, the Duke of Lancaster thought fit to clap up a peace, in consideration of a sum of money and the Prince of Castile's marrying the Duke's daughter, the Princess

CHAP. IX.

Ferdinand. 1368.

John the Bastard. 1385.

CHAP. IX. **KATHERINE**, by **CONSTANTIA** the daughter of **PETER** the Cruel late King of Castile; and not long after a lasting peace was concluded between the crowns of Castile and Portugal. Whereupon King **JOHN** enter'd upon an expedition against the Moors in Africa, and took the town of Ceuta: And it was under his administration, that the island of Madera was discover'd. He died anno 1433, after a glorious reign of forty-eight years, and is mention'd with great respect by the Portuguese to this day. He was succeeded by his son **EDWARD**, esteem'd a good Prince, but died within five years afterwards of the plague, which he got by opening of a letter, as 'tis said, anno 1438. During this reign his brothers made an unfortunate expedition into Africa, in which they were defeated and made prisoners. The Moors however consented to release them on condition Ceuta should be restor'd them; and Prince **FERDINAND** remaining an hostage for the performance of this article, to which the States of Portugal would never consent, he died in that country.

ALPHONSO succeeded his father **EDWARD**, being an infant of six years of age. The Portuguese being uneasy under the government of the Queen-dowager, the administration of affairs was committed to Don **PEDRO** Duke of Coimbra, brother to the late King **EDWARD**; who being charg'd with some designs against his Majesty, was murder'd as he was going to justify himself to the King.

ALPHONSO when he came of age was successful in his wars in Africa, taking the towns of Tangier, Arcilla, Alcazar, &c. He afterwards laid claim to the crown of Castile on espousing **JOANNA** the suppos'd daughter of **HENRY IV**, King of Castile. He invaded that kingdom and reduced many cities under his power, but was driven out again by the celebrated **FERDINAND** and **ISABELLA** King and Queen of Castile and Arragon, and defeated by them in a general battle near Toro. Whereupon **ALPHONSO** was forc'd to renounce all pretensions to the crown of Castile, and the Princess **JOANNA** whom he had espoused retir'd into a convent. Portugal sustain'd great losses in this war, the ill success whercof is said to have broken the King's heart. He died in the year 1481, and was succeeded by his son **JOHN**, who had the good fortune to defeat a conspiracy form'd against him in the beginning of his reign by **FERDINAND** Duke of Braganza and **JAMES** Duke of Visco, who lost their lives in the attempt, and the latter of them was killed by the King's own hand. King **JOHN** was the first who projected the tracing out a way to the East-Indies round Africa by the Cape of Good-Hope, and built the castle of Minas on the coast of Guinea. He died in

the year 1495, and leaving no issue, was succeeded by his cousin **EMANUEL**, son of the Duke of Visco and grandson of King **EDWARD**. **MAXIMILIAN** the Emperor oppos'd him, and laid claim to the crown, being the son of the Princess **LEONORA** the daughter of King **EDWARD**. But the Portuguese being averse to a stranger, and finding in **EMANUEL** all the qualifications requisite in a Prince, they adher'd to him. He married **ISABELLA** the eldest daughter of **FERDINAND** the Catholick, who 'tis said persuaded him to banish the Jews and Moors out of Portugal on pain of being made slaves if they remain'd in Portugal after a prefix'd day; whereupon the Moors went over into Africa, but they took all the Jews children from them under fourteen, and baptized them by force; and most of their parents being detain'd under pretence there were not vessels to transport them, submitted also to be baptiz'd rather than be made slaves: few of them were really converted, which has been the occasion that such numbers of them have profess'd Judaism again, and been destroy'd by the Inquisition.

In the reign of King **EMANUEL**, 'tis said, Portugal arriv'd at its highest pitch of glory; for then it was their fleets were conducted round the Cape of Good Hope to India by the celebrated **VASCO DE GAMA**, whereby they became almost sole masters of the trade between India and Europe, which was before carry'd on by the way of Egypt, whither the riches of India being brought, the Venetians, Genoese, and other maritime States in the Mediterranean, used to distribute them to the several kingdoms of Europe. But the beginning of the Portuguese trade with India having been largely treated of in the first volume of Modern History, I shall not enlarge upon it here; and only observe, that in making this voyage they casually discover'd Brazil in America, and several rich countries on the coast of Africa; from all which there flow'd in such immense treasures during this reign, that it obtain'd the name of the Golden Age. King **EMANUEL** died in the year 1521, and was succeeded by his son **JOHN III**, who had a long, peaceful and happy reign, in which he apply'd himself to restore learning, arts and sciences at home, and to plant colonies in the countries that had been discover'd in his father's reign in Asia, Africa and America. He also sent out abundance of Missionaries, and among the rest the famous **FRANCIS XAVIER**, who planted the Christian religion in China, India, the coasts of Africa, Brazil, &c. in which he was no less successful than in his civil government. He died anno 1557, and was succeeded by his grandson **SEBASTIAN**, an infant of three years of age, Cardinal **HENRY** his uncle having the admi-

CHAP. IX.

Emanuel. 1495.

John III. 1521.

Sebastian. 1557.

CHAP. IX. nistration of the government during his minority. This Prince as soon as he arriv'd towards the years of manhood seem'd much addicted to martial exploits, and was advis'd by his courtiers to form an army and undertake an expedition into Africa against the Infidels, under pretence of awaking the courage of the people, and reviving that military discipline which was almost lost by a long series of peace and plenty: And had they taken time to form and exercise their troops, and provided experienc'd Generals to command them, the advice might not have been amiss. But the enterprize was begun and carried on with too much precipitation; a vast army, or rather a confus'd multitude, was rais'd, without any mixture of veteran troops or experienc'd Generals, and transported into Africa at the instance of MULEY HAMET King of Morocco, who had been depos'd by his subjects. The opportunity seem'd favourable, and the people were taught to despise those cowardly Moors whom their ancestors had driven out of Europe. They advanc'd far into the country, where they were surrounded by a much more numerous army of the Infidels. King SEBASTIAN and the depos'd King MULEY were defeated and kill'd, with most of the Portuguese nobility, and all the common soldiers were kill'd or taken prisoners. The conqueror, MULEY MALUCCO, who had usurp'd his nephew MULEY MAHOMET's throne, died of a fever before the engagement was well over; so that there fell, according to my author, three Kings on this fatal day; which the Portuguese had the most reason to lament, receiving such a blow as they were never able to recover, but fell soon after under the dominion of Spain. For Cardinal HENRY, the late King's uncle, the only surviving male issue of the royal family, being advanc'd to the throne, after a weak reign of two years died. Whereupon PHILIP II, King of Spain sent the Duke of Alva into Portugal at the head of an army, and took possession of that kingdom, which he claim'd in right of his mother. The Portuguese indeed set up Prince ANTHONY, natural son to the late King JOHN III against him, and he receiv'd some assistance from England in order to maintain his pretensions. But the King of Spain was too powerful for this competitor, who after the loss of two battles was oblig'd to quit his claim to the crown of Portugal. Of this revolution Doctor GEDDES gives the best account I have met with: He says, "That Cardinal HENRY was extremely perplex'd during his short reign with the claims that were put in by several Princes to succeed him.

"The first and strongest of those pretensions was that of Philip the second, King of Spain,

who claim'd that crown as son and heir to the Empress Donna ISABELLA the eldest daughter of King EMANUEL.

"The second was EMANUEL Duke of Savoy, as son and heir to the Infanta Donna BEATRIX, second daughter of the same King.

"The third was Don ANTONIO, Prior de Crato, as son and heir to the Infante Don LEWIS, the third son of King EMANUEL.

"The fourth was RAYNUCIO Prince of Parma, as son and heir to Donna MARIA, the eldest daughter of the Infante Don EDWARD, the fourth son of King EMANUEL.

"The fifth was Donna KATHERINA, second daughter to the Infante Don EDWARD, who was married to the Duke of BRAGANZA.

"A remote title was also trumped up by KATHERINE DE MEDICIS Queen of France, for no other reason that I can perceive, but only to give some lustre to her blood, which on her father's side was the basest that had ever run in the veins of any Queen of France before.

"And the Pope, who will be still fishing for himself in all troubled waters, did start a title that was yet more fantastical, which was his being heir to the King as he was Cardinal.

"The old King being vehemently solicited by all these pretenders to be declar'd by him his successor, he slighted the Pope's, the Queen of France's and the Duke of Savoy's claims as altogether groundless; and though the Prince of Parma in the lineal descent was the undoubted heir to the crown after the death of the King, who was his grand-uncle, yet that Prince's claim was but little regarded, there being a law in Portugal call'd, the Law of Lamego, whereby all foreigners are excluded from the throne, though otherwise the right heirs to it.

"The great struggle came therefore at last to be betwixt PHILIP II, King of Spain, the duchess of Braganza and ANTONIO, who being extremely belov'd by the people of Portugal, would not withdraw his claim (tho' it was rejected by the King with indignation for his being a bastard) pretending to be able to prove that his father was married to his mother; or if he could not prove that, yet his friends, who were the people, said that ought to be no bar to him, no more than it was to the victorious Don JOHN the first, the founder of the present royal family of Portugal. And Pope GREGORY the thirteenth, when he found he should make nothing of his own claim, did promote that of Don ANTONIO, whose interest was espous'd by the Pope's Nuncio in Portugal with great warmth: For that politick Pope judging the Spanish crown to be too strong and
"formi-

Henry.
1578.

Philip II.
1580.

CHAP. IX. "formidable already, was very unwilling to have
IX. "it made stronger by the accession of Portugal to it.

"The Duchess of Braganza, tho' the King offer'd her and her family great advantages in the name of PHILIP, if she would resign her title to that kingdom, as the Prince of Parma was said to have done, she would not hear of doing it upon any terms whatsoever; but was continually solliciting the King her uncle to do her justice.

"The King being in a great perplexity what to do, call'd the Cortes to settle the succession; and in which fifteen nobles and two and twenty men of letters were named to be judges, and five nobles out of those fifteen were appointed to be Governours of the kingdom if he happen'd to die before a sentence was pass'd, and who were to see the sentence that should be passed executed: and thereupon an oath was taken by the three estates of the realm to stand to the decision of those judges; or in case they did not agree, to yield obedience to the sentence of the five Governours; and which oath both the Duke of Braganza and ANTONIO were compell'd by the King to take. But when PHILIP was requir'd to do it, who had a strong army quarter'd on the frontiers of Portugal, he made answer, *He would not take it; nor could he allow his right, which was so clear, to be put in judgment.* And King HENRY dying soon after, the Spanish army under the command of the Duke of Alva march'd forthwith into Portugal, and having quickly defeated Don ANTONIO, and driven him out of Lisbon, where he had been proclaim'd King by the people, PHILIP was immediately proclaim'd King there, and in all other places of the kingdom; and having the five Governours under his power, he was by a majority of them declar'd to be the lawful heir of the crown: which declaration was soon after confirm'd by the Cortes of the whole kingdom, call'd by PHILIP at Tomar, where he was acknowledg'd and sworn to as the lawful King of the realm; which, being a foreigner, it is certain he was not; nor could he have been, had he been a native; the daughter of the brother, which the Duchess of Braganza was, being both by the laws of that kingdom, and by the law of representation, to be perferr'd to the son of the sister. For as, had the Duchess's father, the Infante Don EDWARD, and that King's mother been both alive when their brother Don HENRY died, the King's mother could not have pretended to the crown before her brother Don EDWARD; so neither ought PHILIP as her heir to pretend to it before the Duchess of

CHAP. IX. Braganza, who was daughter and by law heir to the Infante Don EDWARD. And PHILIP being sensible that if he did not bring the Portuguese to be better affected to him and his government than they were at present, that he must either be at the great charge of maintaining a considerable Spanish army still in Portugal, or must quickly lose that kingdom again; to win the hearts of the Portuguese he granted them all the advantage they desir'd, having promis'd and sworn to observe the following articles.

"First, To conserve to that crown all its prerogatives and stiles, the coinage, the royal palace, and all the offices used in it by its natural Princes; and that the King being in Portugal should be serv'd by none but natives.

"Secondly, That no foreigner should be capable of any office or dignity ecclesiastical or civil, nor of any military commands, nor of any title of honour, pensions, or grants, nor of having the liberty of trading to any of the Portuguese plantations.

"Thirdly, That the Viceroy of the kingdom should be always one of the royal family.

"Fourthly, That wherever the King was, a certain number of Portuguese should assist, with the title of the Council of Portugal, and thro' whose hands only all dispatches should pass, and which should be all written in the Portuguese tongue; and that the Portuguese as well as the Castilians should be admitted to offices in the palace.

"Fifthly, That the Cortes should not be assembled out of the kingdom, and that all the publick affairs should be transacted in that assembly.

"Sixthly, That the King should obtain no bulls from the Pope to receive the thirds or any other ecclesiastical subsidies.

"Seventhly, That the dry ports betwixt the two kingdoms should be open'd, and the merchants be allow'd to trade without paying any duties.

"Eighthly, That the King should reside in Portugal as much as he could possibly, and that the Prince should be bred up in it, to beget in him an affection for the Portuguese.

"Lastly, In case the King or any of his successors should violate the foresaid articles, it should be lawful for the three estates of the kingdom to withdraw their allegiance from him.

"But to proceed: King PHILIP having thus united Portugal to the rest of Spain, that nation became very great sufferers by it; for as PHILIP was at this time endeavouring to reduce the Netherlands, he thought nothing would contribute to it more than the prohi-

CHAP. IX. *biting them to traffick with Spain and Portugal, the Dutch employing a great many ships in transporting the native commodities of Spain and Portugal, as well as the produce of their foreign plantations and settlements to the northern kingdoms of Europe; and PHILIP imagin'd, that if this branch of the Netherlands navigation and commerce was stopp'd, they would be oblig'd to come to any terms he should prescribe. But this project had a very different effect from what he expected, for the Dutch being excluded trading with Spain and Portugal, from whence they used to fetch spices and other valuable merchandize, the product of Asia and America, fitted out strong fleets, and follow'd the Spaniards and Portuguese in the road they had struck out to the East and West-Indies, and not only brought to Europe the same rich goods these nations had for many years monopoliz'd, but drove the Portuguese from their best settlements in India, and other countries of Asia, as well as from some others they had in Brazil, and on the coast of Africa. This provok'd the Portuguese to the last degree, and they would gladly have shook off the Spanish yoke, under the conduct of whose Princes they sustain'd such irreparable losses: but PHILIP maintain'd his dominion over that kingdom till he died, as did his son PHILIP the third of Spain, and the second of Portugal. PHILIP the fourth, his grandson, also succeeded quietly to the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, which he enjoy'd about nineteen years; but the Spaniards having been weaken'd by a long expensive war with France, and the revolt of the Catalans, the Portuguese had a fair opportunity of delivering their country from a foreign yoke; and as the Duke of Braganza was the next in blood to their former Princes, they made him an offer of the crown, of which he did not seem very ambitious: but while he was meditating on one side the hazard of the enterprize, and on the other the glories which might accrue to his country, and his family in particular, if he should succeed, the court of Spain, before he had determin'd with himself which part to take, had some intimation given them of the design, and King PHILIP summon'd the Duke, and the rest of the Portuguese nobility, to attend him in the Catalonian war. The Duke saw the snare, and excused himself as well as he could: He alledg'd that his coffers were low, and he was not in a condition to bear the expence a man of his quality must necessarily be at in the field. The Court of Madrid hereupon ordered him a remittance of twenty thousand pistoles, with a promise of accommodating*

Philip III.
1598.

Philip IV.
1621.

him with more. Things being come to a crisis, the Duke consulted his Lady upon the occasion: She was of the family of Medina Sidonia, a Princess of great spirit, and is said to have answer'd him after this manner; Sir, if you resolve to go to Spain, you run the hazard of your life; you do the same in attempting the crown of Portugal; but if you must die, it were better to die a King than a Duke: And this it seems determin'd his choice. The whole kingdom of Portugal, and all their foreign settlements, unanimously acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign, except Ceuta, in which was a Spanish Governour. This surprizing revolution was effected in an instant, without having cost the lives of three people, though it cost a great deal of blood and treasure to maintain it afterwards. It was undertaken on the first of December 1640, when in the offices of the church for that day we meet with these words, taken out of the thirteen chapter of the Romans, ver. 11. *And that knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed.* Which the Portuguese did then, and have ever since regarded, as an oracle from heaven declaring in their favour. Thus did this Prince ascend the throne of Portugal, and was proclaim'd by the name of JOHN the fourth. It is thought very strange that this design should be communicated to above two hundred persons, and a whole year taken up in preparations for its execution, and yet not be discover'd to the court of Spain till it was too late to prevent it. The new King however had not been long upon the throne, before a plot was form'd against him; but he being so fortunate to suppress the conspiracy before it came to a head, it served only to establish his authority over his subjects. He was esteem'd a good Prince, and an encourager of learning: the greatest misfortune of his reign was the reviving the war with the Dutch, who possessed themselves of most of the settlements the Portuguese had left in India and Africa; but they had the good fortune to drive the Dutch out of Brazil. King JOHN having reign'd about sixteen years, died anno 1656, leaving two sons and one daughter, viz. Don ALPHONSO his eldest son, Don PEDRO the youngest, and one daughter named KATHERINE.

ALPHONSO being very young at his father's death, reign'd some time under the guardianship of his mother, who was very successful during her administration against the Spaniards, who having made peace with France, invaded Portugal, and were determin'd to have brought that kingdom under their dominion again;

Duke of
Braganza
ascends the
throne.

His son Al-
phonso suc-
ceeds him.

CHAP. IX. " again; but the Portuguese being assisted by the
 " King of England, who had married the Prin-
 " cess KATHERINE, and by the French King
 " underhand, notwithstanding he had stipulated
 " by the Pyrenean treaty not to afford them any
 " assistance, the Portuguese defeated their ene-
 " mies in several engagements, the most impor-
 " tant victory being that of Villa Viciosa. This
 " train of ill success, with their losses in the
 " Low Countries, induc'd the Spaniards to make
 " a peace with Portugal, and renounce all their
 " pretensions to that crown.

" King ALPHONSO coming of age, the Queen-
 " dowager, who did not approve of his conduct,
 " retired into a cloyster, where she died. AL-
 " PHONSO afterwards married the Princess of
 " Nemours, of the house of Savoy, who upon pre-
 " tence of her husband's impotence, retir'd also in-
 " to a convent, and obtain'd a divorce from him;
 " while Don PEDRO, his younger brother, was
 " so fortunate as to persuade the people that Don
 " ALPHONSO was a weak man, and incapable
 " of governing the kingdom, and procur'd him
 " to be depos'd by an assembly of the States,
 " and banish'd to the island of Tercera, anno 1668,
 " from whence he was brought back some time
 " after, and died in the castle of Cintra on the
 " twelfth of December 1683, till when Don PE-
 " DRO took upon him the title of Regent of
 " the Kingdom, but upon the death of ALPHON-
 " so he was proclaim'd King. Whether Don
 " ALPHONSO was really that weak Prince the
 " friends of Don PEDRO gave out, when they
 " procur'd him to be depos'd, is not easy to de-
 " termine; but when we see the wife and bro-
 " ther in a confederacy against him, and even con-
 " tracting marriage in his life-time, and mak-
 " ing interest to deprive him of the regal power,
 " it is very natural to suspect that the late King
 " had soul play. It is not a divorce purchased
 " at Rome, or a dispensation from the Holy See
 " to commit incest, that can sanctify injustice
 " and adultery: They might seem to flourish
 " for a time, and revel in polluted infamous em-
 " braces, but serenity of mind could never be
 " found under such a load of guilt."

His brother Don Pedro deposes him. Some writers however, I find, give Don PE-
 DRO a great character. They relate, that he was
 a Prince of excellent parts, and apply'd himself
 with all imaginary diligence to render his subjects
 easy and happy: and it is indeed become a pro-
 verb, *The worse Title the better King*: abundance
 of popular acts must be done to take off the peo-
 ple's attention, and keep them quiet. But the sum-
 of their policy, both here and in Spain, seems to
 be the bribing the nobility and leading men, who
 willingly contribute to the slavery and oppression
 of their fellow-subjects, that they may share the

plunder with the tyrant. But since the Spanish CHAP.
 Court has been govern'd by French Councils, they IX.
 have struck off a multitude of pensioners, and
 now govern both nobility and commonalty by
 their standing troops. We have instances in some
 other kingdoms where the Court is trebly guard-
 ed: 1. By an almighty band of Pensioners. 2. By
 a body of national troops. And, 3. If either of
 these should boggle at the villainous parts they are
 expected to act, there is a body of foreign mer-
 cenaries ready to keep the surly natives in awe.
 And if all these shou'd fail, they are provided of
 a guaranty of most of the powers of Europe to
 secure their thrones, and defend the most oppres-
 sive arbitrary measures.

To return; As the revenues of the crown of
 Portugal are not the largest, and the greatest part
 of them is employ'd in pensions among the Gran-
 dees and Nobility, and consequently the court in
 no condition to maintain a foreign war, it has
 been the wisdom of their Princes, and particu-
 larly of Don PEDRO, to promote peace with all
 Christian Princes and States. Accordingly, in the
 first long war between the Allies and LEWIS the
 fourteenth, we find the Portuguese stood neu-
 ters; nor did they come into the last war in
 Queen ANNE's reign, till the year 1703, and
 then it is evident the whole weight of the war
 on that side was borne by their Allies.

The cautious Portuguese, before they enter'd 1703.
 into the grand Alliance, insisted, that the Arch- The terms
 duke CHARLES, who was to be proclaim'd King on which the
 of Spain, should be sent to Portugal with an ar- Portuguese
 my of twelve thousand English and Dutch troops; the Grand.
 that the Allies also should take into their pay Alliance.
 thirteen thousand of the troops of Portugal, and
 that a large fleet should be fitted out to protect
 their coast and trade against the insults of the
 French. Accordingly Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL,
 with thirty-five English men of war and fourteen
 Dutch, arriv'd at the mouth of the Tagus the
 latter end of July, from whence the confede-
 rate fleet sail'd into the Streights, and having
 alarm'd the coast of Spain, made a descent with
 two or three thousand men near Altea in Valen-
 cia, inviting the Spaniards to join them, declaring
 they were come to protect them from the tyranny
 of the French, and assist them in setting their
 lawful Sovereign the Archduke CHARLES upon
 the throne. Nor did the people seem averse to
 the proposal, but brought in provisions to the
 fleet, and many of them drunk the Archduke's
 health. However, things not being yet ripe for
 a general revolt, the troops re-imbarqued, and
 the fleet having in vain endeavour'd to relieve the
 Cevennois in Languedoc, and cruised in the Me-
 diterranean till the latter end of the year, the Ad-
 miral visited the coasts of Portugal again, and af-
 terwards.

CHAP. IX. terwards return'd to England, not having been able to meet with the French fleet, which kept close in their harbours this year.

Archduke
declar'd
King of
Spain.

On the 12th of September the Emperor and the King of the Romans sign'd an act, whereby they relinquish'd all their right to the Spanish monarchy in favour of the Archduke CHARLES: the Emperor at the same time declaring that the male branch of the house of Austria being extinct in Spain, that monarchy with the dominions thereto belonging was devolved upon him; and being importuned by his illustrious confederates, particularly the King of Portugal, to provide a successor to that monarchy, he thought proper to send over his second son, the Archduke CHARLES, to Spain, in order to put him in possession of that kingdom: to which purpose his Imperial Majesty and the King of the Romans had made this resignation of their rights, and did declare and acknowledge the said Archduke King of Spain, by the Stile and Title of CHARLES III, &c. After which, another act was read on behalf of the Archduke, declaring his acceptance of the Spanish crown, and renouncing all his right to the dominions of the house of Austria in the Empire: and the Emperor, the King of the Romans, and the Archduke afterwards took their oaths at the altar for the confirmation of the said respective acts. Then the Archduke was proclaim'd King of Spain, and received the compliments of the Court thereupon. The Emperor afterwards wrote a letter to the King of Portugal, notifying his proclaiming the Archduke King of Spain, and that he design'd he should shortly visit Portugal. Another letter was wrote to the Queen of England, recommending the new-made King to her protection: upon the receipt whereof, the Queen wrote to King CHARLES, assuring him she would employ all the strength of her arms in his favour.

He comes to
England.

The Archduke, now stiled King CHARLES the third, soon after set out from Vienna for Holland, where he arrived the second of November; and having continued at the Hague till the 23d of December, embarked for England. He arrived at Spithead the 26th of the same month, where the Duke of Somerset, Master of the horse to the Queen of England, waited on him on ship-board, with a letter and a compliment from her Majesty, inviting him to Windsor. His Catholick Majesty thereupon came on shore, and went to Petworth, the Duke of Somerset's seat in Sussex; where the Prince of Denmark, her Majesty's consort, was come to receive him. On the 29th his Catholick Majesty with the Prince came to Windsor; the Queen received him at the top of the stairs, and after some compliments of course, he thank'd her for her generous assistance to-

wards setting him on the throne of Spain. (For CHAP IX. not only the British fleets and armies were employ'd in his service, but the very charges of his voyage, and his court in Portugal, were to be, and actually were, provided at the expence of Britain.) His Majesty supp'd with the Queen and Prince of Denmark that evening; her Majesty giving the King the right hand at table, and the Prince sitting at the end. His Catholick Majesty lay but two nights at Windsor, where the English court appear'd in all its lustre, nothing was wanting that might render the entertainment agreeable or magnificent: the King took the napkin from the Duchess of Marlborough, and wou'd hold it while the Queen wash'd; after which he return'd it to her Grace with his diamond ring wrapp'd up in it; but the rest of the Queen's servants were strictly prohibited to take any thing of the King, who did not abound in treasure at this time.

His Majesty having taken leave of the Queen, return'd to Petworth the 31st of December, and the next day went on board Admiral Rook in the Royal Catherine at Spithead. The Dutch squadron having join'd the fleet, they set sail the fifth of January; but meeting with a terrible storm in the latitude of 46, they return'd to St. Hellens the 20th to refit. The twelfth of February the fleet set sail again, and on the twenty-fifth arriv'd in the river of Lisbon, where the King of Portugal with his two eldest sons came on board the Royal Catherine, and after a short stay the two Kings went on shore, where *Te Deum* was sung for his Majesty's safe arrival; and in the beginning of March all the English and Dutch auxiliary troops arrived in Portugal, being commanded by Duke Schomberg. Whereupon the Marquis de Chateaufneuf, Ambassador of France to the King of Portugal, retir'd from thence.

But the English and Dutch, who had promised themselves such mighty advantages from the King of Portugal's coming into the Grand Alliance, found themselves miserably disappointed: not a third part of the horses were provided for remounting their cavalry that had been promised them, and those under size and not fit for service; then the Portuguese Generals, and every Governour of a province who has the supreme military command lodg'd in him, insisted on commanding the Confederate Generals, and that their troops should take the right upon all occasions; nor would they suffer the English and Dutch to march in a body, but distributed them into their little ragged frontier towns that were not tenable, where many of them were made prisoners by the Duke of Anjou, who invaded Portugal this year with an army of two and twenty thousand men. The Marquis das Minas pretended indeed to give

He arrives
in Portugal
with a de-
tachment of
English and
Dutch
forces.

CHAP. IX. a diversion by marching into Castile; but the Duke of Berwick, who commanded the Spanish army, perfectly contemn'd him, and having sat down before Castle-David, made the garrison prisoners of war. Duke Schomberg, who commanded the English, being weary of his command in such circumstances, desired to be recall'd, and the Earl of Galway, a French refugee, who made no difficulty in sacrificing the honour and interest of Britain to the Portuguese afterwards, commanded on that side in his room.

In the mean time the English Admiral Sir GEORGE ROOK having disembark'd the Confederate troops, sail'd from the river of Lisbon and cruised off of Cape St. Vincent, for the security of the Turkey and Levant fleets, and then return'd to Lisbon. He set sail again the latter end of April with forty ships of the line, and some land-forces on board commanded by the Prince of Hesse, for Barcelona, where they summon'd the Governour: but he paying no regard to their summons, and some Catalans assuring the Admiral and the Prince, that there were five to one in the city for King CHARLES, they landed some forces, and sent a second summons, but with no better success. Whereupon having thrown about three-score bombs into the city, the forces were re-imbarqued, and the fleet sail'd towards Toulon; near which place the Admiral received advice from Lisbon, that the Count de Toulouse was come into the Mediterranean with the Brest squadron, in order to join that of Thoulon; and on the seventh of June the scouts made the signal of seeing the French fleet. The Admiral thereupon stood after them, but could not bring them to an engagement. Having lost sight of the French fleet, he made the best of his way to the Streights, where he was join'd by another squadron of English men of war commanded by Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, and it was resolved to attack Gibraltar with their united force. The fleet got into the bay the twenty-first of July, and at three in the afternoon, the Marines, to the number of 1800, with the Prince of Hesse at the head of them, were put on shore on the neck of land to the northward of the town, to cut off any communication with the country. The Admiral on the twenty-second in the morning order'd some ships to cannonade the town under the command of Rear-Admiral BYNG and Rear-Admiral VANDERDUSEN; and Captain HICKS in the Yarmouth, with some other ships, were to batter the south mole-head: but the wind blowing contrary, it was put off till the twenty-third, when the ships being all in their places by break of day, the cannonading begun, and was perform'd with great fury, above fifteen thousand shot being made in five or six hours time against the town. The

enemy being beat from their guns, especially at the south mole-head, and the Admiral considering that the gaining that work would probably reduce the town, order'd Captain WHITACRE with all the boats arm'd to possess himself of it, which was perform'd with great expedition; whereupon the enemy sprung a mine that blew up the fortifications upon the mole, kill'd two Lieutenants and forty men, and wounded sixty more. However, they kept possession of the great platform, and advancing to a redoubt between the mole and the town, made themselves masters of it, with a great many of the enemy's cannon. Then they sent the Governour a peremptory summons, who on the twenty-fourth in the morning desired to capitulate. Hostages therefore being exchanged, and the treaty concluded, the Prince of Hesse took possession of the town the same evening.

Soon after the taking of Gibraltar, the Brest and Thoulon squadrons being join'd, and amounting to two and fifty ships of the line of battle, and twenty-four galleys, commanded by the Count de Thoulouse, encounter'd the Confederate fleet, consisting of fifty-three ships of the line, commanded by Sir GEORGE ROOK, on the thirteenth of August N. S. off of Malaga. The French ships were generally much larger, and being but just come out of harbour, much cleaner than those of the Confederates. The fight continued till night, and the fleets remain'd in sight of each other a day or two afterwards, but neither side, 'tis evident, cared to renew the engagement; the French by their own account had been very roughly handled, and the English Admiral found that he had spent so much of his powder and shot in the taking of Gibraltar and in the engagement, that some of his ships had not three rounds left; and his being able to brave the French in these circumstances, might well be look'd upon equal to a victory. The French indeed pretended he declined fighting, that is, he did not pursue them; and this is very true, he would have been a madman if he had in that condition: but it is as certain they did not pursue him, since he remain'd two days in sight of them after the engagement, and then sail'd no farther than Gibraltar, where they might have found him eight days afterwards, if they had had any stomach for fighting. It is plain therefore they had enough of it, especially since they never attempted to retake Gibraltar, or enter'd upon any further action till they return'd into their harbours.

The French, in their relation of this engagement, inform us, that Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, who led the Van of the English, sail'd so far before the rest of the fleet, that he was in danger of being surrounded by the enemy and cut off, which obliged Sir GEORGE ROOK to begin the fight

Sea-fight off of Malaga.

Gibraltar taken.

CHAP. IX.

CHAP. IX. at too great a distance; and this was the true reason he had not so compleat a victory as might otherwise have been expected. We may observe further, that the French were never able to man above fifty or sixty sail of men of war of the line during the late wars, tho' they pretend they have no less than two or three hundred large men of war in their ports; and 'tis true their foreign trade can never furnish them with seamen sufficient to man more than sixty capital ships, so that they are so far from being a match for the maritime powers the English or Dutch, who are either of them able to fit out a navy of above a hundred sail, as they actually did in the Dutch war, and in the last war with France; but as large squadrons were always taken up in protecting their coasts and their trade, the grand fleet seldom consisted of more than fifty or sixty sail of men of war, which they saw was abundantly sufficient to engage the whole force of France at sea. And when LEWIS XIV became sensible of this, we find he laid up his grand fleet, and only fitted out squadrons to ruin our trade and foreign settlements, in which he was but too successful. Another observation which cannot be pass'd by here, is, that notwithstanding the Portuguese are supposed able to fit out five and twenty or thirty men of war, they hardly join'd our fleet with a single ship during the war, or cou'd protect their own coasts or trade against the insults of a French squadron, but Sir GEORGE ROOK was obliged to leave them eighteen or twenty sail for their defence when he return'd to England, as our Admirals did afterwards almost every year during the war. And I am satisfied, wou'd the Portuguese have consented to have join'd our fleets with a squadron of theirs, our Admirals have justly so mean an opinion of their marine force, that they wou'd not have depended on them any more than our Generals cou'd depend on the assistance of their horse on shore.

But to return from this digression, if it be one: The confederate fleet being return'd to their ports, the French and Spaniards the following winter laid siege to Gibraltar by land, while Admiral POINTI, with a squadron of thirteen French men of war block'd it up by sea; of which Admiral LEAKE, who commanded the English squadron left for the protection of the Portuguese at Lisbon, having intelligence, set sail for the Streights, and surprising POINTI with his squadron in the bay of Gibraltar, took three men of war, and run two of the largest on shore, which the enemy immediately quitted and set fire to. Whereupon the besiegers, after they had lain six months before the place, and ruin'd best part of their army, thought fit to draw off their batteries and raise the siege.

The Confederates receiving repeated intelli-

gence that the Spaniards, and particularly the Catalans, were ready to revolt on the appearance of King CHARLES with a body of troops upon their coast, the grand fleet, commanded by Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL, with a detachment of land-forces under the command of the Earl of Peterborough, set sail from Spithead to Lisbon, where they arrived the twentieth of June, and his Catholick Majesty coming on board them, they sail'd to Gibraltar, where they took up the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, and watering afterwards at the bay of Altea in Valencia, they found the people of that kingdom generally disposed to declare for King CHARLES III; from whence the fleet steer'd for Barcelona, where they did not arrive till the twenty-second of August, having been hinder'd by calms, contrary winds, and other accidents. The Prince of Hesse, who went before with two frigates to learn the posture things were in on that side, being return'd to the fleet, and having acquainted the Generals that the town of Vich had already declared for his Catholick Majesty, as other places seem'd ready to do, the troops were landed to the eastward of the city without opposition, and on the twenty-seventh some ships which had been sent to summon Denia, brought intelligence that the city had surrender'd; whereupon the tents, artillery and ammunition being landed, his Catholick Majesty went on shore the twenty-eighth of August, being receiv'd by a vast concourse of Catalans, that cried out without ceasing, *Long live King CHARLES III.* And it being agreed to attack Fort Montjoy to the westward of the town in the first place, though with very little hopes of success, a bomb luckily set fire to the powder of the Fort, and blowing up the works, made it an easy conquest; but the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt lost his life in the attack.

The Earl of Peterborough afterwards order'd the trenches to be open'd against the city, which was begun on the nineteenth of September, and the fleet bombarded it from the sea, setting fire to the town in several places, which put the people in a great consternation; whereupon Don VELASCO the Governour gave leave to the Friars and the rest of the Clergy, with the Nuns, to retire out of the place, and they were kindly received by King CHARLES.

While the Confederates lay before the place, the Catalans came and offer'd their service to his Catholick Majesty, of whom two thousand were mounted and arm'd, the rest brought in provisions and necessaries, and contributed very much towards taking the town, which surrender'd on the fourteenth of October, N. S. and the next day the shops in Barcelona were open'd as in time of peace, and all was in a profound tranquillity. King CHARLES, in his letter to the Queen of England

CHAP. IX. 1705. King Charles sails to Barcelona with the Confederate fleet.

Barcelona taken.

CHAP. IX. England on this great event, dated the twenty-second of October, says, That all her Majesty's officers and soldiers had behaved themselves with uncommon gallantry, and taken a city with eight thousand men, and some few miquelets, which thirty thousand French were not able to do: that the cruelties of the late Viceroy, and a report that he intended to carry away several prisoners from thence, contrary to the capitulation, had incited the burghers and country people to take arms; and the garrison being employ'd in loading their baggage in order to march out, were in danger of being cut in pieces, had not the Earl of Peterborough with her Majesty's troops enter'd the town and prevented it; and it was with a great deal of difficulty that the Earl preserved the Viceroy. And not only Barcelona, but Terragona, Lerida, Tortosa, and all the towns in Catalonia, except Roses, immediately surrender'd to the Allies.

The season of the year requiring the fleet to return home, four English and two Dutch frigates were left at Barcelona to attend King CHARLES; and Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL left twenty-five sail of English, under the command of Admiral LEAKE, and fifteen Dutch, commanded by Admiral WASSENAER, to winter at Lisbon, and protect the Portuguese.

The Catalans upon these successes raised six regiments for King CHARLES; besides a regiment of five hundred dragoons which his Majesty form'd out of the late garrison of Barcelona that took service under him, and constituted his guard; these were commanded by Count ZINZENDORF. At the same time Don RAPHAEL NEBOT, a Catalan, came over to the King with his whole regiment, consisting of five hundred horse, who were joined by an hundred and fifty other horse on the way. And a declaration being publish'd inviting all good Spaniards to assist his Majesty in the recovery of his throne, deputies came from several towns in Valencia to make their submission. Whereupon the Earl of Peterborough, with one thousand horse, five hundred foot, and a body of miquelets, march'd to the capital city of Valencia, and by the assistance of the inhabitants made himself master of it, making the Viceroy and the Archbishop prisoners; and thereupon the whole kingdom of Valencia, except Alicant and Penisola, revolted to King CHARLES: And had the Portuguese made any diversion, as they promised, or but permitted their Allies the English and Dutch to advance to the frontiers of Spain at this time, 'tis not improbable but all Spain had submitted to King CHARLES; for the Grandees were so disgusted at the influence they saw French counsels had in all their affairs, and at some promotions of the subjects of that nation, that when King PHILIP call'd the Grandees together to advise him in this exigence, they refused to assist him

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either with their purses or advice. But notwithstanding the most pressing instances of the confederate Generals, the Portuguese could not be drawn out of their quarters till the beginning of October, when they laid siege to Badajoz, and one would think only with a design to raise it; for they suffer'd themselves to be surprized by Marshal THESSE, who threw a supply of troops and provisions into the town after some progress had been made in the siege: whereupon the Portuguese retir'd, and march'd into winter quarters. At this siege the Earl of Galway, who commanded the British troops, had his right hand shot off; whereupon he was carried to Elvas, whither the Portuguese Generals soon followed him, for which they had not so good an excuse.

The Portuguese being retreated into their own country, the Earl of Peterborough march'd with fifteen hundred men to Valencia, and the city of Barcelona being drain'd of soldiers, by sending detachments to Tortosa, Lerida, Gironne, &c. King PHILIP on a sudden drew all the troops he could together, both French and Spaniards, and invested Barcelona on the second of April, N. S. 1706, before that city had any notice of his motions, or the breaches were well repaired; and had not the Count de Thoulouse, who was to convoy the artillery and ammunition necessary for the siege, and block it up by sea, been put back and detain'd a considerable time by contrary winds, the town had been retaken by the enemy before the Allies could have reliev'd it. But the Lord Peterborough having found means to reinforce the garrison, and harassing the enemy's camp with perpetual alarms, the town held out till the second of May, when his Lordship sent King CHARLES intelligence that the confederate fleet was approaching. On the seventh the Earl of Peterborough (who was Admiral as well as General) joined the fleet off Tarragona with several barks, and fourteen hundred land-forces in them, and his Excellency went on board the Prince George, hoisting the Union flag, and on the eighth the fleet came to an anchor in Barcelona bay, to the inexpressible joy of the garrison and inhabitants, for Fort Montjoy was taken the twenty-fifth of April, the Lord Donnegal who commanded there being killed, and the enemy preparing to give the town a general assault.

The Earl of Peterborough going on shore with the troops he had on board, the town no longer apprehended themselves in any danger, and on the twelfth of May, N. S. King PHILIP raised the siege with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind him a hundred and six brass cannon, twenty-three mortars, all his sick and wounded, and prodigious quantities of provision and ammunition; and it was observ'd, that the same morning about nine there was a great eclipse of the sun, which

5 T

being

CHAP. IX.

Badajoz besieged.

1706. Barcelona besieged by K. Philip.

Barcelona relieved.

Valencia taken.

CHAP. IX. being the French device, superstitious people imagin'd portended no good to their nation. King PHILIP with his army retir'd into France, and the French fleet commanded by the Count de Thoulouse had retir'd before, on notice of the arrival of the confederates on the coast of Catalonia.

Alcantara taken.

Civdad Rodrigo taken.

While King PHILIP was besieging Barcelona, and had withdrawn most of his forces from the side of Portugal, the Portuguese with the confederate troops ventur'd to enter Castile, and lay siege to Alcantara the tenth of April; which being a place of no great strength, capitulated the fourteenth, when it was expected the Portuguese would have march'd directly to Madrid, where King PHILIP's Queen and Court were in the utmost consternation; but notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the British and Dutch Generals for marching to Madrid, the Portuguese absolutely refused to leave their own frontiers till they saw the fate of Barcelona determin'd: However, on intelligence that the confederate fleet had enter'd the Straights in their way to Barcelona, they laid siege to Civdad Rodrigo the twenty-first of May, which place surrender'd the twenty-sixth; and on the twenty-seventh the news of the raising the siege of Barcelona was brought into their camp; whereupon it was unanimously agreed by the Portuguese and the rest of the confederate Generals to march to Madrid, from which they were not then fifty miles distant: The army however, on account of some unpassable mountains, were oblig'd first to march northward as far as Salamanca, where they arriv'd the seventh of June. On the eighteenth of the same month they came to Espinal, where Deputies from the Escorial came to make their submission. Here, by some intercepted letters, they had advice of the victory obtain'd by the Allies at Ramellies in Flanders the twelfth instant, and understood that the Spaniards generally look'd upon King PHILIP's affairs as desperate. That Prince however, after his disgrace at Barcelona, arriv'd at Madrid by the way of France, and finding the Portuguese bent their march towards that capital, he retir'd again, and join'd his troops that were returning through Navarre, commanding the rest of his forces that were dispersed through Spain to follow him.

Before he left Madrid, he propos'd it to the Grandees and the rest of the Nobility, that they would take the field with him; but they desired to be excused, and most of them retired to their country-seats. The Spaniards seem'd very indifferent which party succeeded, at least they did not think it worth their while to hazard any thing for either Prince. They did not approve of French counsels, but were made to believe their religion was in danger from those armies of hereticks in confederacy with King CHARLES.

CHAP. IX. The Allies being encamp'd at Nuestra Signora de Ratamal, on the twenty-fourth of June a detachment of horse was sent to take possession of Madrid, from whence there came a deputation the next day to make their submission in form, and most of the nobility and persons of distinction came into the camp, to express their devotion for the house of Austria. The army moving nearer to Madrid, the twenty-seventh King CHARLES was proclaim'd in that city; whereupon Toledo and many other considerable towns declar'd for him, and even Cardinal PORTOCARERO wrote to the Portuguese General, the Maquis das Minas, offering his submission to King CHARLES, in whose name justice was administer'd in all courts of judicature at Madrid.

The Allies take possession of Madrid.

Toledo, &c. declare for K. Charles.

The confederate Generals upon this success sent courier after courier to King CHARLES, to hasten his march to Madrid, which at first he seem'd inclin'd to; but the kingdom of Arragon declaring for him at the same time, he march'd to the capital city of that province, under pretence of receiving the submission of that people, where he trifled away so much time, that the Duke of Berwick being reforc'd, appear'd in sight of the Allies, and on the third of August sent a detachment to take possession of Madrid again, which the Confederates had quitted a little before, and withdrawn to a more advantageous camp, for they were now oblig'd to be upon the defensive. But at length, on the sixth of August, King CHARLES and the Lord Peterborough arriv'd in the camp of the Allies at Guadalaxara, bringing with them no more than five battalions and thirteen squadrons, which, tho' it did not put them in a capacity of acting offensively, enabled them to make a handsome retreat; and the Earl of Peterborough was dispatch'd to Italy to solicit further reinforcements, the French and Spaniards being at this time entirely driven out of Lombardy by the Allies, as they must have been out of Spain, if the Confederates had not, to humour the Imperialists and the Duke of Savoy, employ'd their sea and land forces in that romantick project upon Thoulon, which will be mention'd in the next year's transactions.

Madrid lost again.

But to return to the army at Guadalaxara: The Duke of Berwick having possessed himself of Madrid again, Toledo, Salamanca, and all the towns almost that had declar'd for the Allies in Castile, espous'd the part of King PHILIP again, whereby the retreat of the Portuguese to their own country was cut off, and it was thereupon agreed to retreat into Valencia, to secure that country, Arragon and Catalonia, in the interest of King CHARLES, and preserve a communication with the sea-coasts: The army accordingly made their retreat in good order, passing the Tagus at Fuente Duenas, without any considerable loss, tho'

The Allies retire out of Castile.

CHAP. IX. tho' the Duke of Berwick attended their rear during the whole march.

Whilst King CHARLES was retreating from Castile towards Valencia, a body of ten thousand English and Dutch arriv'd in the river of Lisbon, commanded by the Earl Rivers. These troops were at first design'd to have made a descent in France the preceding summer, but having been detain'd several months by contrary winds, that enterprize was laid aside, and they were sent to reinforce the Allies in Spain. The court of Portugal, on their arrival at Lisbon, propos'd to join a body of their national troops with them, and that they should march directly to Madrid thro' their country; but the English and Dutch having been on board six months, suffer'd incredible hardships in the voyage, and lost most of their horses, were in no condition to undertake such an enterprize: Nor had the Portuguese any such troops as they mention'd ready to join them, or artillery or ammunition provided for such an undertaking. The Earl Rivers however thought fit to land his men, as well to refresh them as to encourage the Portuguese, whose frontiers lay pretty much expos'd on the retreat of the Allies towards Valencia.

But to return to King CHARLES: His army having gain'd the frontiers of Valencia and Murcia, he put garrisons into Cuença, Requena and Cifuentes, sent a detachment of his troops to Arragon, and dispos'd the rest in such a manner, as to protect those countries which continued in his interest.

I find the conduct both of King CHARLES and the confederate Generals that took possession of Madrid, exceedingly blamed by some writers. They relate, that when the French retir'd in such a precipitate manner from before Barcelona to the frontiers of France, it was the opinion of the English Generals, that King CHARLES should have immediately gone on to Madrid by the way of Valencia, as being the nearest, most safe, and most convenient way for the subsistence of the confederate troops. Several councils of war were held upon it, and it was resolv'd in three of them *nemine contradicente*. According to those resolves, the Earl of Peterborough march'd before with six thousand men to Valencia, and soon after his Lordship arriv'd there, he receiv'd certain advice that the Earl of Galway was come with the confederate army under his command to Madrid; from whence every one concluded, that King CHARLES would have gone with all imaginable speed to take possession of that capital. The Earl of Peterborough, and those who were with him, were mightily surpriz'd, after a month's waiting at Valencia, to find that his Catholick Majesty had been advis'd and prevail'd upon by the Prince de L——n, and Count de C——es, to alter

those measures at Tarragona, where they had resolv'd to go to Madrid by the way of Arragon, on pretence of conquering that kingdom, which had then declared for him. The Envoy of Portugal, and our Minister at his Majesty's court, did both of them protest against this, and urg'd to have their reasons enter'd in writing; the substance of which was, 1. That Arragon being not well furnish'd with provisions, it would be very inconvenient for our troops to march that way. 2. That the enemy having then six thousand good horse ready to observe his motions, his Majesty could not march that way without visible hazard. 3. That tho' that road were safe, it would be the loss of six weeks time before he could arrive at Madrid, and that time would be of great importance to him in such a conjuncture. Those about him who were for going by the way of Arragon, alledg'd, that it was not for his Majesty's honour to go to Madrid in a hurry, without his equipage and retinue. To which they say Mr. STANHOPE reply'd, That King WILLIAM, when he made his descent upon England, went to London in a hackney-coach, attended with a few dragoons, otherwise he had lost the crown. However, the other counsels prevail'd, and King CHARLES pursu'd their advice, of going by way of Arragon. When the Earl of Peterborough heard of these measures, he sent several letters with the unanimous opinion of his councils of war, that it would be best for his Majesty to return and go by the way of Valencia: but his Lordship's letters, and the opinion of the councils of war, had no effect; his Majesty went on to Saragossa, where the great expectations of those who advis'd him to that road terminated in being complimented with a *Torridore*, or bull-feast. When they saw too late that dangers approach'd, and that the direct way from thence to Madrid was not practicable, then they alter'd their measures again, took the road towards Valencia, and sent to desire that the Earl of Peterborough would meet them with all possible haste.

The confederate army then in Castile seem'd at the same time to have been under a strange restraint. The Duke of Anjou had no more but six thousand horse, and scarce any regular foot on that side, when the confederate army came to Madrid, so that it was thought they might have forced the enemy to repass the Ebro, where they would soon have been in want of provisions; or the confederate troops might have encamp'd and fortify'd themselves, so as to have cover'd Madrid, and laid up magazines of corn: But instead of doing either of these, they march'd and encamp'd at Guadalaxara, where in less than a month they were reduc'd to want of provisions. And it seems their intelligence was not very good, since one morning they were surpriz'd to see an army of twenty thousand men encamp'd on the other side

CHAP. IX. of the river over-against them, tho' they were inform'd that there was no enemy within thirty miles of them; and all this while the French troops that retir'd from before Barcelona had time to march round thro' France into Spain, so that they were superiour to the confederates in horse, and well nigh a match to them in foot. Perceiving this advantage, they detach'd a body of horse to repossess themselves of Madrid, where they kill'd many of the Germans, and others of King CHARLES's party: Upon this, Segovia, Toledo, Salamanca, and other places which had submitted to his Catholick Majesty, revolted again to the Duke of Anjou, and our communication with Portugal was cut off.

When matters came to this pass, most of the Generals were for fighting, in order to recover that advantage which had been so unhappily lost; but of forty-five General Officers, the Earl of Peterborough alone was against running such a risque: his Lordship gave his opinion in writing against it, and convinc'd them that it was not safe to venture all upon the issue of a battle, since in case we should be worsted, there could be no hopes of a retreat in a country where we had so many enemies.

This was the state of affairs when the Earl of Peterborough came to Guadalaxara. His Lordship was for retaking Alcala, as a proper place for covering Madrid, and offer'd to attempt it with five thousand men, by possessing himself of the pass of Henarez, and either to fight such of the enemy as opposed him, or to make a good retreat. His proposal was approv'd of by every one, but by the delays laid in his way the opportunity was lost, so that the confederate army was forc'd to break up, and to march higher into the country towards Madrid, for the conveniency of provisions. His Lordship's baggage was taken by the enemy at Huet: The town offer'd to make good the damage, which he was too generous to accept of; yet he impos'd it upon them by way of punishment, to bring in all the corn of that district to the army, which was so considerable, that it serv'd them for bread for six weeks. His Lordship finding there were Generals enough for the rest of the campaign, and that he had very little influence on their councils, retir'd to Valencia, and from thence went to Italy, as well to provide remittances of money for the forces in the British service, as to endeavour to procure a reinforcement of troops from thence, which might very well have been spared there, since the French were driven out of Lombardy. And if the Duke of Savoy and the Imperial Generals would have come into these measures, Spain had been secured to the house of Austria in another campaign: That fatal project on Thoulon, for which every thing else was neglected the following summer, ruin'd King

CHARLES's affairs in Spain, and occasion'd the war to be protracted six years longer, to the irreparable damage of the Allies, especially of Britain, that bore as great a share in it as all the rest of the Confederates put together. CHAP. IX.

And now let us take a view of our acquisitions by sea this campaign. The English Admiral LEAKE it seems was no less successful in the Mediterranean than the confederate Generals had been by land: for after he had reliev'd Barcelona, he attack'd Carthagen, which surrender'd to him about the middle of June; and on the eighth of August he took Alicant by storm, after which the castle surrender'd. About the middle of September he reduc'd the islands of Majorca and Yvica to the obedience of King CHARLES III. But the confederate army being retired out of Castile, Carthagen was retaken by King PHILIP's forces the following winter; and the Duke of Berwick also retook Cuenca on the confines of Castile, being a considerable frontier town in the possession of the Allies, and made the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, prisoners of war.

Whilst affairs were in this situation, and Sir CLOUDESLEY SHOVEL and the Earl Rivers remain'd at Lisbon with the troops above-mention'd, Don PEDRO King of Portugal died, viz. on the eleventh of December 1706, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He had been married three times: His first wife was the Princess LOUISA DE GUSMAN, daughter to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who died anno 1666. He had by her the Infanta ISABELLA, who was declared heiress of the kingdom in 1674, and contracted to the Duke of Savoy in 1680; but died unmarried on the twenty-first of October 1690. His second wife was MARY-FRANCES-ISABELLA of Savoy, daughter of the Duke of Nemours, who had been divorc'd from his brother the late K. ALPHONSO. He married her the second of April 1668, and she died the seventeenth of December 1683. His third wife was MARIA-SOPHIA-ELIZABETH, daughter of PHILIP-WILLIAM Elector Palatine. He married her in 1687, and she died in 1699, by whom he had issue, 1. A son born the thirtieth of August 1688, who died a few days after. 2. Don JOHN-FRANCIS-JOSEPH-ANTONIO, &c. his present Majesty, born the twenty-second of October 1689, and declared heir apparent to the crown by the three estates assembled at Lisbon the first of December 1697. 3. FRANCIS-XAVIER-ANTONIO-URBAN, May the twenty-fifth 1691. 4. ANTONIO-FRANCIS, born March the fifteenth 1695. 5. THERESA-FRANCES-JOSEPHA, born February the twenty-fourth 1696: She was contracted to the present Emperor, but died in 1704. 6. EMANUEL, born August the third 1697. And, 7. FRANCISCA-XAVIERA-JOSEPHA, born January the thirtieth

King Peter dies, and is succeeded by his son Don John.

The wives and issue of the late King.

CHAP. thirtieth 1699. And besides these he had a natural daughter, married to the eldest son of the Duke of Cadaval, anno 1695.

As to the Infanta, the Princess CATHERINE, sister of King PETER, born the fourteenth of November 1638, she was married, as hath been intimated already, to CHARLES II, King of England, by a treaty concluded the twelfth of May 1662; the marriage being first magnificently solemnized by proxy at Lisbon, and afterwards consummated at Portsmouth in England, whither the King went to meet her. The Queen-Regent of Portugal, her mother, gave her, as a dower Tangier in Africa, and the island of Bombay in the East-Indies: the first of which was kept for some years at a great expence; but the Ministry of England being of opinion the advantages they should reap by it would not countervail the charge of maintaining it, thought fit to demolish the works and leave it, anno 1684; and King CHARLES conferred the island of Bombay on the English East-India company, which they still retain, it being the seat of the principal Governour they have in India. Besides these places, the Infanta had a fortune of three millions of livres, or three hundred thousand Pounds, according to some writers, but according to others two hundred and fifty thousand Pounds. She continued in England about seven or eight years after the death of King CHARLES, but in 1692 retired to Portugal, where she died on the thirty-first of December 1705.

On the death of King PETER, his eldest son Don JOHN succeeded to the crown, as has been intimated already. The French had great hopes on this event to have withdrawn Portugal from the grand alliance, and things were carried so far that some acts of hostility passed between the royal navy of England and the forts in the river of Lisbon, which were ordered to fire on the cruisers Admiral SHOVEL sent out of that river. But partly by the influence of the English fleet and forces, and partly by English treasure, the Portuguese were kept steady to the Allies; they were pleased to suffer the English to continue the war on that side at their own expence.

The men of war and transports being provided with water and other necessaries to continue their voyage, the troops under the command of the Earl Rivers were embarked, and designed to sail the second of January for Alicant, according to the desire of the King of Spain; but the night before the General received orders from England to the contrary. His Excellency held a Council of War, and therein it was resolved that my Lord should present a memorial to the new King to acquaint him with the conditional orders he had received. His Excellency had accordingly audience the fourth of his Portuguese Majesty, who received him with all

possible marks of esteem, and delivered his memorial, containing the conditions upon which he was order'd to land, which were in substance as follows.

1. That the King should give him positive assurances that the Portuguese troops in Valencia should be recruited to nineteen battalions, each of six hundred effective men, and the cavalry remounted; and that the said recruits and other necessaries to enable those troops to take the field, should be immediately sent away. 2. That the subsidies paid by England and Holland for the pay of 13000 men, which they are oblig'd to maintain by the treaty, may be remitted directly to Valencia, or wheresoever that army is, in order that those troops be punctually paid out of it by the orders of the Commander in chief of her Majesty's forces. 3. That if his Portuguese Majesty cannot provide ships to transport the said recruits, his Excellency will take care to send them aboard English ships, his Majesty paying the charges, and finding provisions, or paying them. 4. That the late King having proposed by his Envoy and the Marquis de Montandre in England, to join ten thousand foot and between two and three thousand horse to the troops under the command of the Earl Rivers, to march directly to Madrid, his Excellency desires a particular assurance from his present Majesty that the same shall be perform'd; as also to know what measures are already taken for that purpose, what likelihood there is that a body of that number shall be ready, and in a condition to march at the time appointed, and in what manner, and which way it is proposed they should march towards Madrid. 5. His Excellency declares, that he has orders to agree beforehand, and concert with the King all things relating to the artillery, baggage, and provisions, and expects that his Majesty shou'd furnish every thing for that service, according to the treaty relating to the first forces that were sent from England; and that the troops under his command may be furnish'd with provisions for themselves, and forage for their horses at their own charge, but at the same price as the King's troops. 6. My Lord declares as to the point of command, which has been liable to so many inconveniences, that he will not be commanded by any body but his Majesty alone. His Excellency desires in the conclusion his Portuguese Majesty, to let him have an answer to all these points in four days, that he may take measures accordingly; and that in the mean time the necessary provisions of straw and barley for his horses may be continued.

The Court of Portugal not thinking fit to comply with the demands in the Earl Rivers's memorial, Sir CLOUDESLY SHOVEL and the Earl, with the English troops aboard, sail'd from Lisbon

Earl Rivers's memorial on his leaving Lisbon with the British troops.

the

CHAP. the eighteenth of January, and arrived at Ali-
 cant the eighth of February. The Earl Ri-
 vers having landed his forces, and left them un-
 der the command of the Earl of Galway, return'd
 to England, together with the Earl of Essex and
 Brigadier GORGES, who were embark'd in the
 first design, but for reasons best known to them-
 selves, declined remaining in Valencia. King
 CHARLES also not approving the conduct of the
 Generals, the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of
 Galway, thought fit the latter end of February
 to declare his resolution of leaving the army, and
 retiring into Catalonia; which he did soon after,
 taking with him a regiment of Dragoons, and
 another of Dutch foot. It was reported however
 that the army of the Allies still amounted to thirty
 thousand men, though it appears that at the
 battle of Almanza, which happen'd but a very
 little while afterwards, they were not eighteen
 thousand effective men. Nor was the deficiency
 in point of troops their only misfortune, it is evi-
 dent there were great misunderstandings between
 King CHARLES's Court and the Generals, which
 gave but a melancholy prospect of the following
 campaign. We find the best account of the state
 of the armies in Spain in a letter the Earl of
 Peterborough wrote from Italy to the Portuguese
 Ambassador, that attended the Confederate army
 in Valencia at this time, in which he has these
 expressions: 'Wou'd to God, says the Earl, you
 were free from uneasinesses when I hope to be
 in quiet: It seems to me as if storms were threat-
 ning Spain, and I am the more concern'd, be-
 cause of the probability of your Generals con-
 tinuing in a disposition of rash measures. It is
 certain they are only in a condition for a defen-
 sive, and that suffices for the present, since the
 preparatives against France are so terrible in Italy
 and in Flanders. You know my opinion in the
 council of war held at Valencia; but the suc-
 cours which are coming, and the person of the
 Duke of Orleans, are certain proofs of the great
 efforts the enemy will make in the beginning of
 the next campaign. If we prevent their first
 impetuosity, whilst Naples, Sicily and Sardinia
 may be secur'd, peace will give us all we can
 desire. I am obliged to give you notice that no
 endeavours can prevent the Imperialists from
 marching towards Naples, it is impossible to hin-
 der that diversion of their troops; it is our in-
 terest to give the necessary help towards bringing
 that affair to a speedy conclusion: and methinks
 one might hope upon the success of that enter-
 prize, that those troops might be solicited and ob-
 tain'd for the succour of Spain.

But, my Lord, pray consider the consequences
 of a lost battle in the spring: perhaps a disgrace
 was less fatal in Flanders. By a superiority of
 horse, such a misfortune may happen to the best

foot in the world, which will be cut off entirely
 in case of a defeat, and all Spain at the same time
 lost, for want of garrisons in the strong places
 we possess. If we defend well what we have,
 their great number of horse will consume it self
 for want of forage, or destroy that part of the
 country which is ill affected, and be called by
 their pressing necessities elsewhere, since we have
 in Italy near seventy thousand effective men, for
 the vigorous measures that are concerted.

I know my reasons, tho' good, will have little
 force with the Generals; they have the last cam-
 paign in their thoughts, and have not perhaps the
 same tranquillity of mind and quiet, which, I
 thank God, I enjoy, being well content with the
 beginnings I have made, only wishing a happy
 conclusion to this great affair; assuring your Ex-
 cellency that nothing private shall ever mix with
 my thoughts for the publick. But I justly lay
 a stress on the great credit you have with every
 body, and am well assured that the interest of
 your country requires measures of the utmost
 precaution, since your best troops are in Spain,
 and that a defeat wou'd expose Portugal before
 succours can arrive, since England has left herself
 almost unprovided with troops, and that the for-
 ces in Italy being design'd for other services, it
 will be difficult to obtain any of them, tho' the
 circumstances pressingly require it. I therefore
 intreat your Excellency, to think again of the
 consequence of a lost battle: God be praised we
 are not in a necessity of a victory, that is the
 circumstance of France.

At present I have nothing to propose to your
 Excellency, nor to wish, but that the troops might
 not be fatigued in the impossible views of gain-
 ing Madrid, half the army being exposed to de-
 struction by diseases and famine, or the whole,
 in a very improper time by an unequal battle. I
 will neglect nothing in my power to obtain in
 a favourable opportunity a succour of troops for
 Spain, that in the after-season we may push our
 affairs.

But the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of
 Galway being strangers to these prudent coun-
 sels, took the field the sixth of April N. S. and
 having destroy'd some of the enemy's magazines
 on the frontiers of Castile, laid siege to the castle
 of Villena. Before the breach was accessible,
 they received intelligence that the Duke of Ber-
 wick was advanced as far as the plains of Alman-
 za, with 76 squadrons of horse, and 54 battalions
 of foot, and that the Duke of Orleans was on the
 march to join him with 7 or 8000 French, while
 the Allies had no prospect of being reinforced by
 the troops from Catalonia, King CHARLES ha-
 ving declared his intention of marching with
 them to Roussillon, and desired the Lord Gal-
 way to distribute the army on the frontiers of
 Valencia

The Earl of
 Peterbo-
 rough's ac-
 count of the
 state of the
 war.

CHAP. IX. Valencia and Arragon for the security of those provinces : (which was certainly not bad advice, in the circumstances the confederates then were). However, it was agreed in a council of war to march and attack the enemy, who waited for them in the plains of Almanza, the most advantageous ground they could have chosen, on account of their superiority in horse. But the Earl of Galway having supply'd his want of cavalry, as he thought, by interlining a brigade of foot with each wing of horse, ventur'd to engage the enemy on the twenty-fifth of April N. S. about three in the afternoon. The Earl posted himself at the head of the English dragoons on the left, and march'd to attack the enemy's right wing of horse, the Portuguese being order'd to take the charge as it should come to them gradually from the left. As soon as the left wing was advanc'd within an hundred paces of the enemy's horse, they advanc'd out of their line to meet the charge, and by the weight of their squadrons forc'd those of the Allies to retreat about fifty paces ; but Colonel SOUTHWELL's and WADE's regiments of foot, who were on the left of that brigade which was interlin'd with the horse of the first line, coming up and firing upon the enemy's flank and rear, and the cavalry at the same time receiving the charge in the front, drove them in disorder through their own lines with great slaughter. By this time the English and Dutch foot, under the command of Lieutenant-General EARL and Baron FREISHEM, were sharply engaged in the center, and broke through the enemy's first and second line, driving them as far as the walls of Almanza ; but the enemy's cavalry of the second line falling in upon their flank, forc'd the English and Dutch infantry back with great loss.

The enemy observing that the Portuguese cavalry on the right did not advance with the left wing, detach'd some squadrons to attack them, their line following slowly to sustain them ; but the Portuguese did not stay to receive them, for upon the first charge of the detach'd squadrons the whole right wing of the Portuguese cavalry run away and abandon'd their infantry, who were most of them either kill'd or made prisoners.

The battle continued still on the left wing, the enemy charging the Allies with fresh squadrons to very little purpose ; for the English and Portuguese horse on that side being favour'd by the fire of the English battalions that were interlin'd with them, broke the enemy several times. Whereupon they sent for nine battalions, most of them French, and drew up before the front line of horse, in opposition to the English brigade, and at the same time brought up several fresh squadrons to make another charge upon

the left wing of horse, that had already suffer'd very much, and lost most of the officers who commanded the squadrons ; Brigadier CARPENTER was the only one that remain'd unwounded. The confederate troops in this condition were not able to sustain the charge, but gave way ; and at the same time the nine French battalions charg'd the English brigade of foot in front and flank, and entirely broke them, giving no quarter for some time : the foot in vain cry'd to the horse not to abandon them. Neither of the Generals, the Marquis das Minas or the Earl of Galway, staid to see the end of the engagement, but left that brave handful of foot to the mercy of the enemy ; whereupon Major-General SHRIMPTON, Brigadier MACARTNEY, Colonel BRITON, Colonel HILL, with some other officers who had engaged in the center, assembled the stragglers of the English regiments into a body, and joining some of the Dutch and Portuguese, to the number of two thousand men, retreated to the hills two leagues distant from the field of battle, repulsing the horse that pursu'd them : But the next morning finding themselves destitute both of ammunition and provision, and being surrounded by two lines of foot, they were oblig'd to surrender prisoners of war.

Brigadier KILLEGREW, who was wounded in the first charge, still keeping the field, was kill'd in the second. The Colonels DORMER, ROPER, LAWRENCE, GREEN and DE LOCHE, were kill'd at the head of their squadrons, after having behav'd with the utmost gallantry ; and Colonel PIERCE and Mr. HARA, son to the Lord Tirawley, were wounded. Of the foot, the Colonels HAMILTON, WOOLLET and NEAL, who commanded regiments, were kill'd, and the Lord MARK KERR and Colonel CLAYTON wounded. As to the Earl of Galway and the Marquis das Minas, they fled with the cavalry that was left, amounting to about three thousand five hundred, to the other side of the Ebro into Catalonia. The foot were all kill'd or taken prisoners, I could never hear of a single company that escap'd.

The day after the battle the Duke of Orleans join'd the Duke of Berwick with a reinforcement of eight or ten thousand men ; and the enemy having taken Xativa, Alcyra, and some other places which the Allies had garrison'd on the frontiers of Valencia, the cities of Saragossa and Valencia, with the rest of the towns in Arragon and Valencia, submitted to the conquerors, were oblig'd to pay large sums for their revolt, depriv'd of their privileges, disarm'd and treated in a very barbarous manner, and the town of Xativa in particular was burnt and raz'd to the ground, and many of the inhabitants massacred for their disaffection to King PHILIP. The Spanish Generals

H A P. nerals on the side of Portugal took Serpa and IX. Moura this Campaign; and nothing remaining in the hands of the Allies but Alicant and Denia in Valencia, the Duke of Orleans march'd to the frontiers of Catalonia, where the confederate Generals having thrown their troops into the strong towns, burnt the country that the enemy might find no subsistence. These were some of the unhappy effects of the battle of Almanza, which the Allies might have prevented if the enterprizes on Thoulon and Naples had been deferr'd, or if the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of Galway had remain'd upon the defensive till those expeditions had been over. The campaign ended on the side of Catalonia with the taking of Lerida by the Duke of Orleans; and on the frontiers of Portugal King PHILIP's forces took Ciudad Rodrigo by storm. And the Dukes of Orleans and Noailles had probably made an entire conquest of Catalonia, if they had not been oblig'd to detach part of their troops to France upon the Duke of Savoy's laying siege to Thoulon.

Lerida taken
by the Duke
of Orleans.

1708.
Tortosa and
Denia re-
taken.

King of
Spain mar-
ries the Prin-
cess of Wol-
fembuttel.

King of Por-
tugal marries
the Archdu-
chess Mary.

The following year 1708, the Duke of Orleans made himself master of Tortosa in Catalonia, and of Denia in Valencia. But the Imperialists having sent Count Staremberg to Spain from Italy with a reinforcement of eight or ten thousand men, the forces of France and King PHILIP were content to be upon the defensive afterwards in that country. With these forces Sir JOHN LEAKE, the English Admiral, convoy'd the Queen of Spain, the late Princess of Wolfembuttel, from Vado in Italy to Catalonia, where the marriage was consummated between her and King CHARLES. After which Sir JOHN LEAKE taking some land-forces on board, reduced the island of Sardinia to the obedience of King CHARLES: And before the end of September the island of Minorca, with the fine harbour of Port-Mahon, surrender'd to that Admiral and General STANHOPE. In the mean time a contract of marriage was made between the King of Portugal and the Archduchess MARY-ANNE of Austria, second sister to the Emperor and King CHARLES; and her Majesty arriving from Holland at Spithead the twenty-fourth of September, was convoy'd to Lisbon by Admiral BYNG, where she arriv'd the sixteenth of October, N. S. And tho' King CHARLES's forces as well as the King of Portugal's had been considerably recruited and augmented this campaign, yet those Courts were so taken up with the preparations for solemnizing these marriages, and rejoicings afterwards, that the military operations in these countries seem'd to be at a stand.

1709. The campaign of 1709 begun unfortunately for the Allies on the side of Portugal: For the Portuguese and Spanish armies being encamp'd on

the banks of the river Caya opposite to each other, and the Marquis de Bay making a motion towards Campo Mayor, the Portuguese Generals resolv'd to attack him, contrary to the opinion of the Earl of Galway. Whereupon all the horse and a body of Portuguese foot had orders to march immediately with five field-pieces and begin the engagement, while the rest of the army follow'd to support them. But the Spanish cavalry no sooner charg'd the Portuguese horse but they fled and abandon'd their foot, as they had done at the battle of Almanza. Whereupon the enemy immediately took the five field-pieces and fell upon the foot in the flank. Brigadier PIERCE's English brigade was ordered to march and favour the retreat of the Portuguese foot; which they did with so much resolution, that they recover'd the field-pieces again. The Portuguese Generals however were so far from supporting them, that they quitted the field, leaving this fine brigade to be surrounded by the enemy's whole army, and made prisoners, together with Major-General SANKER, the Earl of Barrimore, and Brigadier PIERCE himself. The Earl of Galway, 'tis said, had a horse shot under him, but he made a shift to escape out of the field with the Portuguese Generals, as he had done at Almanza. The Marquis de Bay afterwards pursu'd the Portuguese army; but they retreated beyond Elvas, and posted themselves in an advantageous camp, where it was not easy to attack them.

CHAP.
IX.

A whole
brigade of
English
made prisoners
near
Badajoz.

Balaguer taken
by King
Charles.

Alicant castle
surrendered
by the
English.

In Catalonia King CHARLES's army being superiour to that of his rival, pass'd the Segra, and made themselves masters of Balaguer. There happen'd no farther action in Spain or Portugal this year, unless the siege of the castle of Alicant, which continu'd, with some intermissions, from the time the town was taken last year till the middle of April 1709. The Spaniards, finding it impossible to reduce it any other way, were resolv'd to blow it up by a great mine, in which they lodg'd twelve thousand barrels of powder. They summon'd the Governour and acquainted him with his danger, and propos'd that two of his officers should come out and view the mine, which they did accordingly, and upon their report the Governour held a Council of War, wherein it was resolv'd not to surrender; and the French sprung their mine, which made an incredible noise, but had no great effect upon the castle, only the Governour Major-General RICHARDS and Colonel SYBURGH, happening to be a little too near the place where the mine was, were unfortunately buried in the ruins, with several other officers. The command devolving upon Lieutenant-Colonel D'ALBON, he resolv'd to hold out till he was reliev'd, and to that end reduc'd his men to short allowance. And on the fifteenth of April Sir GEORGE BYNG and Major-General

CHAP. IX. General STANHOPE appeared before Alicant with a squadron of men of war and four thousand land-men on board; but the Spanish army being reinforced, and the coast very tempestuous, it was not thought advisable to land, and they contented themselves with sending a flag of truce on shore, and capitulating to withdraw the garrison from the castle and deliver it up, which the Spaniards agreed to; and pursuant to this capitulation the garrison, consisting of about five hundred men, march'd out the eighteenth of April N. S. with two pieces of cannon, and all other marks of honour, and embarked on board the fleet.

1710. A further reinforcement of troops being sent from Italy to Catalonia in the year 1710, King CHARLES advanc'd with his army to attack King PHILIP, who was then also at the head of his troops in Arragon; and coming up with the enemy on the 27th of July in the Evening near Almenara, he gain'd a considerable advantage over King PHILIP's horse, but the foot retir'd by the favour of the night. In this action Count FRANCIS of Nassau Auverkirck, one of the Generals of the Allies, was kill'd by a cannon-shot from their own guns; and the Earl of Rochfort another of their Generals, being closely engag'd with the enemy, was mortally wounded by a sword.

Battle of Almenara.

King PHILIP after this defeat retir'd under the cannon of Lerida, where not being able to subsist his army, he retreated to Saragossa, and being pursued thither by King CHARLES, he could not avoid coming to an engagement. The confederates being drawn up in order of battle within cannon-shot of the enemy, Count STAREMBERG with the rest of the Generals went to observe their disposition, and found them posted with the Ebro on their left, the town of Saragossa in their rear, and their right wing of horse drawn up upon the brow of a steep hill, with a battery of eight pieces of cannon in their front. The day being far spent, and a great part of our foot not come up, it was thought fit to defer the attack till the next day. On the twentieth at break of day both armies plaid their cannon, and General STANHOPE, who commanded our left wing, discover'd that the enemy had march'd most of their horse from their left wing to their right; upon which he obtain'd of Marshal STAREMBERG four battalions of foot, which he plac'd at the left of our horse, and six squadrons of Portuguese horse which were brought from our right he drew up beyond the four battalions, in order to stretch our left wing as far as possible towards the extent of their right. It is to be observ'd that the enemy lay in an oblique line from the Ebro up the hill, so that their troops on the hill lay

Battle of Saragossa.

much nearer to us than those on the descent from it and on the plain. At twelve o'clock at noon our signal of battle was made, and our whole army being drawn up in two lines march'd at once to attack the enemy in full front, except the four battalions which General STANHOPE had interlin'd with the horse, whom he order'd to advance and take post on the brow of the hill, by which means he gain'd time for his wing of horse to form after they were got up. Our left wing from their situation coming first to the enemy, began the battle, which increas'd towards the centre, and so continu'd to the right till the whole were engaged. But notwithstanding a disposition so properly made, and the goodness of our troops, the enemies with their superiour numbers and advantage of ground seem'd at first to have the better of the day; which probably they would have maintain'd, if all our Generals commanding on the left had not seasonably led on fresh troops to support and rally such as they saw push'd or disorder'd, by which the advantage soon began to incline to the arms of his Catholick Majesty. While the affair was obstinately disputed on the left, our foot being deeply engag'd, made a great slaughter of the enemy: And at the same time their left wing of horse making little resistance, within the space of two hours we gain'd a complete and glorious victory. We took all their cannon and most of their colours; so that out of forty battalions not above four thousand escap'd, and of sixty squadrons about the like number; all the rest being killed or taken prisoners. The King during the whole action gave the necessary orders, and with his royal presence continu'd to encourage the troops. His Majesty enter'd the town of Saragossa the same night, where he was receiv'd with the acclamations of the people, and all imaginable expressions of joy. The same night the citadel of Saragossa capitulated, and the garrison surrender'd themselves prisoners of war.

This victory cost the Allies two thousand men, and the enemy at least three thousand, as was given out, besides five or six thousand that were made prisoners. The Allies also took seventy-two colours and standards, two and twenty pieces of cannon, and part of the enemy's baggage. King PHILIP made all the haste he could to Madrid, where he arriv'd the twenty-fourth of August; and notwithstanding this misfortune, the Castilians gave him still fresh proofs of their loyalty and affection. But apprehending the Allies would bend their march that way, he thought fit to send the Queen and the Prince of the Asturias to Valladolid, whither all the grandees and officers of state attended them, tho' he offer'd to dispense with their attendance; such were the affections

The affection of the Castilians for King Philip.

CHAP. IX. affections of the Castilians towards that Prince at this time, to which nothing had more contributed than King CHARLES's abandoning them to the mercy of their enemies, when they had made their submission and declar'd for him on his first taking possession of Madrid.

The Portuguese army desir'd to join that of King Charles near Madrid.

After the battle of Saragossa, the Count de Assumar, Ambassador of Portugal with King CHARLES the third, and the Count D'Attalaya, General of the Portuguese troops in the army of King CHARLES, sent an express to Lisbon to represent to the King of how great importance it was to the common cause that his Majesty's army should advance towards Castile, and second the efforts of King CHARLES. Whereupon the Portuguese General the Count de Villaverde was order'd to take the field, which he did, and in his march wrote to the army of his Catholick Majesty that he would move to join them by the way of Menda and Truxillo. He march'd first to Barcarota, and then to Xeres de los Cavalleros, the last of which places being of no defence he possess'd himself of; but without attempting any thing further, retir'd to the frontiers of Portugal. 'Twas given out he was oblig'd to it by four thousand of the enemy's horse, tho' it does not appear the enemy had any such forces on that side as might reasonably give him the least sollicitude. At the same time came letters again from the Counts of Assumar and Attalaya, soliciting that the Portuguese army might advance to the bridge of Almaraz. And these letters were accompany'd by others from General STANHOPE to the Earl of Galway, pressing to be join'd by him at Almaraz, where he would be with four thousand horse. He also represented in the most urgent terms that this junction was of the greatest importance, his Catholick Majesty having been obliged to weaken his army very much by leaving bodies of troops in divers places, so that 'twas judg'd neither safe nor proper for him to pursue the Duke of Anjou, who had retir'd precipitately into the Old Castile to draw together what forces he could. Upon the arrival of these solicitations and remonstrances all the Ministers of the Allies at Lisbon met together, and agreed to make their joint application to the King, that he would be pleas'd forthwith to cause his army to march and join that of his Catholick Majesty. But the Ministers of this Court answer'd them, that the junction proposed was utterly impracticable, not only because of the perplexity given them by the enemy's four thousand horse on the frontiers, but likewise because the Portuguese cavalry was in no condition for service, wanting all necessaries. Another letter came from General STANHOPE, in which he desir'd that at least he might be join'd

They refuse to join King Charles.

by the forces in Portugal that were in the pay of the Queen of Great Britain. Whereupon the Ministers of the Allies renew'd their solicitations, arguing the indispensable necessity of sending to Almaraz the troops in her Britannick Majesty's pay, and pressing this Court to reinforce them by only a thousand horse and three thousand foot. Likewise M. LE FEVRE, who after the departure of the Earl of Galway resided at Lisbon as Secretary to the embassy of Great Britain, offer'd to supply, on the account of the Queen his Sovereign, the provisions and money necessary for the said march. To procure the speedier answer, the said Ministers of the Allies went all in a body to the Secretary of State, and had a conference with him and other the Portuguese Ministers; but notwithstanding all the arguments they could use, the Portuguese Ministry refused absolutely to comply with their desires, excusing themselves from undertaking that their army should do any more than make some siege on the frontiers.

King CHARLES however having staid some time at Saragossa to refresh his troops, set out for Madrid, and on the twentieth of September arriv'd in the neighbourhood of Alcala de Henarez, and the next day General STANHOPE, with a detachment of the army, took possession of Madrid. On the 28th King CHARLES made his triumphant entry into that city, and having perform'd his devotions at the church of Nuestra Signora d'Atocha, his Majesty took up his quarters at a country-seat belonging to the Conde d'Aquilar. The city of Madrid having agreed to furnish his Majesty with a subsidy of forty thousand crowns a month for the subsistence of his army, a detachment was sent to take possession of Toledo, which lying upon the Tagus, was look'd upon as an advantageous post for facilitating the intended conjunction with the Portuguese.

In the mean time King PHILIP having sent a detachment of his troops to take possession of Almaraz, and thereby render the Conjunction of the Portuguese and the confederates impracticable, General STANHOPE rejoined the confederate army that had been employ'd in fortifying Toledo, designing to have taken up winter-quarters in Castile; but King PHILIP's army being reforc'd from all parts, and become superiour to that of the Allies, it was thought advisable to retreat to Arragon; and King CHARLES taking with him a regiment of dragoons and another of foot, march'd away a little before the army decamp'd to Barcelona, in order to observe the motions of the French on the side of Roussillon. His Majesty arrived at Barcelona the sixteenth of December, and a few days after he understood

The allies take possession of Madrid again.

King Charles retires again to Barcelona.

CHAP. derstood that the Duke de Noailles had laid siege
IX. to Gironne.

The army of the Allies, in their march from Castile towards Arragon, divided themselves into two bodies, the Germans and the Portuguese under Count STAREMBERG took one road, and General STANHOPE with the English forces another, the better to subsist the troops in their march, as is generally said; but others impute it to STANHOPE's pride, who did not care to be commanded by STAREMBERG. The eighth instant, General STANHOPE with the British troops, consisting of eight battalions, and as many squadrons, halted at Brihuega, where he was surprized the ninth by King PHILIP's army, which surrounded the place: the English defended themselves with great obstinacy till the tenth in the morning, and then having spent all their ammunition, were forced to surrender prisoners of war.

Battle of
Brihuega.

Battle of
Villa Vicio-
sa.

Gironne sur-
render'd to
the French,
and Bala-
guer.

Count STAREMBERG having advice of the distress the British troops were in at Brihuega, march'd to their relief; but was met by King PHILIP and the Duke of Vendosme at Villa Viciosa, about a league from Brihuega, the tenth instant in the evening, whereupon a battle was fought, and General STAREMBERG gave sufficient demonstration of his military skill, by defeating the Spaniards when he was not half their number. However, understanding that the British troops in Brihuega were made prisoners of war the morning before, and not being in a condition with the small body of troops he had with him to prosecute his victory, he continu'd his march towards Arragon, without being disturb'd by the enemy, and having withdrawn the confederate troops out of the garrisons in that Kingdom, he march'd afterwards into Catalonia, and arrived at Barcelona the beginning of February, with about eleven thousand effective men. A little after, advice came that Gironne had surrender'd to the Duke of Noailles, and the garrison Count STAREMBERG had left in Balaguer, consisting of two battalions and a hundred horse, abandon'd that place also upon the approach of the enemy, and retired to Barcelona; so that King CHARLES, who a little before was master of the greatest part of the kingdom of Spain, had now no more in his possession than the province of Catalonia, and that not entire.

The Count de Salvaterra, a Spanish General, in a letter concerning the actions of Brihuega and Villa Viciosa, which was intercepted by the Allies, has these expressions, viz. 'General STAREMBERG gain'd a great deal of honour, which ought not to be denied him, though an enemy: his troops behaved to admiration, especially his foot, which I don't believe the world can match, whether we consider their bravery in fighting, or that gallant air with which they

made their retreat, the like perhaps never seen before, as all that were present must own. As for us, though we all endeavour'd to do our duty, yet our success must be attributed chiefly to God and the justice of the King's cause, and under heaven to General STANHOPE's ill conduct, for if we had not taken that body under his command, God only knows what would have become of us.'

CHAP.
IX.

This was the last considerable action that happen'd in Spain during the late war, for the Duke of Savoy, (now King of Sardinia) having some disputes with the Emperor concerning the extent of his dominions in Italy, refused to make any diversion on that side: the States-General never recruited or re-establish'd the troops they had agreed to maintain in Spain and Portugal in conjunction with Britain; and neither the Imperialists or Portuguese had any troops scarce on foot in either of those kingdoms, but what were maintain'd by the Queen of England; so that the war was become an insupportable burthen to Great Britain, and the fixing King CHARLES upon the Spanish throne in these circumstances, altogether impracticable. Add to this, that King CHARLES was soon after elected Emperor, which very much alter'd the state of affairs; for it is evident from the Grand Alliance, and all our treaties with the late Emperors on this subject, that it never was intended the Empire and Spain should be united under one head. Upon all these considerations therefore, the Queen of England was induced to listen to proposals of peace made her by the French King, and to enter into a treaty for the evacuation of Catalonia and the rest of Spain; for the particulars whereof, I refer the reader to the former part of this volume. But the disadvantages Britain lay under in carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal, and the necessity there was of concluding a peace, when the Confederates refused to furnish their respective quota's of troops or money, according to the several treaties made with us, are evident to a demonstration, from the representation made by the Commons of Great Britain to the Queen in the year 1711, part of which I have inserted, to justify the conduct of that glorious Princess in the last years of her reign, which has been so vilely aspersed by such men as found their account in continuing the war, and their creatures.

This representation sets forth, 'That as in the progress of the war in Flanders a disproportion was soon created to the prejudice of England, so the very beginning of the war in Portugal brought an unequal share of burden upon us; for although the Emperor and the States-General were equally parties with your Majesty in the treaty with the King of Portugal, yet the Emperor neither furnishing his third part of

A represen-
tation of the
state of the
last war.

CHAP.
IX.CHAP.
IX.

the troops and subsidies stipulated for, nor the Dutch consenting to take an equal share of his Imperial Majesty's defect upon themselves, your Majesty hath been obliged to furnish two thirds of the entire expence created by that service. Nor has the inequality stopp'd there, for ever since the year 1706, when the English and Dutch forces march'd out of Portugal into Castile, the States-General have entirely abandon'd the war in Portugal, and left your Majesty to prosecute it singly at your own charge; which you have accordingly done, by replacing a greater number of troops there than even at first you took upon you to provide. At the same time your Majesty's generous endeavours for the support and defence of the King of Portugal, have been but ill seconded by that Prince himself; for notwithstanding that by his treaty he had oblig'd himself to furnish twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse upon his own account, besides eleven thousand foot and two thousand horse more in consideration of a subsidy paid him, yet according to the best information your Commons can procure, it appears that he hath scarce at any time furnish'd thirteen thousand men in the whole.

In Spain the war hath been yet more unequal and burdensome to your Majesty than in any other branch of it; for being commenced without any treaty whatsoever, the Allies have almost wholly declin'd taking any part of it upon themselves. A small body of English and Dutch troops were sent thither in the year 1705, not as being thought sufficient to support a regular war, or to make the conquest of so large a country, but with a view only of assisting the Spaniards to set King CHARLES upon the throne, occasion'd by the great assurances which were given of their inclinations to the house of Austria; but this expectation failing, England was insensibly drawn into an establish'd war, under all the disadvantages of the distance of the place, and the feeble efforts of the other Allies. The account we have laid before your Majesty upon this head is, that altho' the undertaking was enter'd upon at the particular and earnest request of the Imperial Court, and for a cause of no less importance and concern for them than the reducing the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, yet neither the late Emperors, nor his present Imperial Majesty, have ever had any forces there on their account till the last year, and then only one regiment of foot, consisting of 2000 men. Though the States-General have contributed something more to this service, yet their share also hath been inconsiderable; for in the space of four years, from 1705 to 1708, both inclusive, all the forces they have sent into that country have not ex-

ceeded twelve thousand two hundred men; and from the year 1708 to this time, they have not sent any forces or recruits whatsoever. To your Majesty's care and charge the recovery of that kingdom hath been in a manner wholly left, as if none else were interested or concern'd in it. And the forces which your Majesty hath sent into Spain in the space of seven years, from 1705 to 1711, both inclusive, have amounted to no less than fifty-seven thousand nine hundred seventy-three men, besides thirteen battalions and eighteen squadrons, for which your Majesty hath paid a subsidy to the Emperor. How great the establish'd expence of such a number of men hath been, your Majesty very well knows, and your Commons very sensibly feel: but the weight will be found much greater, when it is consider'd how many articles of unusual and extraordinary charge have attended this remote and difficult service, all which have been intirely defray'd by your Majesty, except that one of transporting the few forces which were sent by the States-General, and the victualling of them during their transportation only. The accounts deliver'd to your Commons show, that the charge of your Majesty's ships and vessels employ'd in the service of the war in Spain and Portugal, reckon'd after the rate of four pounds a man per month, from the time they sail'd from hence till they return'd, were lost, or put upon other services, hath amounted to six millions, five hundred and forty thousand, nine hundred and sixty-six pounds, fourteen shillings; the charge of transports on the part of Great Britain, for carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal, from the beginning of it till this time, hath amounted to one million, three hundred thirty-six thousand, seven hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings and eleven pence; that of victualling land-forces for the same service, to five hundred eighty-three thousand, seven hundred and seventy pounds, eight shillings and six pence; and that of contingencies and other extraordinaries for the same service, to one million, eight hundred and forty thousand, three hundred fifty-three pounds.

We should take notice to your Majesty of several sums paid upon account of contingencies and extraordinaries in Flanders, making together the sum of one million, one hundred and seven thousand ninety-six pounds: but we are not able to make any comparison of them, with what the States-General have expended upon the same head, having no such state of their extraordinary charge before us. There remains therefore but one particular more for your Majesty's observation, which arises from the subsidies paid to foreign Princes. These at the beginning of the war, were borne in equal

pro-

CHAP. IX. 'proportion by your Majesty and the States-General; but in this instance also, the ballance hath been cast in prejudice of your Majesty; for it appears that your Majesty hath since advanced more than your equal proportion, three millions one hundred fifty-five thousand crowns, besides extraordinaries paid in Italy, and not included in any of the foregoing articles, which arrive to five hundred thirty-nine thousand five hundred fifty-three pounds.

'We have laid these several particulars before your Majesty in the shortest manner we have been able, and by an estimate grounded on the preceding facts, it doth appear, that over and above the quota's on the part of Great Britain answering to those contributed by your Allies, more than nineteen millions have been expended by your Majesty during the course of this war, by way of surplusage, or exceeding in ballance, of which none of the Confederates have furnished any thing whatsoever.'

Posterity will certainly be amazed, when they come to find that the nation carried on a war on so unequal a foot, with no other view than that of aggrandizing our Allies, and enriching some private families at home; (for there is not a man of that party who were for continuing the war, that at this day seems to have the least dread of the French, though they have enjoy'd seventeen or eighteen years peace, and are consequently much more formidable now, than they were at the end of the last war.) What severe reflections therefore must they make on their ancestors, when it shall appear that they might have had a peace seven years before upon their own terms, and saved the nation forty millions of treasure, besides what they lost by the interruption of their trade; especially when they find such a load of debts transmitted to them, and the revenues of the kingdom so anticipated, that it may be difficult for them to find funds to maintain even a defensive war? They will surely be more ready to condemn the conduct of the British Court for continuing the war so long, than for putting an end to it so soon, notwithstanding all the clamours that have been raised upon that head. They will reflect also, it is to be hoped, in our favour, that miscarriages are not always to be ascribed to a nation in general, but frequently to a few designing selfish spirits that happen to surround the throne, and are practised in the pernicious art of disguising truth, and casting a mist before the eyes of their Princes. But to proceed.

By the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht the thirty-first of March O. S. or the eleventh of April N. S. 1713, between the Allies and France, the most material articles relating to Portugal were, That the French King should re-

linquish both sides of the river of Amazons in South America to his Portuguese Majesty, and quit all claim to the navigation of the said river, and never suffer any French Missionaries to come into the said territories, or any other belonging to the crown of Portugal; and the Queen of Great Britain was by both parties accepted as guarantee of the said articles. And by another treaty made between Spain and Portugal in February 1714-15, the Spaniards and Portuguese mutually agreed to relinquish all places that had been taken by the forces on either side during the war, but as to prizes, each party was to remain in possession of what they had respectively acquired; which treaty was in like manner guaranty'd by the Queen of Great Britain.

The war between the Confederates and the French was scarce ended, when another was begun between the Turks and Venetians, in which the latter lost the Morea. The Portuguese assisted the Pope and the Venetians with a squadron of men of war, and the Spaniards promised another squadron, but employ'd them afterwards in the reduction of Sardinia; so that the Turks were masters at sea during the whole course of the war, and were very near making themselves masters of the island of Corfu: but the Emperor gaining two considerable victories over the infidels by land, and taking Temeswaer and Belgrade, the Turks were glad to accept of peace, being permitted however to retain their conquests in the Morea, whereby the Venetians lost great part of their territories on the Terra Firma, while the Imperialists kept possession of their conquests, which they had extended upwards of an hundred miles into the enemy's country.

The readiness the Portuguese had shewn in reinforcing the Venetian fleet, and defending the coasts of Italy in the late war with the Turks, probably induced his Holiness to oblige his Portuguese Majesty in dividing the Archbishoprick of Lisbon, and erecting the chapel royal into a patriarchal and metropolitanical church; ever since which, the city of Lisbon has been divided into two grand districts, the one call'd East, and the other West Lisbon.

Don EMANUEL, brother to the King of Portugal, having privately withdrawn himself from that court about this time, went on board a ship and sail'd to Holland. He afterwards enter'd into the Emperor's service against the Turks; nor did he return again to Lisbon till the year 1726. His Portuguese Majesty, so soon as he had notice that Don EMANUEL was gone, prevail'd on the Captain of an English man of war to pursue the ship he was in; but the vessel being two days sail before the English Captain, he was obliged to return back without him. The reason of this Prince's leaving the court so abruptly, was said to be.

1713.
Peace of
Utrecht.

1715.
The Portuguese
squadron to
the assistance
of the Venetians.

Don Emanuel the
King's brother,
leaves the kingdom.

CHAP. IX. be to prevent his being forced to enter into orders ; for it was usual formerly, both in the courts of Spain and Portugal, to procure some ecclesiastical preferment for the Princes of the blood, whereby they were easily maintain'd at the charge of the Church, and render'd in a great measure incapable of forming designs against the State.

Academies of sciences establish'd.

Portugal now remaining in a profound peace, the King, in imitation of France and other polite nations, thought fit to establish academies for the improvement of arts and sciences, having a particular regard to history, in which that people have made great advances of late years ; though the court of inquisition, which dreads nothing more than the rescuing the nation from ignorance and superstition, has been a great obstacle in their way : Truth is an heresy which those pious fathers ever prosecute with the greatest rage.

1722. Two English merchants condemn'd for exporting gold.

I don't meet with any thing else remarkable in Portugal till the year 1722, unless it be the arrival of their fleets from India and Brazil annually, with vast treasures of gold and silver on board, besides other rich merchandizes ; but this year I find two British merchants, Mr. WINGFIELD and Mr. ROBERTS, prosecuted at Lisbon, and condemn'd to die, for exporting gold to England, which it seems is capital by the laws of Portugal : however, upon the interposition of Mr. WORSELY, the British Envoy, and the court of Great Britain, they were pardon'd, and their effects restored them. But since it is so very hazardous to export gold from Portugal to England, it is something strange that we meet with so much Portuguese gold here as we do.

1723. An earthquake.

In the month of December 1723, there happen'd a terrible earthquake in the province or kingdom of Algarva, which though it lasted but three minutes, did incredible mischief : they relate, that several towns were demolish'd, and a river entirely swallow'd up for some hours, by the gaping of the earth.

1724. A company for supplying Brazil with slaves.

A company was erected in Portugal in the year 1724, composed of men of quality and fortunes, for supplying their settlements in Brazil with Negroes, to whom his Majesty granted the space of two hundred miles and upwards on the coast of Africa, for the purchasing of slaves ; prohibiting the Portuguese, or any other nation, to trade within those limits.

The same year Don MIGUEL and Don JOSEPH, two base sons of his late Portuguese Majesty, whom he had naturaliz'd, crossing the river of Lisbon with their attendants in a boat, were overset by a sudden gust of wind : Don JOSEPH had the good fortune to save himself by getting upon the keel, but his brother and most of the servants were drown'd.

A great storm.

In the same river on the nineteenth of No-

vember this year, arose such a violent storm about six in the evening, that before eight, sixty ships were driven on shore, of which twenty were render'd unfit for sea ; all the wharfs of Lisbon were damaged by the storm, and the custom-house-key, with the goods upon it, was wash'd away : the houses of Lisbon suffer'd very much, and most of the churches lost their steeples or towers : the havock in the neighbouring country is inexpressible ; many houses were blown down, and almost all the trees that stood exposed to the wind torn up by the roots.

The court of Rome, to the surprize of the Inquisitors in Portugal, was about this time pleased to order, that the prisoners in the inquisition shou'd be allow'd counsel and solicitors to defend them, as in other courts ; whereupon those fathers had the assurance to libel his Holiness most unmercifully.

Prisoners in the inquisition allow'd counsel.

A dispute of another nature happen'd about the same time between the courts of France and Lisbon. It seems the Abbot DE LIVRY, the French Ambassador at Lisbon, insisted that the Secretary of State, who is usually prime Minister in that Kingdom, shou'd pay his Excellency the first visit ; which the Secretary refusing to comply with, the Ambassador was order'd to leave Lisbon, without having an audience of his Portuguese Majesty.

In December 1727, a contract of marriage was sign'd between Don JOSEPH, Prince of Brazil, and the eldest Infanta of Spain, Donna MARIA-ANNA-VICTORIA, (formerly contracted to LEWIS XV, of France ;) and a few days after another contract of marriage was concluded between Don FERDINAND, Prince of the Asturias, and Donna MARIA, Infanta of Portugal ; and on the twenty-seventh of January following, the ceremony of the espousals of the last couple was perform'd at Madrid, the King of Spain representing the Prince of Brazil here, as the King of Portugal did the Prince of Asturias in the other that was celebrated at Lisbon the sixth of the same month.

Double marriage between Spain and Portugal.

About the same time there arose warm disputes between the courts of Rome and Portugal, on the Pope's refusing to give a Cardinal's cap to Monsieur BICHI, who had resided some time as Nuntio in Portugal, and shewn more complaisance for his Portuguese Majesty than for his Holiness ; and the contention grew so hot at length, that it was expected the King of Portugal wou'd have thrown off the Pope's supremacy ; for he actually prohibited all the Clergy of his dominions, to apply any more to the Datary of Rome for their Bulls of confirmation, &c. The Patriarch of Lisbon gave dispensations for marriages, and final judgment in all ecclesiastical causes which were brought before him by way of appeal. The King

1728. Disputes between the court of Rome and Portugal.

H A P. IX. King set many of the prisoners in the inquisition at liberty, and prohibited the inquisitors to proceed in any cause without the concurrence of commissioners appointed by his Majesty: which steps so alarm'd the court of Rome, that I am inform'd means have been found to soften his Portuguese Majesty's resentment, and prevent his throwing off the Pope's supremacy.

1729. About the middle of January 1728-9, the exchange of the contracted Princesses above named being agreed on, the King and Queen of Spain, with the royal families and a vast retinue, came to Badajoz, as the King and Queen of Portugal, with their court, did to Elvas. These cities are on the confines of the two kingdoms, which are separated by the little river Caya, that runs from north to south, and falls into the Guadiana near Badajoz. A building was erected on the Caya, having one large door on the side of Spain, and another on the side of Portugal. At one and the same instant the King of Spain enter'd the eastern door, as the King of Portugal did that on the west, with their respective royal families. After reciprocal compliments, and hearing the articles of both marriages read, the King of Portugal and his party took the Princess of Brazil, and return'd to Elvas, where the Prince and Princess of Brazil solemniz'd their marriage in person the same evening. The King of Spain also having received the Princess of the Asturias of her father, return'd to Badajoz, where the Prince and Princess of Asturias celebrated their marriage also in person that evening.

The two Kings, their Queens, the Princes and Princesses, had two interviews afterwards at the house of exchange, viz. on the twenty-third and twenty-fifth of January, at the last of which they took leave of each other, and return'd to their respective capitals, where rejoicings were made suitable to the occasion. At the return of the King and royal family to Lisbon, all the streets through which they pass'd were hung with tapestry, and there were no less than twenty triumphal arches erected there, five of which were prepared at the expence of the English, French, Dutch and Hamburgh merchants, the other fifteen being erected at the charges of the several companies of tradesmen, and the King's officers. That of the English was far the most magnificent, in which they laid out above two thousand pounds sterling. The coaches, most of which belong'd to the nobility, were eighty-four in number, the greatest part of them cover'd with embroider'd velvet, trimm'd with gold fringe, and one of them was of massy silver, adorn'd with jewels. The rejoicings continued three days successively, and every evening fire-works were play'd off, and some days after the people were entertain'd with a bull-feast. And here I shall take an opportu-

nity of giving some account of the royal family **C H A P. IX.**

His present Majesty, King JOHN V, was born the twenty-second of October 1689, and succeeded his father in January 1707. He married MARY-ANNE of Austria, the daughter of the late Emperor LEOPOLD, and sister of the present Emperor CHARLES, on the twenty-seventh of October 1708, by whom he had issue, 1. MARY-MAGDALEN-JOSEPHA-TERESA-BARBA, born the fourth of December 1711, and married to the Prince of Asturias as above related. 2. Don PEDRO, born the nineteenth of October 1712, who died the twenty-ninth of October 1714. 3. Don JOSEPH-PEDRO-JOHN-LEWIS, the present Prince of Brazil, born the ninth of June 1715, and married to the Infanta of Spain anno 1729, as above. 4. Don CARLOS, born the second of May 1716. 5. Don— born the fifth of July 1717. 6. Don ALEXANDER, born anno 1724, who died in 1728: and another Infanta still living, the time of whose birth I do not meet with. His Portuguese Majesty has still three brothers living, viz. Don ANTONIO, Don FRANCISCO, and Don EMANUEL, the last of whom lost the King's favour on his retiring out of the kingdom without his consent, as has been related above, and though he obtain'd his Pardon, is not yet restored to full favour.

The present royal family.

C H A P. X.

Treats of the civil government of Portugal, the prerogatives and succession of the crown, the King's titles, arms, revenues, and forces.

THE civil government of Portugal so exactly resembles that of Spain already treated of, that there will be occasion to say little on this head. The Court of Lisbon affects to conform it self to that of Madrid, or rather to shew that she is no way inferiour to her neighbour. Others observe, that the Kings of Portugal do in reality look upon themselves as the only rightful Sovereigns of all Spain, and therefore chuse to imitate the customs of that country; they affirm that the females of Castile cannot transfer the succession to a foreign Prince by marriage, and consequently the Princes of the house of Portugal, who are not deem'd foreigners, ought to have succeeded to the crown of Spain, when the male branch in that kingdom became extinct. But to proceed.

The King of Portugal, as well as the King of Spain, is look'd upon to be an absolute Prince: the Cortes, or three Estates, have long since sold their part in the legislature to the crown, and only serve to confirm or record such acts of state.

The court of Lisbon resembles that of Madrid.

The court of Portugal as well as Spain became absolute by purchasing the leading men in the Cortes or three Estates.

CHAP. state as the court resolves upon, to declare the
 X. next heir to the crown when the King is pleased
 to nominate him, or to ratify treaties with foreign
 Princes who still esteem their consent of any
 weight. The courts of Spain and Portugal for
 many years have kept their people in subjection by
 purchasing their leaders; which was the reason,
 that tho' the revenues of each crown were very
 considerable, the state in both nations was very
 poor. But since King PHILIP V ascended the
 throne of Spain, and that court has been govern'd
 by French counsels, the salaries of abundance of
 officers, and a multitude of pensions, have been
 struck off; and that Prince, in imitation of his
 grandfather LEWIS XIV, has of late years tyrannized
 over the nobility as well as the commons
 by the assistance of a standing army, and entirely
 depriv'd every province in that kingdom of their
 liberties and privileges. This reformation, as it is
 stiled in the court of Spain, has not yet been imi-
 tated in that of Portugal; great part of the re-
 venues of this crown are still distributed among
 the Nobility and Grandees, which renders the go-
 vernment as well as the people exceeding poor and
 necessitous, tho' the King considered in his private
 capacity may be very rich.

A rich court,
 but a poor
 state.

The publick
 revenues.

Customs
 very high.

Naval force.

The customs and duties on goods exported and
 imported are a considerable part of the publick re-
 venues, and are usually farmed out by the crown
 from three years to three years. These duties are
 very high in Portugal, and could not be advanced
 without the utter ruin of the people. Foreign
 merchandizes pay twenty-three per cent. on im-
 portation, and fish from Newfoundland twenty-
 five per cent. Fish taken in the neighbouring
 seas and rivers pay forty-seven per cent. and the
 tax upon lands and cattle that are sold is ten per
 cent. The duty on snuff alone amounts to fifty
 thousand crowns. Besides which the King draws
 a considerable revenue from the several orders of
 Knighthood, of which he is Grand Master. And
 the Pope, in consideration of the large sums he
 draws out of this kingdom on other accounts,
 gives the King the money arising by several bulls
 from the Holy See; as those for granting indul-
 gences, licences to eat flesh at times prohibited,
 &c. And it is computed that the royal revenues,
 clear of all pensions and salaries, may amount to
 three millions five hundred thousand crowns. The
 nobility are not taxed but upon extraordinary e-
 mergencies, and then not very high. From all
 which it may very well be presumed, that the
 Portuguese are not able to raise great fleets and ar-
 mies: If they have five and twenty men of war
 of the line they are scarce able to man or pay
 them, and a squadron of English or Dutch of half
 the number would not be afraid to engage them.
 They serve chiefly for convoys to their Brazil
 fleets, and are very often used as merchant-ships

to import goods or treasure from thence. As to CHA
 their troops on shore, that serve to garrison their X.
 wretched frontier towns, they may amount to
 fourteen or fifteen thousand men; but such a mi- Land-forc
 serable militia sure were never seen, half starv'd,
 and not half cloath'd. In the late war you might
 see them begging an alms of a common soldier be-
 longing to their confederates the English and Dutch;
 and yet so intolerably proud were these poor despi-
 cable creatures, that they insisted on taking the
 right of the English, and commanding their Ge-
 nerals; every Governour of a province had the
 command of the English and Dutch troops that hap-
 pened to serve within his jurisdiction, though the
 Allies paid both their own troops and the Portu-
 guese; which was the occasion of innumerable
 losses and disgraces on that side. For the Portu-
 guese, after the war had continued eight or ten
 years, proved to be the same unskilful cowardly
 militia they were at first, constantly run away at
 the first charge, especially their horse, and suffer'd
 the English and Dutch to be cut in pieces or made
 prisoners: such blessed confederates did they prove
 in the late war. Nor were the Spaniards much
 better troops till a French Prince ascended the
 throne; but they have of late been so well disciplin'd,
 cloath'd and paid, that they are not only
 much superiour to those of Portugal, but perhaps at
 present equal to any soldiers in Europe. The Por-
 tuguese were above being instructed in military
 discipline by the Allies, but King PHILIP oblig'd
 his officers to conform themselves to the French
 in this particular more than any other: And as
 the Spanish foot are better bodies of men, more
 abstemious, and endued with more patience, pos-
 sibly they may at this day be an over-match for
 their masters the French, supposing the numbers
 equal. It seems therefore to be the interest of
 Portugal always to remain in peace with Spain; Interest of
 should the French or the Maritime Powers engage Portugal to
 in their behalf, it might be difficult to prevent live at peace
 their being made a province to Spain again in case with all na-
 a war should break out between those two crowns,
 the Spaniards being so much improv'd of late years,
 and the Portuguese so much sunk in their courage,
 discipline and conduct. And they will certainly
 avoid falling out with the French and the Maritime
 Powers, who might any of them cut off their
 communication with Brazil, Africa and the In-
 dies, from whence their gold and other rich mer-
 chandizes are imported. On the other hand, it The interest
 can never be to the advantage of England, France, of the Maritime
 or the States-General, to be in a state of war either time Powers
 with Spain or Portugal, which take off so much of and the
 the manufactures of their respective countries. French to
 is indeed the interest of each of these powers that be at peace
 the other should be in no good terms with Spain with Spain
 and Portugal, for what the one loses in this com- and Portugal
 merce the other gains; if the English do not serve the

CHAP. the Spaniards and Portuguese with woollen manu-
 Y. factures, the Dutch and French will, tho' perhaps
 much worse, or at a dearer rate; nay, these na-
 tions will buy our goods, and get a larger gain by
 selling them to Spain and Portugal, and their A-
 merican plantations and settlements, than we do
 by the first sale of them. We ought therefore to
 be exceeding cautious how we quarrel with these
 two nations, especially at this time, when they
 seem to be so firmly united by double marriages;
 and if we fall out with one, we must fall out with
 both.

Danger to
 Britain from
 the union of
 the French
 and Spani-
 ards in A-
 merica.

It ought to be considered farther, that the
 French having of late taken possession of Florida,
 to which they have given the name of Louisiana,
 and being before masters of Canada or New
 France, they now lie on the back of all our A-
 merican plantations and settlements from Carolina
 in the south to Nova Scotia on the north, and by
 the assistance of the Spaniards and the Indians,
 their friends, may, and probably will, in time
 deprive us of our settlements there, and ruin our
 plantation trade, if we have not our eyes about
 us.

Territories
 subject to
 Portugal.

I shall conclude this head with enumerating the
 several countries, territories and islands that are
 subject to the crown of Portugal, which, besides
 those of Portugal and Algarva, already described,
 are, the country of Brazil in America: A vast
 tract of land, extending along the sea-coasts of
 South America, but not of equal breadth; much
 the most considerable of all their foreign planta-
 tions at present, as it yields them great quantities
 of gold, tobacco, sugars, cotton, ginger, indigo,
 hides, and other valuable merchandize. In Africa
 they have the fortress of Masagan, in the kingdom
 of Morocco; part of the Guinea coast; Angola
 on the coast of Congo; with the islands of Lo-
 anda, Villa de San Pao, Zofala on the Caffra
 coast; Zanguebar, Mozambick and Quiloo on
 the eastern coast of Africa. And in the Atlan-
 tick Ocean they have the western islands of Azores
 or Terceras, that of Madera, the islands of Cape
 Verde, and others of less note. In Asia they still
 possess Goa, Diu, Daman and Chaul on the coast
 of India, with a large extent of country, and the
 island of Macao on the southern coast of China;
 the last of which is now under the dominion of
 the Chinese, tho' inhabited chiefly by the Portu-
 guese. And here I cannot but observe what a
 noble empire the Portuguese possessed in Asia and
 Africa about an hundred and fifty years ago:
 They were masters of Ormus and the Persian
 Gulph; of all the coasts of India, Siam and Ma-
 lacca; of the sea-coasts on the islands of Sumatra,
 Java and Ceylon; of the islands of Moluccas and
 Banda, where the fine spices only grow. They
 had planted their religion in the islands of Japan,

The empire
 of the Por-
 tuguese in
 Asia and A-
 frica 150
 years ago.

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and made such numbers of proselytes there, that CHAP.
 the Sovereigns of that country were apprehensive X.
 of a general revolt of their subjects; which occa-
 sioned the extirpation of the Portuguese and of
 the Christian religion in those islands. They had
 planted their religion also throughout the vast
 empire of China, and might have maintained it
 there, had not the Jesuits interfered with them,
 and occasion'd their falling under the displeasure
 of that court. There are now indeed no remains
 of Christianity to be found in Japan, the Portu-
 guese interest is lost in China, and the Dutch have
 expell'd them from all their valuable settlements
 on the continent and islands in Asia, except Goa
 and two or three inconsiderable places. But they
 were so long possessed of the trade of these coun-
 tries, and had such numerous settlements here,
 that we find their language, with some corrup-
 tion, still prevailing on the sea-coasts of the conti-
 nent and islands of Asia, and a mixed breed of
 Portuguese and Indians, who still imitate those of
 Europe in their religion, habits and customs; and
 they still have their Bishops and Clergy in those
 parts, who are permitted to exercise their functions
 under many of the Indian Sovereigns. On the
 eastern and western coasts of Africa also their re-
 ligion and language are every where to be met
 with; tho' the Dutch 'tis true are now masters of
 their best discoveries on the western coast, and
 the Portuguese have very little power in that part
 of the world. Their King indeed still calls him-
 self Sovereign of all the vast dominions I have
 enumerated, which brings me to mention his stile
 and titles; which are,

JOHN V, by the grace of God King of Portu- The King's
 gal and the Algarvas on this side: And beyond the titles.
 sea in Africk Lord of Guinea; and of the navi-
 gation, conquests, and commerce of Ethiopia,
 Arabia, Persia, India, Brazil, &c.

The arms of Portugal are, Argent, five Arms.
 escutcheons, Azure, plac'd cross-wise, each charg'd
 with as many besants of the first, plac'd saltier-
 wise, and pointed, Sable, for Portugal. The
 shield border'd Gules charg'd with seven towers,
 Or, three in chief and two in each flanch. The
 crest is a crown, Or, under the two flanches,
 and the base of the shield appears at the end of
 it; two crosses, the first Flower de Luce Verte,
 which is for the order of Avis, and the second
 Pattee Gules, for the order of Christ. The motto
 is changeable, each King assuming a new one,
 but 'tis frequently these words, *Pro Rege & Græge*,
 i. e. *For the King and the People*.

The great Officers of State being the same as in
 Spain, I shall not trouble the reader with a tedious
 account of them, or of the several degrees of no-
 bility, in which the kingdom of Portugal exactly
 resembles that of Spain.

5 X

The

CHAP. X. The orders of Knighthood are, 1. That of Avis, so call'd from a town of that name near Eborā, founded by ALPHONSUS I, anno 1146, to honour those who distinguish'd themselves in the wars against the Moors. 2. The order of Christ, founded on the same account by DIONYSIUS, son of ALPHONSUS III, anno 1319, upon the abolition of the Knights Templars. 3. The order of St. James, being the same with that in Spain. And, 4. The Knights of St. John.

Councils and Courts of judicature.

They have several Councils or Courts establish'd for several branches of business; as the Council of State, which takes cognizance of all matters foreign or domestick which relates to the State. 2. The Council, call'd the Desembargo do Paco, which receives appeals from all inferior courts, and has also a power of enacting, repealing and altering the laws. 3. The Court of Treasury, or Da Fazenda. 4. The Council for foreign affairs, which determines all matters relating to the foreign plantations. 5. The Council of War, which takes cognizance of all military affairs and operations by sea or land. 6. The Casa dos Contos, which court has the jurisdiction of all officers and others concern'd in collecting or farming the publick revenues. Besides these, they have two supreme courts for civil affairs, the one establish'd at Lisbon, and the other at Porto. Tho' as the kingdom is divided into twenty-four Comarca's or districts, each Comarca has its peculiar Judges for civil and criminal causes, and every considerable town its Regidor, Corregidor, or Alcald, as in Spain. But the Viceroy or Governour of each province presides in all the courts within his jurisdiction, and is the supreme civil as well as military officer there. There is also a Viceroy of Goa in the East-Indies, and another of Brazil in America, who are invested with almost regal power.

CHAP. XI.

Treats of the religion and ecclesiastical government in Spain and Portugal; and of their universities, laws and language.

Christianity planted in Spain and Portugal by the Apostles.

THE Christian religion 'tis evident both from sacred and prophane history was planted in Spain in the time of the Apostles themselves; but it is not altogether so certain that St. JAMES Major was of the number of those who preached the Gospel to that people, notwithstanding the Spaniards look upon him to be the founder of their Church, and have written as many treatises to prove the several voyages he made thither, and the miracles he wrought amongst them, as would fill a moderate library. But whoever first preach'd the Gospel here, met with such success, that the

whole nation almost was soon converted to Christianity; and they reckon up no less than forty-nine Bishops in the reign of CONSTANTINE. Their ecclesiastical historians however lament that this, as well as other Christian churches, was early infected with Arianism; and that the Goths also were Arians, who made a conquest of Spain in the fifth century; tho' they became orthodox some little time after. But what Doctor GEDDES seems to have demonstrated is still more surprizing, viz. that the church of Spain never had acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope or Bishop of Rome, when the Moors made a conquest of this country in the year 714. He proves also that the adoration of images, praying to angels and saints, purgatory, the doctrine of the seven sacraments, transubstantiation, the denying the cup in the sacrament to the people, private masses, the adoration of the sacrament, the priest's putting the bread into the mouths of the communicants, being present at the celebration of the sacrament, and not communicating, and auricular confession, to be doctrines and practices not known in the Spanish church in the beginning of the eighth century, when it was dispersed by the Moors conquest of Spain; and that the Spanish Kings had an ecclesiastical supremacy equal to that which is now in the crown of England: That when the Bishop of Rome did in the beginning of the eighth century first attempt to introduce his supremacy into Spain, that supremacy was rejected and condemned by the Spanish church in a Council of all her Bishops.

I proceed now to enquire into the modern state of religion in these kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, which is properly my province; and every one knows that the Spaniards and Portuguese at this day profess themselves to be of that sect or persuasion of Christians that are usually denominated Roman Catholicks.

The title of Catholick King, 'tis said, was first given to their Princes by the Council held at Toledo in the year 590, when RECARDEDUS the Gothick King of Spain renounc'd the Arian heresy, with all his people. And that title, after it had lain dormant about nine hundred years, was again reviv'd by Pope ALEXANDER VI, and conferr'd on King FERDINAND about the year 1500, in consideration of the services he had done the Holy See in destroying the empire of the Moors in Spain; and his successors have enjoy'd that title ever since; with a great deal of reason, as my author apprehends, no Princes having shewn more zeal for popery than the Kings of Spain and Portugal, who have suffered the Inquisition to reign, or rather rage, in their territories for so many years. Nor are the people less devoted to their religion than their Sovereigns: It is not uncommon.

The title of Catholick King.

Devotion of the people.

The modern state of religion in Spain and Portugal.

The Spanish Church infected with Arianism.

But never acknowledged the Pope's supremacy for the first 800 years.

Or was tainted with the Errors of the Roman Catholics.

CHAP. XI. uncommon for the women, 'tis said, to resort to the churches or chapels seven or eight times a day; though their enemies suggest that this proceeds rather from an inclination to ramble abroad and meet their gallants than out of pure devotion, that sex being in a manner prisoners to the other, and never suffer'd to stir abroad unless to prayers. None of the Saints, and even God himself does not seem to have a greater share of their devotion than the blessed Virgin; not a man but carries about him a scapulary or image of the Virgin, which has touch'd some shrine of hers that is held to have a power of working miracles. They are much taken with the pomp and shew observ'd in their divine worship, and that profusion of wealth that appears in the furnishing and adorning their churches; and they apprehend they merit by afflicting and tormenting themselves. In the holy week before Easter they practise great austerities; some will procure themselves to be fastned to a cross in their shirts, with their arms extended in imitation of our Saviour, uttering the most dismal groans and lamentations: Others will walk with naked feet over rocks and mountains to some distant shrine to perform their devotions. During Lent they eat nothing but the entrails of beasts, as they do on Wednesdays and Fridays all the year instead of fish, at Madrid, and such other parts of the country where fish are not to be had. At this holy season we find Friars and Priests in all the great streets and publick places preaching to the people, applying themselves rather to their passions and affections than their reason: The Preacher frequently beats his breast and weeps, and the croud imitate him; and he is esteem'd the best Preacher who by his whining and lamentations can produce the greatest floods of tears. On Good-Friday annually there is a sermon preach'd to common strumpets at Madrid, who are dragg'd out of their lodgings to hear some Friar preach repentance to them; who if he thinks his arguments have no effect upon them, descends from his pulpit and presents a crucifix to them, saying, Behold your Saviour and embrace him; and those who are willing to leave their infamous courses will kiss and embrace it: After which these creatures are either sent to some nunnery, or married to people that are not very nice in their choice; but the greatest part of them usually are obstinate, and chuse to follow their former course of life.

Processions during Lent. Solemn processions are frequent among the Spaniards and Portuguese, but the most considerable is that on Good-Friday, when all the religious orders attend, with the members of the tribunals, councils, and companies of tradesmen in their cities, and even the King himself sometimes, attended by all his Court, with wax-torches in

their hands. The nobility and persons of distinction are follow'd by their servants with lighted flambeaux; every thing has a mournful air; the King's guards have their arms and drums cover'd with black, and beat a dead march, as at the funeral of some General; the trumpets and other musical instruments sound dismally, and all the colours and crosses are cover'd with black crape; machines and pageants are erected, whereon all the parts of our Saviour's passion are represented: True penitents in these processions lash and cut themselves unmercifully, hoping to take heaven by this holy violence on themselves; while others, 'tis said, are no less severe on their naked bodies, to shew their passions for their mistresses, all the ladies in the place standing in the balconies to see the procession. But this is such a piece of gallantry as I believe was scarce ever heard of in a Protestant country. There are other penitents who drag heavy crosses after them, and perform other grievous penances, and these, people of quality mask'd, and attended by their servants likewise mask'd, who support and assist them in their dolorous passage; for some, 'tis said, have lost their lives by over-acting their parts. Nor is it uncommon to begin these exercises a fortnight or three weeks before Easter, and continue them every Wednesday and Friday at least till that festival. At these processions in the city of Seville it is not uncommon to see five or six hundred such penitents, who have the reputation of chastising themselves more roughly than those of Madrid: Other towns endeavour to imitate these great cities; and 'tis said, the ladies of Lisbon will be offended if the men seem to favour themselves, and do not observe the blood follow the whip: For the devotion of these gentlemen, whether it be directed to heaven, or their mistresses, is suppos'd to be proportionable to the wounds and lashes they receive from their own hands.

These are the exercises of the devout Spaniards and Portuguese on days of fasting and humiliation; but on great festivals and rejoicing days the scene is very different; for then they expose the richest shrines, and all the treasures of their churches, to publick view: They are dress'd in their best habits, and there are people that play on musical instruments, and dance in the processions, and before their images; but here also in the hottest weather, when the sun shines out in its full brightness, they carry lighted torches in their hands, which, together with the sun-beams over their heads, almost melt the superstitious croud. The balconies and windows are hung with tapestry, &c. and the ladies dress'd in their richest clothes and jewels, are permitted to stand and see the procession without a lattice before them; and upon these occasions it is, that

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CHAP. XI. that the young inamorato's of both sexes have an opportunity of shewing themselves, and discovering their passion to the greatest advantage; for, as has been intimated already, VENUS and CUPID in these hot countries seem to have as many adorers as any Saint amongst them, many of them frequenting their churches and processions chiefly to have an opportunity of carrying on their amours.

Religious
plays.

Their festivals usually conclude with a play, wretchedly acted, containing a representation of the life and actions of some real or pretended Saints, taken from their legends, wherein they use even our Blessed Saviour with great familiarity, and seem calculated rather to ridicule than promote Christianity.

Ecclesiastical
government.

The Ecclesiastical government here does not differ much from that of other Roman Catholic countries. The Kings of Spain and Portugal, by a grant of the Popes, nominate to all Archbishopricks and Bishopricks; of which there are in Spain eight Archbishopricks and thirty-eight Bishopricks: And in Portugal three Archbishopricks and ten Bishopricks, as appears by the table at the end of this chapter.

Inquisition.

The Inquisition reigns here, it must be confess'd, with a more uncontrollable power than in any other kingdom or state. It was first instituted in the thirteenth century, for suppressing the heresy of the Vaudois and Albigenes, as 'twas call'd; and was receiv'd in Spain about the year 1557, in the reign of King FERDINAND and Queen ISABELLA, in order to awe the new-converted Jews and Moors, and keep them from relapsing into their former infidelity. It was establish'd in Portugal for the same end about the year 1523, in the reign of King JOHN III. It is call'd, The Holy Office, and the Holy House; and consists of an Inquisitor-General, the Supreme Council, Inquisitors, Assessors, Qualificators, a Secretary, an Advocate-Fiscal, a Treasurer, Familiars and Goalers.

All men
subject to it.

The Inquisitor-General is named by the King, and confirm'd by the Pope, acting as his delegate: His jurisdiction is so absolute and extensive, that no subject is exempted from it; the members of the supreme Court or Council are all named by him, but approved by the King before they can act, and are usually Secular Priests; and their Assessors, Divines, Civilians and Canonists, with whom they advise. The Qualificators are employ'd in revising and altering books that are publish'd, and are usually Dominican Friars. The Secretary is properly the Register; and the Advocate-Fiscal the Attorney or Prosecutor. The Treasurer takes into his custody all the prisoner's goods and personal estate when he is apprehended; and the Familiars are properly the serjeants and bailiffs belonging to this office;

tho' the nobility and persons of the best quality usually enter themselves of the number of Familiars, as it is a protection against the civil Magistrate, and entitles them to the same plenary indulgences as persons engaged in a crusade against infidels and enemies of the Christian name. It is computed that these amount to upwards of twenty thousand in Spain alone. As to the Alguazils or Goalers, they are forbidden to permit their prisoners to send to their friends, or receive any manner of support or intelligence from them, or indeed to converse with any mortal but their tormentors. The Inquisitors and their officers take an oath never to discover any thing transacted in that court, and punish nothing more severely than the breach of that oath. As these Courts of Inquisition in a great measure deprive the Bishops of their jurisdiction, they are entitled to some privileges in lieu of it: As first, their being exempted themselves from the authority of this Court; and, 2. Their concurrence ought to be obtain'd, before any person belonging to their respective dioceses is condemn'd. But these provisions are not much regarded of late; Bishops have been confin'd to their houses on suspicion of heresy, till the Pope's licence has been obtain'd to proceed against them; and where Bishops have refused to consent to the condemnation of a prisoner, the Court of Inquisition has pass'd sentence without them.

This Court proceeds in a summary way on an information brought by any person whatever: If the informer names any witnesses besides himself, they are sent for privately, and before they are examin'd take an oath not to discover to any person their having been with the Inquisitors, nor to speak of any thing they say, saw or heard within that Court.

The manner
of prosecu-
ting those
who are ap-
prehended by
the Inquisi-
tion.

All people, tho' never so infamous, and tho' they stand convicted of perjury, are, in favour of the faith, and in detestation of hereticks, admitted by the Inquisition to be witnesses; mortal enemies only excepted.

This exception is of little benefit to the prisoner, by reason of his not knowing who they are that have informed and witnessed against him.

The depositions of the informer and witnesses, if there be any, being thus privately taken, a Familiar is sent for, and being come, he has the following order put into his hands.

By the command of the Reverend Father N. an Inquisitor of heretical pravity, let N. be apprehended and committed to the prisons of this Holy Office, and out of which he shall not be releas'd, but by the express order of the said reverend Inquisitor.

If several persons are to be taken up at the same time, the Familiars are commanded so to order

CHAP. XI. order things, that they may know nothing of one another's being apprehended; and at this the Familiars are so expert, that a father and his three sons and three daughters, who liv'd together at the same house, were all carried prisoners to the Inquisition, without knowing any thing of one another's being there, until seven years afterwards, when they that were alive came forth in an Act of the Faith.

The prisoner being apprehended, and carried with all possible secrecy to the Inquisition, is deliver'd to the Goaler.

The prisons of the Inquisition are little dark rooms, and which have no other furniture but a hard quilt and a useful pot. The prisoners are not suffer'd to see any person besides their keeper, who brings them their diet, and with it a lighted lamp, which burns about half an hour neither must their keeper, without leave from the Inquisitors, entertain any discourse with them.

After the prisoner has spent two or three days and nights in his melancholy apartment, he is carried by his keeper before the Inquisitors, who before they ask him any question, make him take an oath to return true answers to all their interrogatories; and if he has ever been guilty of any heresy, to confess it to them.

The first question the prisoner is ask'd, is, Whether he knows why he was taken up by the Inquisition? And if he answers that he does not know, he is then ask'd, Whether he knows for what crimes the Inquisition used to imprison people? If he answers for heresy, he is admonish'd upon the oath he has taken to confess all his heresies, and to discover all his teachers and complices. If the prisoner denies that he ever held any heresy, or had ever any communication with any hereticks, he is gravely told, that the Holy Office does not use to imprison people rashly or without having good grounds for what they do; and that therefore he would do well to confess his guilt, and the rather, because the Holy Office, contrary to the custom of all other courts is severe to those that deny, and merciful to all that confess their guilt.

If the prisoner persists in denying that he ever held any heresies, his Goaler is call'd in and commanded to carry him back to the place from whence he came; and the prisoner is admonish'd strictly to examine his own conscience, that the next time they send for him he may be prepar'd to make true and full confession of all his heresies, teachers and complices. The prisoner having been allow'd two or three days more to do this in, he is brought before the Inquisitors a second time, and is ask'd whether he comes prepar'd to confess; and if he answers, that he cannot, without accusing himself or others falsely, make any such confession as they desire of him; they

do then ask him where he was born, and what his parents were, and where he went to school, and who were his school-masters, and where he has liv'd all his time, and with whom he has convers'd most, and who has been his Confessor; and when he was last at confession and at the sacrament, with twenty more such questions. And being told, that they have sufficient proof of his being a heretick, they command him, since he cannot repent of his heresies unless he confesseth them all, to go back to his prison, and there pray to God for grace to dispose him to make a true and full confession, to the saving of his soul, which is all they seek after. And being again allow'd two or three days to pray and consider on what the Inquisitors have said to him, he is brought before them a third time; and in case he persists in pleading not guilty, he is then ask'd some questions concerning the heretical doctrines he stands charg'd withal; for example, whether he believes Christ to be bodily present in the Sacrament, and that it is lawful to adore images, and to pray to Saints and Angels; and if he affirms that he did always firmly believe these and all the other doctrines of the Romish Church, he is ask'd, if he always believ'd these doctrines, how he came to speak against them? and if he denies that he ever did, he is then told, that since he is so obstinate in his heresies, of which they have a sufficient proof before them, they will order their Advocate-Fiscal to form his process and to convict him of them. But in case the Inquisitors have not sufficient evidence, notwithstanding, to draw a confession from the prisoner, they have told him oftener than once that they had, they then fall a note lower, and tell the prisoner, that though they may not have sufficient proof of his heretical words and actions to convict him of them, that yet they have sufficient to put him on the rack to make him confess them. And having fix'd the day when he is to undergo the tortures, he, when that dismal day comes, if he does not prevent it by such a confession as is expected from him, is led to the place where the rack is, attended by an Inquisitor and a publick Notary, who is to write down the answers the prisoner returns to the questions which shall be put to him by the Inquisitor while he is upon the rack. During the time the executioner is preparing that engine of unspeakable cruelty, and is taking off the prisoner's clothes to his shirt and drawers, the Inquisitor is still exhorting the prisoner to have compassion both on his body and soul, and by making a true and full confession of all his heresies to prevent his being tortured; but if the prisoner saith, that he will suffer any thing rather than accuse himself or others falsely, the Inquisitor commands the executioner to do his duty, and

CHAP. XI.

CHAP. XI. and to begin the torture; which in the Inquisition is given by twisting a small cord hard about the prisoner's naked arms, and hoisting him up from the ground by an engine to which the cord is fastned; and as if the miserable prisoner's hanging in the air by his arms were not torment enough, he has several quassations or shakes given him, which is done by screwing up his body higher and letting it down again with a jirk, which disjoints his arms, and after that the torture is much more exquisite than it was before.

When the prisoner is first hoisted from the ground an hour-glass is turn'd up, and which, if he does not prevent it, by making such a confession of his heresies as the Inquisitor that is present all the while, and is continually asking him questions, expects from him, must run out before he is taken down; to promise to make such a confession if they will take him off the rack, not being sufficient to procure him that mercy, no more than his crying out that he shall expire immediately if they do not give him some ease; that, as the Inquisitors tell us, being no more than all that are upon the rack do think they are ready to do.

If the prisoner endures the rack without confessing any thing, which few or none, tho' never so innocent, are able to do, so soon as the hour-glass is out he is taken down, and carried back to his prison, where there is a Surgeon ready to put his bones in joint. And though in all our Courts the prisoner's having endur'd the rack without confessing the crimes for which he was tortured, clears him, and makes void all the evidence that was against him; yet in the Inquisition, where whatsoever humanity and right reason have establish'd in favour of the prisoner is left to the discretion of the Judge, it is commonly otherwise; the prisoners that will not confess any thing being usually rack'd twice; and if they stand it out, tho' few of them can do that, thrice.

But if the prisoner makes the confession the Inquisitor expects he should on the rack, it is writ down word for word by the Notary, and is, after the prisoner has had a day or two's rest, carry'd to him to set his hand to it; which if the prisoner does, it puts an end to his process, the want of sufficient evidence to have convicted him being abundantly supply'd by this extorted confession thus signed by him. But in case the prisoner when it is brought to him refuseth to sign it, affirming it to be false, and to have been extorted from him by the extremity of the torture, he is then carried to the rack a second time to oblige him to repeat and sign the same confession.

It is a very hard matter for any one that is a prisoner in the Inquisition for Heresy to escape

the rack, since neither the professing and maintaining the doctrines to be true wherewith he is charg'd, nor the denying of them, can secure him from it; the first being commonly rack'd to make them discover their teachers and accomplices, and the second to oblige them to confess their own guilt. And if a prisoner does confess his having spoke some heretical words, but to save his estate stands in his having spoke them rashly and in a passion without an heretical mind, he is rack'd to make him discover whether it was so or not, or whether his thoughts were not the same with his words. If a prisoner either makes no confession at all, or does not confess the particular heretical words or facts wherewith he stands charg'd, and with which the Inquisitors will never acquaint him, he is ask'd, whether he has any thing besides his denial to offer in his own defence, and if he has, to make use of it: For now the Advocate-Fiscal, upon their having evidence enough against him, is order'd to form his process. Here if the prisoner alledgeth, that unless they will be pleased to let him know the particular words or facts he stands charg'd withal, and who the persons are that have inform'd him and witness'd against him, that it will not be possible for him to make any defence; he is told, that cannot be done, because to let him know the particular heretical words or facts might lead him to the knowledge of the informers and witnesses, who by the fundamental laws of the Inquisition must never directly or indirectly be discover'd to him.

Now for this singular and inhuman custom of not letting the prisoners know the particular facts they stand charg'd withal, nor who they are that have inform'd and witness'd against them, the Inquisitors have nothing to say but that it is necessary to the security of the lives of the accusers and witnesses, which if they were known would be in so great danger, that none would dare to venture to inform or bear witness against hereticks in their court. Which pretence, tho' it might have some ground when courts of Inquisition were first erected, no city, no not Rome it self, having submitted quietly to them when they were first introduced; it is now notorious to all the world, and to none more than to the Inquisitors themselves, that it is altogether groundless; and especially in Spain and Portugal, where the Inquisition is not only establish'd by law, but by a wonderful fascination is so fix'd in the hearts and affections of the people, that one that should offer the least affront to another for having been an informer or witness in the Inquisition, would be torn in a thousand pieces: and did the prisoners that have been in the Inquisition but know certainly who the persons were that had informed and witness'd against them, they durst not

CHAP. XI. not for their lives speak one word against them, or shew them the less respect on that account.

Now for a Court to continue a custom so singularly unjust and cruel, and upon a pretence all the world knows to be altogether groundless, is a confidence not to be match'd any where that I know of.

The prisoner being thus denied the knowledge of the things and persons, without which it is scarce possible for him, tho' never so innocent, to make any defence, he is, notwithstanding that, graciously asked by the Inquisitors, whether he desires to have an Advocate and Proctor to help him to make it? If he saith he would, he is not to name them, but must take those the Inquisitors shall appoint, and who, before they have seen their client, must take the following oath:

I N. Doctor of both laws, do, in the presence of the Lords Inquisitors of this place against heretical pravity, having my hand on the Holy Gospel of God, promise and swear sincerely and faithfully to defend and maintain the cause of N. a prisoner in the prisons of this holy office, who stands accused and impeached for causes mentioned in its acts, but so as not to use any trick or cavil, or to instruct my said client to conceal the truth in judgment. And I do further promise and swear, That if I shall by any way discover my said client to be guilty of the crime or crimes wherewith he stands charged, that I will thereupon immediately discontinue his cause: and if by having searched narrowly into his case I shall discover that he has had complices in his heresies, that I will inform against them to this holy office. All which I do promise upon pain of perjury, and of an excommunication, from which I cannot be absolved by any but by this holy office. So help me God and these Holy Gospels.

The same oath is taken by the prisoner's Proctor, as the Inquisitors call him; tho' in truth both he and the Advocate are the Inquisitor's engines, made use of to fish what they can out of the prisoner against himself and his friends, rather than any thing else.

The prisoner being thus fitted with an Advocate and Proctor, and who are not suffered to know any thing more of his accusers and of the witnesses against him than he himself knows, he is asked by them whether he would have any questions put by the Inquisitors to those that have informed and witnessed against him, or would have them examined upon any points. And in case the prisoner furnisheth his Advocate with any such questions or points, they are put by him into form, and delivered to the Inquisitors.

The prisoner is asked also whether he has any witnesses of his orthodoxy; and if he names any, they are sent for and heard by the Inquisitors. And as these witnesses do go to the Inquisition

with trembling hearts, so they are extremely cautious not to say any thing concerning the prisoner that shall imply their having lived in any intimacy with him, for fear of bringing themselves under a suspicion of heresy; and by the laws of the Inquisition no relation of the prisoner's within the fourth degree can be a witness for him. When the prisoner's Advocate and Proctor are dismissed, they take an oath that they have no copy of the defence the prisoner made for himself, and that they shall never speak of it to any person whatsoever; neither is the prisoner ever suffered to see the depositions of his own fearful witnesses, no more than the depositions of those that are against him.

Beside the fore-mention'd, there is another common process in the Inquisition, which is against those that have murder'd themselves, or died a natural death in their prisons. The process against the first is short, his having murdered himself being judged such an evidence of his guilt as is sufficient to convict him of the heresies wherewith he was charged. The process against the second is carried on by the Advocate Fiscal in the same manner as it would have been had the prisoner been alive; and the prisoner's relations and friends, or any other that have any thing to offer in defence of the deceased, are by a publick edict summon'd to appear before the Inquisitors within forty days to give their evidence; and if upon this summons none do appear to offer any thing in vindication of the deceased, as I believe few are ever so hardy as to do, the deceased after the expiration of that term of days is acquitted or condemned in the same manner that he would have been had he been alive; and if he is condemned his whole estate is forfeited, and his body and effigies are burnt at the next act of the faith, as are the bodies and effigies of those that had murdered themselves.

But the power of the Inquisition extends not only to those that died in the prisons, but to the bodies, estates and good names of all that after their decease shall be convicted of having died hereticks: And tho' as to the estates of those that are convicted of having died hereticks they can go no farther than forty years, as to the taking their bones out of the grave, and burning them, and the depriving them of their good name, there is no limitation of time. When a competent number of prisoners are convicted of heresy, either by their own voluntary or extorted confession, or upon the evidence of certain witnesses, a day is fixed by the chief Inquisitor for a goal-delivery, which is called by them an Act of the Faith, and which is always upon a Sunday. In the morning of the day the prisoners are all brought into a great hall, where they have the habits put on they are to wear in the procession, which begins to

CHAP. come out of the Inquisition about nine of the
XI. clock in the morning.

Auto de Fé. The first in the procession are the Dominican Friars, who carry the standard of the inquisition, which on the one side hath their founder DOMINICK's picture, and on the other side a cross betwixt an olive-tree and a sword, with this motto, *Justitia & Misericordia*. Next after the Dominicans come the penitents, some with benitoes and some without, according to the nature of their crimes; they are all in black coats without sleeves, and bare-footed, with a wax candle in their hand. Next come the penitents who have narrowly escaped being burnt, who over their black coat have flames painted with their points turn'd downward, to signify their having been saved but so as by fire; this habit is call'd by the Portuguese, *Fuego revolto*, or flames turn'd up-side-down. Next come the negative and relaps'd that are to be burnt, with flames upon their habit pointing upwards: and next come those who profess doctrines contrary to the faith of the Roman church, and who besides flames on their habit pointing upward, have their picture, which is drawn two or three days before, upon their breasts, with dogs, serpents and devils all with open mouths painted about it.

PEGNA, a famous Spanish Inquisitor, calls this procession, *Horrendum ac tremendum spectaculum*; and so it is in truth, there being something in the looks of all the prisoners, besides those that are to be burnt, that is ghastly, and disconsolate beyond what can be imagin'd; and in the eyes and countenance of those that are to be burnt, there is something that looks fierce and eager.

The prisoners that are to be burnt alive, besides a Familiar, which all the rest have, have a Jesuit on each hand of them, who are continually preaching to them to abjure their heresies; but if they offer to speak any thing in defence of the doctrines they are going to suffer death for professing, they are immediately gagg'd, and not suffer'd to speak a word more.

This I saw done to a prisoner presently after he came out of the gates of the inquisition, upon his having look'd up to the sun, which he had not seen before in several years, and cry'd out in a rapture, 'How is it possible for people that behold that glorious body, to worship any being but him that created it?' After the prisoners come a troop of Familiars on horseback; and after them the inquisitors and other officers of the Court upon mules; and last of all comes the Inquisitor-General upon a white horse led by two men, with a black hat and a green hat-band, and attended by all the nobles that are not employ'd as Familiars in the procession.

In the Terreiro de Paco, which may be as far from the inquisition as White-Hall is from

Temple-Bar, there is a scaffold erected, which CHAP
may hold two or three thousand people; at the XI.
one end sit the Inquisitors, and at the other end
the prisoners, and in the same order as they
walk'd in the procession; those that are to be
burnt being seated on the highest benches behind
the rest, and which may be ten foot above the
floor of the scaffold.

After some prayers and a sermon, which is made up of encomiums on the Inquisition, and invectives against hereticks, a secular Priest ascends a desk, which stands near the middle of the scaffold, and who having first taken all the abjurations of the penitents, who kneel before him one by one in the same order they walk'd in the procession, at last he recites the final sentence of the Inquisition upon those that are to be put to death, in the words following:

" We the Inquisitors of heretical pravity, having with the concurrence of the most illustrious
" N. Lord Archbishop of Lisbon, or of his deputy N. called on the name of the Lord JESUS
" CHRIST, and of his glorious mother the Virgin
" MARY, and sitting on our tribunal, and judging with the Holy Gospels lying before us, that
" so our judgments may be in the sight of God,
" and our eyes might behold what is just, in all
" matters betwixt the magnifick Doctor N. Advocate-Fiscal, on the one part, and you N.
" now before us, on the other, we have ordain'd,
" that in this place and on this day you should
" receive your definitive sentence.

" We do therefore by this our sentence put in
" writing, define, pronounce, declare and sentence
" thee N. of the city of Lisbon, to be a convicted, confessing, affirmative and professed heretick, and to be deliver'd and left by us as
" such, to the secular arm; and we by this our
" sentence do cast thee out of the ecclesiastical
" court, as a convicted, confessing, affirmative
" and professed heretick, and we do leave and
" deliver thee to the secular arm, and to the
" power of the secular court; but at the same
" time do most earnestly beseech that court so to
" moderate its sentence, as not to touch thy
" blood, or to put thy life in any danger."

Is there in all history an instance of so gross and confident a mockery of God and the world as this of the Inquisitors, earnestly beseeching the Civil Magistrates not to put the hereticks they have condemned and deliver'd to them to death? For were they in earnest when they make this solemn petition to the secular Magistrates, why do they bring their prisoners out of the Inquisition and deliver them to those Magistrates in coats painted over with flames? Why do they teach, that all hereticks, above all other malefactors,

CHAP. XI. factors, ought to be punish'd with death? And why do they never resent the Secular Magistrates having so little regard to their earnest and joint petition, as never to fail to burn all the Hereticks which are deliver'd to them by the Inquisition, within an hour or two after they have them in their hands? And why in Rome, where the supreme civil and ecclesiastical authority are lodg'd in the same person, is this petition of the Inquisition, which is made there as well as in other places, never granted? Certainly not to take any notice of the old canon, which forbids the Clergy to have any hand in the blood of any person whatsoever, would be a much less dishonour to the Inquisition, than to pretend to go on observing that canon, by making a petition, which is known to be so contrary to their principles and desires.

The prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the Civil Magistrate, than they are loaded with chains before the eyes of the Inquisitors, and being carried first to the secular goals, are within an hour or two brought from thence before the Lord Chief Justice, who without knowing any thing of their particular crimes, or of the evidence that was against them, asks them one by one in what religion they do intend to die; if they answer that they will die in the communion of the Roman Church, they are condemn'd by him to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be first strangled, and afterwards burnt to ashes: But if they say they will die in the Protestant, or in any other Faith that is contrary to the Roman, they are then sentenc'd by him to be carry'd forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive.

At the place of execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are so many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burnt with a good quantity of dry furz about them: The stakes of the profess'd, as the Inquisitors call them, may be about four yards high, and have a small board, whereon the prisoner is to be seated, within half a yard of the top; the negative and relaps'd being first strangled and burnt, the profess'd go up a ladder between the two Jesuits that have attended them all day, and when they are come even with the foremention'd board they turn about to the people, and the Jesuits spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the profess'd to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, which if the profess'd refuse to be, the Jesuits come down, and the executioner ascends, and having turn'd the profess'd off the ladder upon the seat, and chain'd their bodies close to the stake, he leaves them, and the Jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their exhortation to them, and at parting tell them, ' That they leave them

to the devil, who is standing at their elbow, ' to receive their souls, and carry them with ' him into the flames of hell-fire, so soon as they ' are out of their bodies.' Upon this a great shout is rais'd, and as soon as the Jesuits are off the ladders, the cry is, ' Let the dogs beards be ' made, let the dogs beards be made.' Which is done by thrusting flaming furzes fasten'd to a long pole against their faces; and this inhumanity is commonly continu'd till their faces are burnt to a coal, and is always accompany'd with such loud acclamations of joy, as are not to be heard upon any other occasion; a bull-feast or a farce, being dull entertainments to the using a profess'd heretick thus inhumanly.

The profess'd's beards having been thus made, as they call it in jollity, fire is set to the furz which are at the bottom of the stake, and above which the profess'd are chain'd so high, that the top of the flame seldom reacheth higher than the seat they sit upon; and if there happen to be a wind, and to which that place is much expos'd, it seldom reaches so high as their knees: so that though there be a calm, the profess'd are commonly dead in about half an hour after the furz is set on fire; yet if the weather prove windy, they are not after that dead in an hour and a half, or two hours, and so are really roasted, and not burnt to death. But though out of hell there cannot be a more lamentable spectacle than this, being join'd with the sufferers, so long as they are able to speak, crying out, *Misericordia por amor de Dios*, Mercy for the love of God; yet it is beheld by people of both sexes, and of all ages, with such transports of joy and satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with.

And that the reader may not think that this inhuman joy may be the effect of a natural cruelty, that is in those people's disposition, and not of the spirit of their religion, he may rest assur'd, that all publick malefactors besides hereticks, have their violent deaths no where more tenderly lamented than among the same people, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their deaths that appears inhuman or cruel.

Within a few days after the execution, the pictures of all that have been burnt, and which were taken off their breast when they were brought to the stake, are hung up in St. DOMINGO's Church, whose west-end, tho' very high, is all cover'd over with these trophies of the Inquisition, hung up there in honour to DOMINIC, who to fulfil his mother's dream, was the first inventor of that court. DOMINIC's mother, when she was ready to be brought to bed of him, having dream'd, that she was deliver'd, not

CHAP. of a human creature, but of a fierce dog, with a
 XI. burning torch in his mouth. See Dr. GEDDES's
 Miscellaneous Tracts, Vol. I. p. 391, to 413.

Archb'sho-
 pricks and
 bishopricks.

I proceed next to enumerate the several arch-
 bishopricks and bishopricks in Spain and Portugal,
 and enquire into their respective revenues.

Abp. of To-
 ledo, and his
 suffragans.

The Archbishop of Toledo is styled Primate
 of Spain; he is great Chancellor of Castile, and
 Counsellor born of the Council of State. His
 archbishoprick contains 802 parishes, his revenue
 amounting one year with another to 300000 ducats,
 and that of the Primatical Church to 150000
 ducats, out of which there ought to be deducted
 66000 ducats which is paid annually to the King.
 The suffragans are, first, that of Segovia, com-
 prehending 438 parishes, the revenue whereof is
 24000 ducats per annum. 2. Valladolid, which
 comprehends 132 parishes, the revenue whereof
 is 12000 ducats per annum. 3. Ossuna, which
 comprehends 450 parishes, the revenue whereof
 is 16000 ducats per annum. 4. Siguenza, which
 comprehends 516 parishes, the revenue whereof is
 40000 ducats per annum: he is Lord Chief Justice of
 the town of Siguenza. 5. Cuença, which compre-
 hends 384 parishes, the revenue whereof is 50000
 ducats per annum. 6. Cartagena, which com-
 prehends 89 parishes, the revenue whereof is
 24000 ducats per annum. 7. Jaen, which com-
 prehends 84 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000
 ducats per annum. 8. Cordoua, which compre-
 hends 92 parishes, the revenue whereof is 40000
 ducats per annum.

Abp. of Ter-
 ragona.

The Archbishop of Terragona. His diocess
 contains 197 parishes, the revenue whereof is
 20000 ducats per annum. The suffragans are,
 first, that of Barcelona, comprehending 206 pa-
 rishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per
 annum. 2. Tortosa, which comprehends 160
 parishes, the revenue whereof is 15000 ducats per
 annum. 3. Lerida, which comprehends 212 pa-
 rishes, the revenue whereof is 12000 ducats per
 annum. 4. Vich, which comprehends 206 pa-
 rishes, the revenue whereof is 6000 ducats per
 annum. 5. Urgel, which comprehends 420 pa-
 rishes, the revenue whereof is 9000 ducats per
 annum. 6. Gironne, which comprehends 339
 parishes, the revenue whereof is 3000 ducats per
 annum. 7. Elna, which comprehends 100 pa-
 rishes, the revenue whereof is 4000 ducats per
 annum. 8. Solsona, which comprehends 15 pa-
 rishes, the revenue whereof is 4000 ducats per
 annum.

Abp. of Se-
 ville.

The Archbishop of Seville. His archbishoprick
 contains 234 parishes, the revenue whereof is
 100000 ducats per annum. The suffragans are,
 first, that of Cadiz, which comprehends 14 pa-
 rishes, the revenue whereof is 12000 ducats per
 annum. 2. Guadix, which comprehends 37 pa-
 rishes, the revenue whereof is 8000 ducats per an-

num. 3. Canaries, which comprehends 50 pa-
 rishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats per
 annum. XI.

Abp. of St.
 James de
 Compostella.

The Archbishop of St. James de Compostella.
 His archbishoprick contains 1803 parishes, the
 revenue whereof is 60000 ducats, per annum,
 and that of the Archiepiscopal Church as much;
 out of which there ought to be deducted 18000
 ducats which he annually pays to the King. The
 suffragans are, first, that of Astorga, which com-
 prehends 913 parishes, the revenue whereof is
 10000 ducats per annum. 2. Avila, which com-
 prehends 437 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000
 ducats per annum. 3. Salamanca, which compre-
 hends 240 parishes, the revenue whereof is 24000
 ducats per annum. 4. Coria, which comprehends
 317 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000 ducats
 per annum. 5. Placentia, which compre-
 hends parishes, the revenue whereof is 50000
 ducats per annum. 6. Badajox, which com-
 prehends 53 parishes, the revenue whereof is
 16000 ducats per annum. 7. Tuy, which com-
 prehends 146 parishes, the revenue whereof is
 10000 ducats per annum. 8. Mondonedo, which
 comprehends 356 parishes, the revenue whereof
 is 4000 ducats per annum. 9. Orensa, which
 comprehends 954 parishes, the revenue where-
 of is 10000 ducats per annum. 10. Ciudad-Ro-
 drigo, which comprehends 63 parishes, the re-
 venue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum. 11.
 Lugo, which comprehends 60 parishes, the re-
 venue whereof is 10000 ducats per annum. 12.
 Zamora, which comprehends 256 parishes, the
 revenue whereof is 20000 ducats per annum.

The Archbishop of Saragossa. His archbisho-
 prick comprehends 347 parishes, the revenue
 whereof is 50000 ducats per annum. The suf-
 fragans are, first, that of Huesca, which compre-
 hends 196 parishes, the revenue whereof is 13000
 ducats per annum. 2. Tarazona, which com-
 prehends 350 parishes, the revenue whereof is
 20000 ducats per annum. 3. Albarazin, which
 comprehends 25 parishes, the revenue whereof
 is 6000 ducats per annum. 4. Jaca, which com-
 prehends 199 parishes, the revenue whereof is
 3000 ducats per annum. 5. Balbastro, which
 comprehends 170 parishes, the revenue whereof
 is 8000 ducats per annum. 6. Teruel, which
 comprehends 77 parishes, the revenue whereof
 is 12000 ducats per annum.

The Archbishop of Valencia. His archbisho-
 prick contains 230 parishes, the revenue where-
 of is 40000 ducats per annum. The suffragans
 are, first, that of Segorba, which comprehends
 120 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 du-
 cats per annum. 2. Orihuela, which comprehends
 60 parishes, the revenue whereof is 10000 ducats
 per annum.

The Archbishop of Grenada. His archbi-
 shoprick and.

CHAP. XI. shoprick contains 194 parishes, the revenue whereof is 40000 ducats per annum. The suffragans are, 1. That of Almeria, which contains 60 parishes, the revenue whereof is 4000 ducats per annum. 2. Malaga, which comprehends 108 parishes, the revenue whereof is 2000 ducats per annum.

The Archbishop of Burgos. His Archbishoprick contains 1756 parishes, the revenue whereof is 40000 ducats per annum. The suffragans are, 1. That of Pampeluna, which comprehends 1156 parishes, the revenue whereof is 25000 ducats per annum. 2. Calahorra, which comprehends 1013 parishes, the revenue whereof is 20000 ducats per annum. 3. Placentia, which comprehends 881 parishes, the revenue whereof is 24000 ducats per annum.

The bishopricks of Leon and Oviedo hold immediately of the Holy See. Leon contains 1020 parishes, the revenue whereof is 12000 ducats per annum. Oviedo contains 1048 parishes, the revenue whereof is 12000 ducats per annum.

The archbishoprick of Lisbon; the revenue whereof is 40000 crusadoes. The suffragans are, 1. Miranda, the revenue whereof is 10000 crusadoes per annum. 2. Portalegre, the revenue whereof is 500 l. per annum. But the late patriarchate establish'd at Lisbon has made a great alteration in the ecclesiastical government of this archbishoprick.

The archbishoprick of Braga; the revenue whereof is 40000 crusadoes per annum. The suffragans are, 1. Coimbra, the revenue whereof is 40000 crusadoes per annum. 2. Lamego, the revenue whereof is 18000 crusadoes per annum. 3. Viseu, the revenue whereof is 16000 crusadoes per annum. 4. Porto, the revenue whereof is 15000 crusadoes per annum.

The archbishoprick of Evora; the revenue whereof is 60000 crusadoes per annum. The suffragans are, 1. Elvas, the revenue whereof is 10000 crusadoes per annum. 2. Leria, the revenue whereof is 18000 crusadoes per annum. 3. Faro, the revenue whereof is 5000 crusadoes per annum. And, 4. Tavira, the revenue whereof I have not met with.

There are also in Spain alone 2141 convents, in which it is computed there are about 45000 Monks and Nuns; and a proportionable number in Portugal.

There are in Spain no less than 22 Universities, which have been mention'd already in the description of the several cities of that kingdom. I shall only observe here therefore, that those of Salamanca, Valladolid and Alcala are the chief: And tho' my French author is pleas'd to affirm, that they excel all the Universities in Christendom except that of Paris; it will be found, that those of Oxford and Cambridge are much su-

perior to any of them in the number of learned men, in the elegance of their buildings, and in their revenues. CHAP. XI.

The University of Coimbra is much the most considerable in Portugal, said to consist of five thousand Students; but then they admit children before they can well read, so that our grammar-schools may be reckon'd equal to many of their colleges.

They do not apply themselves so much to philosophy, divinity, or physick in these Universities as to the civil and canon law, which prevails very much in these countries. And besides these every one studies the customs of his particular province, by which the Magistrates are often govern'd in their decisions.

The Spanish language is deriv'd from the Latin, and said to come the nearest to it at this day of any language in Europe: The dialects however are very different in the several provinces, as in other countries; that of Castile is said to be the purest, and that of Portugal, which was lately a province of Spain, the worst. But in all of them we find a great many Arabick words and terminations, which they learnt from the Moors, who were long masters of the country. They observe particularly that all Spanish words which begin with the syllable Al, are of Arabick extraction, as Alguasil, a Bailiff or Jaylor, Algibe, a Cittern, &c.

I shall conclude with observing, that in Portugal as well as other European kingdoms, they have of late begun to establish separate Academies, for the propagating arts and sciences, as if they apprehended these were neglected in their Universities. The late King of Great Britain was more indulgent to Oxford and Cambridge, chusing rather to establish professors of modern history there with handsome stipends, than to set up distinct societies in opposition to those Universities. Academies.

CHAP. XII.

Treats of their foreign trade and navigation; and of their several sorts of coin.

AS to the trade of this kingdom, their navigation and foreign commerce, these have already been treated of under other heads. I shall only here observe in general therefore, that the merchandize they export consists either in the produce of their soil, or of what they first import from their plantations and settlements in Asia, Africa, and America. The product of their soil is chiefly red and white port wines, oil, oranges, lemons, figs, chefnuts, almonds, raisins, salt, and sweetmeats. Their importations from Asia consist of silks, muslins, calicoes, tea, gold-dust, Foreign trade.

CHAP. dust, and such other goods as our English East-
 XII. India-Company import hither. And from Africa
 they import chiefly gold, slaves, and elephants
 teeth. But the most extensive and the richest
 of all their settlements are those of Brazil in A-
 merica, from whence in some years they import
 upwards of two millions sterling in gold and sil-
 ver, besides vast quantities of sugar, tobacco, snuff,
 brazil and other dying woods, hides, cotton, in-
 digo, suttick, tallow, train-oil, parrots, rum, and
 many other lesser articles; and 'tis said the Por-
 tuguese do not transport less than five and twen-
 ty or thirty thousand slaves annually from the
 coast of Africa to Brazil, which may one with
 another be worth fifteen or sixteen pounds ster-
 ling a head in Brazil. They are employ'd chiefly
 in their sugar-works, tobacco-plantations, or their
 mines; tho' a great many are taught some trade
 or mechanick arts, which make them most va-
 luable to their masters, and many more serve
 the Portuguese as menial servants. These slaves
 are purchased generally of the African Princes,
 being prisoners taken in war or stolen from their
 friends. But I shall treat more particularly of
 this branch of their trade when I come to the de-
 scription of Africa and America.

From England in return for their wines, fruits,
 and the produce of their plantations, they receive
 our woollen manufactures, lead and tin; part of
 which are used in Portugal, and part of them sent to
 Brazil; and some years Portugal takes off a great
 deal of our corn and flesh from Ireland. The
 Dutch also furnish them with linnen and wool-
 len cloth and stuffs, corn, copper, iron, and all
 manner of naval stores that are found in the nor-
 thern kingdoms of Europe. The Portuguese trade
 pretty much with France; but the English have
 the greatest share of traffick with this country,
 as appears by the following account of the ship-
 ping that resorted to Lisbon in the year 1721,
 viz. 329 ships from Great-Britain and Ireland,

Shipping.

72 ships from Holland, 71 from France, 13 from CHA
 Hamburg, 7 from Denmark, 2 from Sweden, 1 XII.
 from Malta; besides 359 ships that arriv'd there
 belonging to the several ports of Portugal, and
 their Brazil fleet. The number of vessels out-
 ward-bound from Lisbon the same year were, 302
 ships of Britain, 69 of Holland, 63 of France, 24
 of Spain, 3 of Hamburg, 8 of Genoa, 6 of Den-
 mark, 2 of Sweden, 1 of Malta, and 116 Portu-
 guese, including their Brazil fleets and ships sent
 to India. And in all our accounts since, we find
 the English shipping in the port of Lisbon double
 or treble the number of any other nation. This
 is generally held to be the most advantageous trade
 we have next to that with our plantations; and
 yet even here I am inform'd the course of ex-
 change is usually against us. Certain it is we
 receive a great deal of gold from Portugal, but
 I perceive it is clandestinely or by connivance of
 the government, for their laws punish the expor-
 tation of it with death, as appears by the con-
 demnation of the two British merchants above-
 mention'd for sending gold to England. And this
 brings me to give some account of the Portuguese
 coins.

The usual way of accounting in Portugal is by Coins.
 rees or crusado's; the first their smallest brass coin,
 3000 whereof are equal to a pound sterling, and the
 other a silver coin of two shillings and eight pence
 value, or thereabouts. Of brass coins there are
 single rees, those of a rees and half, of five rees
 and ten rees. The silver coins are, a vintain of
 20 rees, the half tostao of 50 rees, the whole to-
 stao of 100 rees, the piece valued at 250 rees, the
 crusado valu'd at 400 rees, and another piece va-
 lu'd at 500 rees; besides which, they stamp the
 number 600 on the Spanish pieces of eight, to sig-
 nify that they shall be taken for 600 rees. And
 their most usual gold coins are, the moidore, va-
 lu'd at 4000 rees, and the half moidore, quarter
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The End of the Second Volume.

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